

A COMPLETE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,

DEDUCED FROM
The DESCENT of JULIUS CÆSAR,
TO THE
TREATY of AIX LA CHAPELLE, 1748.

Containing the Transactions of
One Thousand Eight Hundred and Three Years.

By T. SMOLLETT, M.D.

VOLUME THE FOURTH.

Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis, ac testimonium
præsentium bonorum composuisse. TACIT. Agricola,

LONDON,
Printed for JAMES RIVINGTON and JAMES FLETCHER, at the Oxford-
Theatre, in PATER-NOSTER ROW.

MDCCLVIII.

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transactis, consensum contraxerunt.

LONDON:
Printed for James Rivington and James Johnson, in the Strand,
Thames, in PATTER-NOSTER-ROW.

MDCCLXIII

EXPLANATION of the FRONTISPIECE.

CONCORD is represented leading BRITANNIA over a narrow and dangerous Arch, under which an impetuous Torrent rolls down from a Ridge of Rocks ; while the Roman VIRTUS, on the farther Side, encourages her to proceed, by pointing with her Finger to the Temple of Liberty, seated upon the Top of a Precipice : an Object which BRITANNIA eyes with Marks of Eagerness and Rapture.

Faction and Superstition endeavouring to intimidate and hinder her from passing over the Arch, are driven away by the HERCULES of Liberty. Under the Arch, Danger is typified by a naked Child waving a lighted Torch, and setting Fire to the Fuse of a Petard fixed in one of the Abutments of the Bridge.

EXPLANATION of the FRONTISPIECE.

CONCORD is represented leading BRITANNIA over a narrow and dangerous Arch, under which an insidious TROTTER rolls down from a Bridge of Rocks; while the Roman VIRTUE, of the latter Side, encourages her to proceed, by pointing with her Finger to the Temple of Liberty, seated upon the Top of a Precipice; an Object which BRITANNIA eyes with Marks of Rapture and Rapture.

Faction and Superstition endeavouring to seduce and hinder her from passing over the Arch, are driven away by the Harbinger of Liberty. Under the Arch, Danger is signified by a naked Child waving a flaming Torch, and crying out to the Passer a word of a word, as one of the Apartments of the Bible.



Page not in the original work.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

EIGHTH BOOK.

From the Revolution to the Death of Queen ANNE.

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An. Ch. 1689. § I. **T**HE constitution of England had now assumed a new aspect.

The maxim of hereditary, indefeasible right, was at length renounced by a free parliament. The power of the crown was acknowledged to flow from no other fountain than that of a contract with the people. Allegiance and protection were declared reciprocal ties depending upon each other. The representatives of the nation made a regular claim of rights in behalf of their constituents; and William III. ascended the throne in consequence of an express capitulation with the people. Yet on this occasion, the zeal of the parliament towards their deliverer, seems to have overshot their attachment to their own liberty and privileges: or at least they neglected the fairest opportunity that ever occurred, to retrench those prerogatives of the crown to which they imputed all the late and former calamities of the kingdom. Their new monarch retained the old regal power over parliaments, in its full extent. He was left at liberty to convoke, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve them at his pleasure. He was enabled to influence elections and oppress corporations. He possessed the right of chusing his own council; of nominating all the great officers of the state, and of the household, of the army, the navy, and the church. He reserved the absolute command of the militia: so that he remained master of all the instruments and engines of corruption and violence, without any other restraint than his own moderation, and prudent regard to the claim of rights and principle of resistance on which the revolution was founded. In a word, the settlement was finished with some precipitation, before the plan had been properly digested and matured; and this will be the case in every establishment formed upon a sudden emergency in the face of opposition. It was observed, that the king, who was made by the people, had it in his power to rule without them; to govern *jure divino*, though he was created *jure humano*; and that, though the change proceeded from a republican spirit, the settlement was built upon tory maxims; for, the execution of his government continued still independent of his commission, while his own person remained sacred and inviolable. The prince of Orange had been invited to England by a coalition of parties, united by a common sense of danger; but this tie was no sooner broken, than they flew asunder, and each resumed its original bias. Their mutual jealousy and rancour revived, and was heated by dispute into intemperate zeal and enthusiasm. Those who at first acted from principles of patriotism, were insensibly warmed into partisans; and king William soon found himself at the head of a faction. As he had been bred a calvinist, and always expressed an abhorrence of spiritual per-

persecution, the presbyterians, and other protestant dissenters, considered him as their peculiar protector, and entered into his interests with the most zealous fervour and assiduity. For the same reasons, the friends of the church became jealous of his proceedings, and employed all their influence, first in opposing his elevation to the throne, and afterwards in thwarting his measures. Their party was espoused by all the friends of the lineal succession; by the roman catholics; by those who were personally attached to the late king, and by such as were disgusted by the conduct and personal deportment of William since his arrival in England. They observed, That contrary to his declaration, he had plainly aspired to the crown; and treated his father-in-law with insolence and rigour: That his army contained a number of foreign papists, almost equal to that of the English roman catholics whom James had employed: that the reports so industriously circulated about the birth of the prince of Wales, the treaty with France for enslaving England, and the murder of the earl of Essex; reports countenanced by the prince of Orange, now appeared to be without foundation: That the Dutch troops remained in London, while the English forces were distributed in remote quarters: That the prince declared the first should be kept about his person, and the latter sent to Ireland: That the two houses, out of complaisance to William, had denied their late sovereign the justice of being heard in his own defence; and, That the Dutch had lately interfered with the trade of London, which was already sensibly diminished. These were the sources of discontent, swelled up by the resentment of some noblemen, and other individuals, disappointed in their hopes of profit and preferment.

Somers's Col-
lection.
Reresby.
Burnet.

§ II. William began his reign with a proclamation, for confirming all protestants in the offices which they enjoyed on the first day of December: then he chose the members of his council, who were generally staunch to his interest, except the archbishop of Canterbury and the earl of Nottingham*; and these were admitted in complaisance to the church-party, which it was not thought adviseable to provoke. Nottingham and Shrewsbury were appointed secretaries of state: the privy-seal was bestowed upon the marquis of Halifax: the earl of Danby was created president of the council. These two noblemen enjoyed a good share of the king's confidence; and Nottingham was considerable as head of the church-party: but the chief favourite was Bentinck, first commoner on the list of privy-counsellors, as well as groom of the stole and privy purse. D'Auverquerque was made master of the horse, Zuylenstein of the robes, and Schomberg of the ordnance: the treasury, admiralty, and chancery, were put in commission; twelve able judges were chosen†; and the diocese of Salisbury being vacated by the death of doctor Ward, the king, of his own free motion, filled it with Burnet, who had been a zealous stickler for his interest; and, in a particular manner, instrumental in effecting the revolution. Sancroft archbishop of Canterbury refused to consecrate this ec-

* The council consisted of the prince of Denmark, the archbishop of Canterbury, the duke of Norfolk, the marquises of Halifax and Winchester, the earls of Danby, Lindsey, Devonshire, Dorset, and Middlesex, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Bedford, Bath, Macclesfield, Nottingham; the viscounts Falconberge, Mordaunt, Newport, Lumley; the lords Wharton, Montague, Dela-

mere, Churchill; Mr. Bentinck, Mr. Sidney, Sir Robert Howard, Sir Henry Capel, Mr. Powle, Mr. Russel, Mr. Hambden, and Mr. Boscawen.

† Sir John Holt was appointed lord chief justice of the king's-bench, and Sir Henry Pollexfen of the common-pleas; the earl of Devonshire was made lord-steward of the household, and the earl of Dorset lord-chamberlain. Ralph.

clerical, though the reasons of his refusal are not specified; but, being afraid of incurring the penalties of a premunire, he granted a commission to the bishop of London, and three other suffragans, to perform that ceremony. Burnet was a prelate of some parts, and great industry; moderate in his notions of church-discipline, inquisitive, meddling, vain, and credulous. In consequence of having incurred the displeasure of the late king, he had retired to the continent, and fixed his residence in Holland, where he was naturalized, and attached himself to the interest of the prince of Orange, who consulted him about the affairs of England. He assisted in drawing up the prince's manifesto, and wrote some other papers and pamphlets in defence of his design. He was demanded of the states, by the English ambassador, as a British fugitive, outlawed by king James, and excepted in the act of indemnity; nevertheless, he came over with William, in quality of his chaplain; and, by his intrigues, contributed in some measure to the success of that expedition. The principal individuals that composed this ministry, have been characterised in the history of the preceding reigns. We have had occasion to mention the fine talents, the vivacity, the flexibility of Hallifax; the plausibility, the enterprising genius, the obstinacy of Danby; the pompous eloquence, the warmth, and ostentation of Nottingham; the probity and popularity of Shrewsbury. Godolphin, now brought into the treasury, was modest, silent, sagacious, and upright. Mordaunt, appointed first commissioner of that board, and afterwards created earl of Monmouth, was open, generous, and a republican in his principles. Delamere, chancellor of the exchequer, promoted in the sequel to the rank of earl of Warrington, was close and mercenary. Obsequiousness, fidelity, and attachment to his master, composed the character of Bentinck, whom the king raised to the dignity of earl of Portland. The English favourite Sidney was a man of wit and pleasure, possessed of the most engaging talents for conversation and private friendship, but rendered unfit for public business by indolence and inattention. He was ennobled, and afterwards created earl of Romney, a title which he enjoyed with several successive posts of profit and importance. The stream of honour and preferment ran strong in favour of the Whigs, and this appearance of partiality confirmed the suspicion and resentment of the opposite party.

§ III. The first resolution taken in the new council was to convert the convention into a parliament, that the new settlement might be strengthened by a legal sanction, which was now supposed to be wanting, as the assembly had not been convoked by the king's writ of summons. The experiment of a new election was deemed too hazardous; therefore, the council determined that the king should, by virtue of his own authority, change the convention into a parliament, by going to the house of peers with the usual state of a sovereign, and pronouncing a speech from the throne to both houses. This expedient was accordingly practised. He assured them he should never take any step that would diminish the good opinion they had conceived of his integrity. He told them that Holland was in such a situation as required their immediate attention and assistance: that the posture of affairs at home likewise demanded their serious consideration: that a good settlement was necessary not only for the establishment of domestic peace, but also for the support of the protestant interest abroad: that the affairs of Ireland were too critically situated to admit of the least delay in their deliberations: he therefore begged they would be speedy and effectual in concerting such measures as should be judged indispensably necessary for

for the welfare of the nation. The commons returning to their house, immediately passed a vote of thanks to his majesty, and made an order that his speech should be taken into consideration. After the throne had been declared vacant by a small majority of the peers, those who opposed that measure had gradually withdrawn themselves from the house; so that very few remained but such as were devoted to the new monarch. These therefore brought in a bill for preventing all disputes concerning the present parliament. In the mean time, Mr. Hambden in the lower house, put the question, Whether a king elected by the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons assembled at Westminster, coming to, and consulting with the said lords and commons, did not make as complete a parliament, and legislative power and authority, as if the said king should cause new elections to be made by writ? Many members affirmed, that the king's writ was as necessary as his presence to the being of a legal parliament; and as the convention was defective in this particular, it could not be vested with a parliamentary authority by any management whatsoever. The Whigs replied, That the essence of a parliament consisted in the meeting and co-operation of the king, lords, and commons; and that it was not material whether they were convoked by writ or by letter: they proved this assertion by examples deduced from the history of England: they observed, that a new election would be attended with great trouble, expence, and loss of time; and that such delay might prove fatal to the protestant interest in Ireland, as well as to the allies on the continent. In the midst of this debate, the bill was brought down from the lords, and being read, a committee was appointed to make some amendments. These were no sooner made than the commons sent it back to the upper house, and it immediately received the royal assent. By this act the lords and commons assembled at Westminster were declared the two houses of parliament, to all intents and purposes: it likewise ordained, That the present act and all other acts to which the royal assent should be given before the next prorogation, should be understood and adjudged in law to begin on the thirteenth day of February: That the members, instead of the old oaths of allegiance and supremacy, should take the new oath incorporated in this act under the antient penalty; and, That the present parliament should be dissolved in the usual manner. Immediately after this transaction, a warm debate arose in the house of commons about the revenue which the courtiers alledged had devolved with the crown upon William, at least, during the life of James; for which term the greater part of it had been granted. Those in the opposition affirmed, that those grants were vacated with the throne; and at length it was voted, That the revenue had expired. Then a motion was made, That a revenue should be settled on the king and queen; and the house resolved it should be taken into consideration. While they deliberated on this affair, they received a message from his majesty, importing, that the late king had set sail from Brest with an armament to invade Ireland. They forthwith resolved to assist his majesty with their lives and fortunes; they voted a temporary aid of four hundred and twenty thousand pounds, to be levied by monthly assessment; and both houses waited on the king, to signify this resolution. But this unanimity did not take place, until several lords spiritual as well as temporal, had, rather than take the oaths, absented themselves from parliament. The nonjuring prelates were Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury; Turner, bishop of Ely; Lake, of Chichester; Ken, of Bath and Wells;

Wells; White, of Peterborough; Loyd, of Norwich; Thomas, of Worcester; and Frampton, of Gloucester. The temporal peers who refused the oath, were the duke of Newcastle, the earls of Clarendon, Litchfield, Exeter, Yarmouth, and Stafford; the lords Griffin and Stawel. Five of the bishops withdrew themselves from the house at one time; but, before they retired, one of the number moved for a bill of toleration, and another of comprehension, by which moderate dissenters might be reconciled to the church, and admitted into ecclesiastical benefices. Such bills were actually prepared and presented by the earl of Nottingham, who received the thanks of the house for the pains he had taken. From this period, the party averse to the government of William were distinguished by the appellation of Nonjurors. They rejected the notion of a king *de facto*, as well as all other distinctions and limitations; and declared for the absolute power, and divine hereditary indefeasible right of sovereigns.

§ IV. This faction had already begun to practise against the new government. The king having received some intimation of their designs, from intercepted letters, ordered the earl of Arran, Sir Robert Hamilton, and some other gentlemen of the Scottish nation to be apprehended, and sent prisoners to the Tower. Then he informed the two houses of the step he had taken, and even craved their advice with regard to his conduct in such a delicate affair, which had compelled him to trespass upon the law of England. The lords thanked him for the care he took of their liberties, and desired he would secure all disturbers of the peace; but, the commons impowered him by a bill to dispense with the Habeas corpus act, till the seventeenth day of April next ensuing. This was a stretch of confidence in the crown which had not been made in favour of the late king, even while Argyle and Monmouth were in open rebellion. A spirit of discontent had by this time diffused itself through the army, and become so formidable to the court, that the king resolved to retain the Dutch troops in England, and send over to Holland in their room such regiments as were most tinged with disaffection. Of these the Scottish regiment of Dumbarton, commanded by marechal Schomberg, mutinied on its march to Ipswich, seized the military chest, disarmed the officers who opposed their design, declared for king James, and with four pieces of cannon, began their march for Scotland. William being informed of this revolt, ordered general Ginkle to pursue them with three regiments of Dutch dragoons; and the mutineers surrendered at discretion. As the delinquents were natives of Scotland, which had not yet submitted in form to the new government, the king did not think proper to punish them as rebels, but ordered them to proceed for Holland, according to his first intention. Though this attempt proved abortive, it made a strong impression upon the ministry, who were divided among themselves, and wavered in their principles. However, they seized this opportunity to bring in a bill for punishing mutiny and desertion, which in a little time passed both houses, and received the royal assent.

§ V. The coronation-oath* being altered and explained, that ceremony was performed on the eleventh day of April, the bishop of London officiating at the king's

* The new form of the coronation-oath consisted in the following questions and answers.
 "Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern
 the people of this kingdom of England, and the

dominions thereto belonging, according to the
 statutes in parliament agreed on, and the laws
 and customs of the same?"
 "I solemnly promise so to do."

"Will

king's desire, in the room of the metropolitan, who was a malecontent; and next day the commons, in a body, waited on the king and queen at Whitehall, with an address of congratulation. William, with a view to conciliate the affection of his new subjects, and check the progress of clamour and discontent, signified, in a solemn message to the house of commons, his readiness to acquiesce in any measure they should think proper to take for a new regulation or total suppression of the hearth-money, which he understood was a grievous imposition on the subjects; and this tax was afterwards abolished. He was gratified with an address of thanks, couched in the warmest expressions of duty, gratitude, and affection, declaring they would take such measures in support of his crown as would convince the world that he reigned in the hearts of his people.

§ VI. He had, in his answer to their former address, assured them of his constant regard to the rights and prosperity of the nation: he had explained the exhausted state of the Dutch, expatiated upon the zeal of that republic for the interests of Britain, and the maintenance of the protestant religion; expressed his hope that the English parliament would not only repay the sums they had expended in his expedition; but, likewise farther support them to the utmost of their ability against the common enemies of their liberties and religion. He had observed that a considerable army and fleet would be necessary for the reduction of Ireland, and the protection of Britain; and he desired they would settle the revenue in such a manner, that it might be collected without difficulty and dispute. The sum total of the money expended by the states-general in William's expedition, amounted to seven millions of guilders, and the commons granted six hundred thousand pounds for the discharge of this debt, incurred for the preservation of their rights and religion. They voted funds for raising and maintaining an army of two and twenty thousand men, as well as for equipping a numerous fleet; but, they provided for no more than half a year's subsistence of the troops, hoping the reduction of Ireland might be finished in that term; and this instance of frugality the king considered as a mark of their diffidence of his administration. The Whigs were resolved to supply him gradually, that he might be the more dependent upon their zeal and attachment; but, he was not at all pleased with their precaution.

§ VII. William was naturally biased to calvinism, and averse to persecution. Whatever promises he had made, and whatever sentiments of respect he entertained for the church of England, he seemed now in a great measure alienated from it, by the opposition he had met with from its members, particularly from the bishops who had thwarted his measures; who had, by absenting themselves from parliament, and refusing the oath, plainly disowned his title, and renounced his government. He therefore resolved to mortify the church, and gratify his own friends at the same time, by removing the obstacles affixed to nonconformity, that all protestant dissenters should be rendered capable of enjoying and exercis-

"Will you, to your power, cause law and justice in mercy to be executed in all your judgments?" "I will." "Will you, to the utmost of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel, and the protestant reformed religion as by law established? and will you preserve unto the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to

their charge, all such rights and privileges as by law, do, or shall appertain unto them or any of them?"

"All this I promise to do."

Then the king or queen laying his or her hand upon the gospels, shall say, "The things which I have here before promised, I will perform and keep. So help me God."

ing civil employments. When he gave his assent to the bill for suspending the Habeas corpus act, he recommended the establishment of a new oath in lieu of those of allegiance and supremacy: he expressed his hope that they would leave room for the admission of all his protestant subjects who should be found qualified for the service: he said, such a conjunction would unite them the more firmly among themselves, and strengthen them against their common adversaries. In consequence of this hint, a clause was inserted in the bill for abrogating the old and appointing the new oaths, by which the sacramental test was declared unnecessary in rendering any person capable of enjoying any office or employment. It was, however, rejected by a great majority in the house of lords. Another clause for the same purpose, though in different terms, was proposed by the king's direction, and met with the same fate, though in both cases several noblemen entered a protest against the resolution of the house. These fruitless efforts in favour of dissenters, augmented the prejudice of the churchmen against king William, who would have willingly compromised the difference, by excusing the clergy from the oaths, provided the dissenters might be exempted from the sacramental test; but, this was deemed the chief bulwark of the church, and therefore the proposal was rejected. The church-party in the house of lords moved, that instead of inserting a clause, obliging the clergy to take the oaths, the king should be impowered to tender them; and in case of their refusal, they should incur the penalty, because deprivation or the apprehensions of it, might make them desperate, and excite them to form designs against the government. This argument had no weight with the commons, who thought it was indispensably necessary to exact the oaths of the clergy, as their example influenced the kingdom in general, and the youth of the nation were formed under their instructions. After a long and warm debate, all the mitigation that could be obtained, was a clause to impower the king to indulge any twelve clergymen deprived by virtue of this act, with a third part of their benefices during pleasure. Thus the antient oaths of allegiance and supremacy were abrogated; the declaration of non-resistance in the act of uniformity, was repealed: the new oath of allegiance was reduced to its primitive simplicity; and the coronation-oath rendered more explicit. The clergy were enjoined to take the new oaths before the first day of August, on pain of being suspended from their office for six months, and of intire deprivation, in case they should not take them before the expiration of this term. They generally complied, though with such reservations and distinctions as were not much for the honour of their sincerity.

§ VIII. The king, though baffled in his design against the sacramental test, resolved to indulge the dissenters with a toleration; and a bill for this purpose being prepared by the earl of Nottingham, was, after some debate, passed into a law, under the title of, An act for exempting their majesties protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws. It enacted, That none of the penal laws should be construed to extend to those dissenters who should take the oaths to the present government, and subscribe the declaration of the thirtieth year in the reign of Charles II. provided, that they should hold no private assemblies or conventicles with the doors shut; and that nothing should be construed to exempt them from the payment of tythes or other parochial duties; That, in case of being chosen in the offices of constable, church-

church-warden, overseer, &c. and of scrupling to take the oaths annexed to such offices, they should be allowed to execute the employment by deputy: That the preachers and teachers in congregations of dissenting protestants, who shall take the oaths, subscribe the declaration, together with all the articles of religion, except the thirty-fourth and the two succeeding articles, and part of the twentieth, should be exempted from the penalties decreed against nonconformists, as well as from serving upon juries, or acting in parish-offices: yet all justices of the peace were empowered to require such dissenters to subscribe the declaration, and take the oaths; and in case of refusal, to commit them to prison, without bail or mainprize. The same indulgence was extended to anabaptists, and even to quakers, on their solemn promise, before God, to be faithful to the king and queen, and their assenting by profession and asseveration to those articles which the others ratified upon oath: they were likewise required to profess their belief in the Trinity and the Holy Scriptures. Even the papists felt the benign influence of William's moderation in spiritual matters: he rejected the proposals of some zealots, who exhorted him to enact severe laws against popish recusants. Such a measure, he observed, would alienate all the papists of Europe from the interests of England, and might produce a new catholic league, which would render the war a religious quarrel; besides, he could not pretend to screen the protestants of Germany and Hungary, while he himself should persecute the catholics of England. He therefore resolved to treat them with lenity; and though they were not comprehended in the act, they enjoyed the benefit of the toleration.

§ IX. We have observed, that in consequence of the motion made by the bishops when they withdrew from parliament, a bill was brought into the house of lords, for uniting their majesties protestant subjects. This was extremely agreeable to the king, who had the scheme of comprehension very much at heart. In the progress of the bill a warm debate arose about the posture of kneeling at the sacrament, which was given up in favour of the dissenters. Another, no less violent, ensued upon the subsequent question, "Whether there should be an addition of laity in the commission to be given by the king to the bishops and others of the clergy, for preparing such a reformation of ecclesiastical affairs as might be the means of healing divisions, and correcting whatever might be erroneous or defective in the constitution?" A great number of the temporal lords insisted warmly on this addition, and when it was rejected, four peers entered a formal protest. Bishop Burnet was a warm stickler for the exclusion of the laity; and, in all probability, manifested this warmth in hope of ingratiating himself with his brethren, among whom his character was very far from being popular. But, the merit of this sacrifice was destroyed by the arguments he had used for dispensing with the posture of kneeling at the sacrament; and by his proposing in another proviso of the bill, that the subscribers, instead of expressing assent and consent, should only submit, with a promise of conformity.

§ X. The bill was with difficulty passed in the house of lords: but the commons treated it with neglect. By this time a great number of malecontent members, who had retired from parliament, were returned, with a view to thwart the administration, though they could not prevent the settlement. Instead of proceeding with the bill, they presented an address to the king, thanking him for his gracious declaration, and repeated assurances, that he would

maintain the church of England as by law established ; a church whose doctrine and practice had evinced its loyalty beyond all contradiction. They likewise humbly besought his majesty to issue writs for calling a convocation of the clergy, to be consulted in ecclesiastical matters, according to the antient usage of parliaments ; and they declared they would forthwith take into consideration, proper methods for giving ease to protestant dissenters. Though the king was displeased at this address, in which the lords also had concurred, he returned a civil answer, by the mouth of the earl of Nottingham, professing his regard for the church of England, which should always be his peculiar care ; recommending the dissenters to their protection, and promising to summon a convocation as soon as such a measure should be convenient. This message produced no effect in favour of the bill, which lay neglected on the table. Those who moved for it had no other view than that of displaying their moderation ; and now they excited their friends to oppose it with all their interest. Others were afraid of espousing it, lest they should be stigmatized as enemies to the church ; and a great number of the most eminent presbyterians were averse to a scheme of comprehension, which would diminish their strength, and weaken the importance of the party. Being therefore violently opposed on one hand, and but faintly supported on the other, no wonder it miscarried. The king, however, was so bent upon the execution of his design, that it was next session revived in another form, though with no better success.

§ XI. The next object that engrossed the attention of the parliament, was the settlement of a revenue for the support of the government. Hitherto there had been no distinction of what was allotted for the king's use, and what was assigned for the service of the public ; so that the sovereign was intirely master of the whole supply. As the revenue in the late reigns had been often embezzled and misapplied, it was now resolved that a certain sum should be set apart for the maintenance of the king's household, and the support of his dignity ; and that the rest of the public money should be employed under the inspection of parliament. Accordingly, since this period, the commons have appropriated the yearly supplies to certain specified services ; and an account of the application has been constantly submitted to both houses at the next session. At this juncture, the prevailing party, or the Whigs, determined that the revenue should be granted from year to year, or at least for a small term of years, that the king might find himself dependent upon the parliament, and merit a renewal of the grant by a just and popular administration. In pursuance of this maxim, when the revenue fell under consideration, they, on pretence of charges and anticipations, which they had not time to examine, granted it by a provisional act for one year only. The civil list was settled at six hundred thousand pounds, chargeable with the appointments of the queen dowager, the prince and princess of Denmark, the judges, and marechal Schöenberg, to whom the parliament had already granted one hundred thousand pounds, in consideration of his important services to the nation. The commons also voted, that a constant revenue of twelve hundred thousand pounds, should be established for the support of the crown in time of peace.

§ XII. The king took umbrage at these restraints laid upon the application of the public money, which were the most salutary fruits of the revolution. He considered them as marks of diffidence, by which he was distinguished from

from his predecessors; and thought them an ungrateful return for the services he had done the nation. The Tories perceived his disgust, and did not fail to foment his jealousy against their adversaries, which was confirmed by a fresh effort of the Whigs, in relation to a militia. A bill was brought into the house, for regulating it in such a manner as would have rendered it in a great measure independent both of the king and the lords lieutenants of counties. These being generally peers, suffered the bill to lie neglected on the table; but the attempt confirmed the suspicion of the king, who began to think himself in danger of being enslaved by a republican party. The Tories had, by the canal of Nottingham, made proffers of service to his majesty; but complained, at the same time, that as they were in danger of being prosecuted for their lives and fortunes, they could not, without an act of indemnity, exert themselves in favour of the crown, lest they should incur a persecution from their implacable enemies.

§ XIII. These remonstrances made such impression on the king, that he sent a message to the house by Mr. Hambden, recommending a bill of indemnity as the most effectual means for putting an end to all controversies, distinctions, and occasions of discord. He desired it might be prepared with all convenient expedition, and with such exceptions only as should seem necessary for the vindication of public justice, the safety of him and his consort, and the settlement and welfare of the nation. An address of thanks to his majesty was unanimously voted. Nevertheless, his design was frustrated by the backwardness of the Whigs, who proceeded so slowly in the bill, that it could not be brought to maturity before the end of the session. They wanted to keep the scourge over the heads of their enemies, until they should find a proper opportunity for revenge; and, in the mean time, restrain them from opposition, by the terror of impending vengeance. They affected to insinuate that the king's design was to raise the prerogative as high as it had been in the preceding reigns; and for that purpose he pressed an act of indemnity, by virtue of which he might legally use the instruments of the late tyranny. The earls of Monmouth and Warrington industriously infused these jealousies into the minds of their party; while, on the other hand, the earl of Nottingham inflamed William's distrust of his old friends; and both sides succeeded in kindling an animosity, which had like to have produced confusion, notwithstanding the endeavours used by the earls of Shrewsbury and Devonshire to allay those heats, and remove the suspicion that mutually prevailed.

§ XIV. It was now judged expedient to pass an act for settling the succession of the crown, according to the former resolution of the convention. A bill for this purpose was brought into the lower house, with a clause disabling papists from succeeding to the crown: to this the lords added, "Or such as should marry papists," absolving the subject in that case from allegiance. The bishop of Salisbury, by the king's direction, proposed that the princess Sophia dutchess of Hanover, and her posterity, should be nominated in the act of succession, as the next protestant heirs, failing issue of the king, and Anne princess of Denmark. These amendments gave rise to warm debates in the lower house, where they were vigorously opposed, not only by those who wished well in secret to the late king and the lineal succession, but likewise by the republican party, who hoped to see monarchy altogether extinguished in

England, by the death of the three persons already named in the bill of succession. The lords insisted upon their amendments, and several fruitless conferences were held between the two houses. At length the bill was dropped for the present, in consequence of an event which in a great measure dissipated the fears of a popish successor. This was the delivery of the princess Anne, who, on the twenty-seventh day of July, brought forth a son, christened by the name of William, and afterwards created duke of Gloucester.

§ XV. In the midst of these domestic disputes, William did not neglect the affairs of the continent. He retained all his former influence in Holland, as his countrymen had reason to confide in his repeated assurances of inviolable affection. The great scheme which he had projected of a confederacy against France, began at this period to take effect. The princes of the empire assembled in the diet, solemnly exhorted the emperor to declare war against the French king, who had committed numberless infractions of the treaties of Munster, Osnabrug, Nimeguen, and the truce, invaded their country without provocation, and evinced himself an inveterate enemy of the holy Roman empire. They therefore besought his imperial majesty to conclude a treaty of peace with the Turks, who had offered advantageous terms, and come to an open rupture with Lewis; in which case, they would consider it as a war of the empire, and support their head in the most effectual manner. The states-general published a declaration against the common enemy, taxing him with manifold infractions of the treaty of commerce; with having involved the subjects of the republic in the persecution which he had raised against the protestants; with having cajoled and insulted them with deceitful promises and insolent threats; with having plundered and oppressed the Dutch merchants and traders in France; and finally, with having declared war against the states, without any plausible reason assigned. The elector of Brandenburg denounced war against France, as a power whose perfidy, cruelty, and ambition, it was the duty of every prince to oppose. The marquis de Castanaga, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, issued a counter declaration to that of Lewis, who had declared against his master. He accused the French king of having laid waste the empire, without any regard to the obligations of religion and humanity, or even to the laws of war; of having countenanced the most barbarous acts of cruelty and oppression; and of having intrigued with the enemies of Christ for the destruction of the empire. The emperor negotiated an alliance offensive and defensive, with the states-general, binding the contracting parties to co-operate with their whole power against France and her allies. It was stipulated, that neither side should engage in a separate treaty, on any pretence whatsoever: that no peace should be admitted, until the treaties of Westphalia, Osnabrug, Munster, and the Pyrenees, should have been vindicated: that in case of a negotiation for a peace or truce, the transactions on both sides should be communicated bona fide; and that Spain and England should be invited to accede to the treaty. In a separate article, the contracting powers agreed, that in case of the Spanish king's dying without issue, the states-general should assist the emperor with all their forces to take possession of that monarchy: That they should use their friendly endeavours with the princes electors their allies, towards elevating his son Joseph to the dignity of king of the

the Romans; and employ their utmost force against France, should she attempt to oppose his elevation.

§ XVI. William, who was the soul of this confederacy, found no difficulty in persuading the English to undertake a war against their old enemies and rivals. On the sixteenth day of April, Mr. Hambden made a motion for taking into consideration the state of the kingdom with respect to France, and foreign alliances; and the commons unanimously resolved, that in case his majesty should think fit to engage in a war with France, they would, in a parliamentary way, enable him to carry it on with vigour. An address was immediately drawn up, and presented to the king, desiring he would seriously consider the destructive methods taken of late years by the French king, against the trade, quiet, and interest of the nation, particularly his present invasion of Ireland, and supporting the rebels in that kingdom. They did not doubt but the alliances already made with such as might hereafter be concluded by his majesty, would be sufficient to reduce the French king to such a condition, that it should not be in his power to violate the peace of Christendom; nor prejudice the trade and prosperity of England: in the mean time they assured his majesty he might depend upon the assistance of his parliament, according to the vote which had passed in the house of commons. This was a welcome address to king William, who assured them that no part of the supplies which they might grant for the prosecution of the war, should be misapplied; and, on the seventh day of May, he declared war against the French monarch. On this occasion Lewis was charged with having ambitiously invaded the territories of the emperor, and denounced war against the allies of England, in violation of the treaties confirmed under the guaranty of the English crown; with having encroached upon the fishery of Newfoundland, invaded the Caribbee islands, taken forcible possession of New York and Hudson's bay, made depredations on the English at sea, prohibited the importation of English manufactures, disputed the right of the flag, persecuted many English subjects on account of religion, contrary to express treaties and the law of nations; and sent an armament to Ireland, in support of the rebels in that kingdom.

§ XVII. Having thus described the progress of the revolution in England, we shall now briefly explain the measures that were prosecuted in Scotland, towards the establishment of William on the throne of that kingdom. The meeting of the Scottish convention was fixed for the fourteenth day of March; and both parties employed all their interest to influence the election of members. The duke of Hamilton, and all the presbyterians, declared for William. The duke of Gordon maintained the castle of Edinburgh for his old master; but, as he had neglected to lay in a store of provisions, he depended entirely upon the citizens for subsistence. The partisans of James were headed by the earl of Balcarras, and Graham viscount Dundee, who employed their endeavours to preserve union among the individuals of their party; to confirm the duke of Gordon, who began to waver in his attachment to their sovereign; and to manage their intrigues in such a manner as to derive some advantage to their cause from the transactions of the ensuing session. When the lords and commons assembled at Edinburgh, the bishop of that diocese, who officiated as chaplain to the convention, prayed for the restoration of king James. The first dispute turned upon the choice of a president. The friends of the late king

king set up the marquis of Athol in opposition to the duke of Hamilton; but this last was elected by a considerable majority; and a good number of the other party finding their cause the weakest, deserted it from that moment. The earls of Lothian and Tweeddale were sent as deputies, to require the duke of Gordon, in the name of the estates, to quit the castle in four and twenty hours, and leave the charge of it to the protestant officer next in command. The duke, though in himself irresolute, was animated by Dundee to demand such conditions as the convention would not grant. The negotiation proving ineffectual, the estates ordered the heralds, in all their formalities, to summon him to surrender the castle immediately, on pain of incurring the penalties of high treason; and he refusing to obey their mandate, was proclaimed a traitor. All persons were forbid, under the same penalties, to aid, succour, or correspond with him; and the castle was blocked up by the troops of the city.

§ XVIII. Next day an express arrived from London, with a letter from king William to the states; and at the same time, another from James was presented by one Crane an English domestic of the abdicated queen. William observed that he had called a meeting of their estates, at the desire of the nobility and gentry of Scotland assembled at London, who requested that he would take upon himself the administration of their affairs. He exhorted them to concert measures for settling the peace of the kingdom upon a solid foundation; and to lay aside animosities and factions, which served only to impede that salutary settlement. He professed himself sensible of the good effects that would arise from an union of the two kingdoms; and assured them he would use his best endeavours to promote such a coalition. A committee being appointed to draw up a respectful answer to these assurances, a debate ensued about the letter from the late king James, which they resolved to favour with a reading, after the members should have subscribed an act, declaring, that notwithstanding any thing that might be contained in the letter for dissolving the convention or impeding their procedure, they were a free and lawful meeting of the states; and would continue undissolved, until they should have settled and secured the protestant religion, the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom. Having taken this precaution, they proceeded to examine the letter of their late sovereign, who conjured them to support his interest as faithful subjects, and eternize their names by a loyalty suitable to their former professions. He said he would not fail to give them such speedy and powerful assistance as would enable them to defend themselves from any foreign attempt; and even to assert his right against those enemies who had depressed it by the blackest usurpations and unnatural attempts, which the Almighty God would not allow to pass unpunished. He offered pardon to all those who should return to their duty before the last day of the month; and threatened to punish rigorously such as should stand out in rebellion against him and his authority.

§ XIX. This address produced very little effect in favour of the unfortunate exile, whose friends were greatly outnumbered in this assembly. His messenger was ordered into custody, and afterwards dismissed with a pass instead of an answer. James foreseeing this contempt, had, by an instrument dated in Ireland, authorised the archbishop of Glasgow, the earl of Balcarres, and the viscount Dundee, to call a convention of the estates at Stirling. These
three

three depended on the interest of the marquis of Athol and the earl of Mar, who professed the warmest affection for the late king; and they hoped a secession of their friends would embarrass the convention, so as to retard the settlement of king William. Their expectations, however, were disappointed. Athol deserted their cause; Mar suffered himself to be intercepted in his retreat; the rest of their party were, by the vigilance of the duke of Hamilton, prevented from leaving the convention, except the viscount of Dundee, who retreated to the mountains with about fifty horse, and was pursued by order of the estates. This design being frustrated, the convention approved and recognized, by a solemn act, the conduct of the nobility and gentlemen who had intreated the king of England to take upon him the administration. They acknowledged their obligation to the prince of Orange, who had prevented the destruction of their laws, religion, and fundamental constitution: they besought his highness to assume the reins of government for that kingdom: they issued a proclamation, requiring all persons, from sixteen to sixty, to be in readiness to take arms when called upon for that purpose: they conferred the command of their horse-militia upon Sir Patrick Hume, who was attainted for having been concerned in Argyle's insurrection: they levied eight hundred men for a guard to the city of Edinburgh, and constituted the earl of Leven their commander: they put the militia all over the kingdom into the hands of those on whom they could rely: they created the earl of Mar governor of Stirling castle: they received a reinforcement of five regiments from England, under the command of Mackay, whom they appointed their general; and they issued orders for securing all disaffected persons. Then they dispatched lord Ross, with an answer to king William's letter, professing their gratitude to their deliverer, congratulating him upon his success, thanking him for assuming the administration of their affairs, and assembling a convention of their estates, declaring they would take effectual and speedy measures for securing the protestant religion, as well as for establishing the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom; assuring him they would, as much as lay in their power, avoid disputes and animosities; and desiring the continuance of his majesty's care and protection.

§ XX. After the departure of lord Ross, they appointed a committee, consisting of eight lords, eight knights, and as many burgesses, to prepare the plan of a new settlement: but this resolution was not taken without a vigorous opposition from some remaining adherents of the late king, headed by the archbishop of Glasgow, all the other prelates, except he of Edinburgh, having already deserted the convention. After warm debates, the committee agreed in the following vote. "The estates of the kingdom of Scotland find and declare, That king James VII. being a professed papist, did assume the royal power, and act as a king, without ever taking the oath required by law; and had, by the advice of evil and wicked counsellors, invaded the fundamental constitution of this kingdom, and altered it from a legal and limited monarchy, to an arbitrary despotic power; and had governed the same to the subversion of the protestant religion, and violation of the laws and liberties of the nation, inverting all the ends of government; whereby he had forfeited the right of the crown, and the throne was become vacant." When this vote was reported, the bishop of Edinburgh argued strenuously against it, as containing

taining a charge of which the king was innocent; and he proposed that his majesty should be invited to return to his Scottish dominions. All his arguments were defeated or over-ruled; the house confirmed the vote, which was immediately enacted into a law by a great majority. The lord president declared the throne vacant, and proposed that it might be filled with William and Mary, king and queen of England. The committee was ordered to prepare an act for settling the crown upon their majesties, together with an instrument of government for securing the subjects from the grievances under which they laboured.

§ XXI. On the eleventh day of April, this act, with the conditions of inheritance, and the instrument, were reported, considered, unanimously approved, and solemnly proclaimed at the market-cross of Edinburgh, in presence of the lord president, assisted by the lord provost and magistracy of the city, the duke of Queensberry, the marquisses of Athol and Douglas, together with a great number of the nobility and gentry. At the same time they published another proclamation, forbidding all persons to acknowledge, obey, assist, or correspond, with the late king James; or by word, writing, or sermon, to dispute or disown the royal authority of king William and queen Mary, or to misconstrue the proceedings of the estates, or create jealousies or misapprehensions with regard to the transactions of the government, on pain of incurring the most severe penalties. Then, having settled the coronation-oath, they granted a commission to the earl of Argyle for the lords, Sir James Montgomery for the knights, and Sir John Dalrymple for the boroughs, empowering them to repair to London, and invest their majesties with the government. This affair being discussed, the convention appointed a committee to take care of the public peace, and adjourned to the twenty-first day of May. On the eleventh day of that month, the Scottish commissioners being introduced to their majesties at Whitehall, presented first a preparatory letter from the estates, then the instrument of government, with a paper containing a recital of the grievances of the nation; and an address, desiring his majesty to convert the convention into a parliament. The king having graciously promised to concur with them in all just measures for the interest of the kingdom, the coronation-oath was tendered to their majesties by the earl of Argyle. As it contained a clause, importing, that they should root out heresy, the king declared, that he did not mean by these words, that he should be under an obligation to act as a persecutor: the commissioners replying, that such was not the meaning or import of the oath, he desired them, and others present, to bear witness to the exception he had made.

§ XXII. In the mean time, lord Dundee exerted himself with uncommon activity in behalf of his master. He had been summoned by a trumpet to return to the convention; but refused to obey the citation, on pretence that the Whigs had made an attempt upon his life; and that the deliberations of the estates were influenced by the neighbourhood of English troops, under the command of Mackay. He was forthwith declared a fugitive, outlaw, and rebel. He was rancorously hated by the prebyterians, on whom he had exercised some cruelties, as an officer under the former government; and for this reason the states resolved to inflict upon him exemplary punishment. Parties were detached in pursuit of him and Balcarras. This last fell into their hands,

hands, and was committed to a common prison; but Dundee fought his way through the troops that surrounded him, and escaped to the Highlands, where he determined to take arms in favour of James, though that prince had forbid him to make any attempt of that nature, until he should receive a reinforcement from Ireland. While this officer was employed in assembling the clans of his party, king William appointed the duke of Hamilton commissioner to the convention parliament. The post of secretary for Scotland was bestowed upon lord Melvil, a weak and servile nobleman, who had taken refuge in Holland from the violences of the late reigns; but the king depended chiefly for advice upon Dalrymple lord Stair, president of the college of justice, an old crafty fanatic, who for fifty years had complied in all things with all governments. Though these were rigid presbyterians, the king, to humour the opposite party, admitted some individuals of the episcopal nobility to the council-board; and this intermixture, instead of allaying animosities, served only to sow the seeds of discord and confusion. The Scottish convention, in their detail of grievances, enumerated the lords of the articles; the act of parliament in the reign of Charles II. by which the king's supremacy was raised so high that he could prescribe any mode of religion according to his pleasure; and the superiority of any office in the church, above that of presbyters. The king, in his instructions to the lord commissioner, consented to a regulation of the lords of the articles, though he would not allow the institution to be abrogated: he was contented that the act relating to the king's supremacy should be rescinded; and that the church-government should be established in such a manner as would be most agreeable to the inclinations of the people.

§ XXIII. On the seventeenth day of June, duke Hamilton opened the Scottish parliament, after the convention had assumed this name, in consequence of an act passed by his majesty's direction: but the members in general were extremely chagrined when they found the commissioners so much restricted in the affair of the lords of the articles, which they considered as their chief grievance*. The king permitted that the estates should chuse the lords by their own suffrages; and that they should be at liberty to reconsider any subject which the said lords might reject. He afterwards indulged the three estates with the choice of eleven delegates each, for this committee, to be elected monthly, or oftener, if they should think fit; but even these concessions proved unsatisfactory, while the institution itself remained. Their discontents were not even appeased by the passing of an act, abolishing prelacy. Indeed their resentment was inflamed by another consideration; namely, that of the king's having given seats in the council to some individuals attached to the hierarchy. They manifested their sentiments on this subject by bringing in a bill, excluding from any public trust, place, or employment, under their ma-

* The lords of the articles, by the gradual usurpation of the crown, actually constituted a grievance intolerable in a free nation. The king empowered the commissioner to chuse eight bishops, whom he authorized to nominate eight noblemen: these together chose eight barons, and eight burgesses; and this whole number, in conjunction with the officers of state as supernu-

meraries, constituted the lords of the articles. This committee possessed the sole exclusive right and liberty of bringing in motions, making overtures for redressing wrongs, and proposing means and expedients for the relief, safety, and benefit of the subjects. Proceedings of the Scottish parliament vindicated.

jesties, all such as had been concerned in the encroachments of the late reign, or had discovered disaffection to the late happy change; or in any way retarded or obstructed the designs of the convention. This measure was prosecuted with great warmth; and the bill passed through all the forms of the house, but proved ineffectual for want of the royal assent.

§ XXIV. Nor were they less obstinate in the affair of the judges, whom the king had ventured to appoint by virtue of his own prerogative. The malecontents brought in a bill, declaring the bench vacant as it was at the restoration; asserting their own right to examine and approve those who should be appointed to fill it: providing, that if in time to come, any such total vacancy should occur, the nomination should be in the king, or queen, or regent for the time being, and the parliament retain the right of approbation; and that all the clauses in the several acts relating to the admission of the ordinary lords of session, and their qualifications for that office should be ratified and confirmed for perpetual observation. Such was the interest of this party, that the bill was carried by a great majority, notwithstanding the opposition of the ministers, who resolved to maintain the king's nomination even in defiance of a parliamentary resolution. The majority, exasperated at this open violation of their privileges, forbade the judges whom the king had appointed, to open their commissions, or hold a session until his majesty's further pleasure should be known: on the other hand, they were compelled to act by the menaces of the privy-council. The dispute was carried on with great acrimony on both sides, and produced such a ferment, that before the session opened, the ministry thought proper to draw a great number of forces into the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, to support the judges in the exercise of their functions.

§ XXV. The lord-commissioner, alarmed at this scene of tumult and confusion, adjourned the house till the eighth day of October; a step, which added to the other unpopular measures of the court, incensed the opposition to such a degree, that they drew up a remonstrance to the king, complaining of this adjournment while the nation was yet unsettled, recapitulating the several instances in which they had expressed their zeal and affection for his majesty; explaining their reasons for dissenting from the ministry in some articles; beseeching him to consider what they had represented; to give his royal assent to the acts of parliament which they had prepared, and take measures for redressing all the other grievances of the nation. This address was presented to the king at Hampton-court, and he was so touched with the reproaches it implied, as if he had not fulfilled the conditions on which he accepted the crown of Scotland, that he, in his own vindication, published his instructions to the commissioner; and by these it appeared, that the duke might have proceeded to greater lengths in obliging his countrymen. Before the adjournment, however, the parliament had granted the revenue for life; and raised money for maintaining a body of forces, as well as for supporting the incidental expence of the government for some months: yet part of the troops in that kingdom were supplied and subsisted by the administration of England. In consequence of these disputes in the Scottish parliament, their church was left without any settled form of government; for, though the hierarchy was abolished, the presbyterian discipline was not yet established, and ecclesiastical affairs were occasionally regulated by the
privy;

privy-council, deriving its authority from that very act of supremacy, which, according to the claim of rights, ought to have been repealed.

§ XXVI. The session was no sooner adjourned, than Sir John Ianier converted the blockade of Edinburgh-castle into a regular siege, which was prosecuted with such vigour, that in a little time the fortifications were ruined, and the works advanced to the foot of the walls, in which the besiegers had made several large breaches. The duke of Gordon finding his ammunition expended, his defences destroyed, his intelligence intirely cut off, and despairing of relief from the adherents of his master, desired to capitulate, and obtained very favourable terms for his garrison; but, he would not stipulate any conditions for himself, declaring, that he had so much respect for all the princes descended from king James VI. that he would not affront any of them so far as to insist upon terms for his own particular; he therefore, on the thirteenth day of June, surrendered the castle and himself at discretion. All the hopes of James and his party were now concentrated in the viscount of Dundee, who had assembled a body of Highlanders, and resolved to attack Mackay, on an assurance he had received by message, that the regiment of Scottish dragoons would desert that officer, and join him in the action. Mackay having received intimation of this design, decamped immediately, and by long marches retired before Dundee, until he was reinforced by Ramsey's dragoons, and another regiment of English infantry; then he faced about, and Dundee in his turn retreated into Lochaber. Lord Murray, son of the marquis of Athole, assembled his vassals to the number of twelve hundred men for the service of the regency; but, he was betrayed by one of his own dependants, who seized the castle of Blair for Dundee, and prevailed upon the Athol men to disperse rather than fight against James their lawful sovereign.

§ XXVII. The viscount was by this time reduced to great difficulty and distress. His men had not for many weeks tasted bread or salt, or any drink but water: Instead of five hundred infantry, three hundred horse, with a supply of arms, ammunition, and provision, which James had promised to send from Ireland, he received a reinforcement of three hundred naked recruits; but, the transports with the stores fell into the hands of the English. Though this was a mortifying disappointment, he bore it without repining; and, far from abandoning himself to despair, began his march to the castle of Blair, which was threatened with a siege by general Mackay. When he reached this fortress, he received intelligence that the enemy had entered the pass of Killycrankie, and resolved to give them battle without delay. He accordingly advanced against them; and a furious engagement ensued, though it was not of long duration. The Highlanders having received and returned the fire of the English, fell in among them sword in hand with such impetuosity, that the foot were utterly broke in seven minutes. The dragoons fled at the first charge in the utmost consternation: Dundee's horse, not exceeding one hundred, broke through Mackay's own regiment: the earl of Dumbarton, at the head of a few volunteers made himself master of the artillery: twelve hundred of Mackay's forces were killed on the spot, five hundred taken prisoners, and the rest fled with great precipitation for some hours, until they were rallied by their general, who was an officer of approved courage, conduct, and experience. Nothing could be more complete or decisive than the victory which the Highlanders obtained;

yet it was dearly purchased with the death of their beloved chieftain the viscount of Dundee, who fell by a random shot in the engagement, and his fate produced such confusion in his army as prevented all pursuit. He possessed an enterprising spirit, undaunted courage, inviolable fidelity, and was peculiarly qualified to command the people who fought under his banner. He was the life and soul of that cause which he espoused; and after his death it daily declined into ruin and disgrace. He was succeeded in command by colonel Cannon, who landed the reinforcement from Ireland; but, all his designs miscarried: so that the clans, wearied with repeated misfortunes, laid down their arms by degrees, and took the benefit of a pardon, which king William offered to those who should submit within the time specified in his proclamation.

§ XXVIII. After this sketch of Scottish affairs, it will be necessary to take a retrospective view of James, and relate the particulars of his expedition to Ireland. That unfortunate prince and his queen were received with the most cordial hospitality by the French monarch, who assigned the castle of St. Germain for the place of their residence, supported their household with great magnificence, enriched them with presents, and undertook to re-establish them on the throne of England. James, however, conducted himself in such a manner as conveyed no favourable idea of his spirit and understanding. He seemed to have been emasculated by religion; he was deserted by that courage and magnanimity for which his youth had been distinguished. He did not discover great sensibility at the loss of his kingdom. All his faculties were swallowed up in bigotry. Instead of contriving plans for retrieving his crown, he held conferences with the jesuits on topics of religion. The pity which his misfortunes excited in Lewis was mingled with contempt. The pope supplied him with indulgences, while the Romans laughed at him in pasquinades; "There is a pious man, said the archbishop of Rheims, (ironically) who has sacrificed three crowns for a mass." In a word, he subjected himself to the ridicule and raillery of the French nation.

§ XXIX. All the hope of reascending the British throne depended upon his friends in Scotland and Ireland. Tyrconnel, who commanded in this last kingdom was confirmed in his attachment to James, by the persuasions of Hamilton, who had undertaken for his submission to the prince of Orange. Nevertheless, he disguised his sentiments, and temporized with William, until James should be able to supply him with reinforcements from France, which he earnestly solicited by private messages. In the mean time, with a view to cajole the protestants of Ireland, and amuse king William with hope of his submission, he persuaded the lord Mountjoy, in whom the protestants chiefly confided, and baron Rice, to go in person with a commission to James, representing the necessity of yielding to the times; and of waiting a fitter opportunity to make use of his Irish subjects. Mountjoy, on his arrival at Paris, instead of being favoured with an audience by James, to explain the reasons which Tyrconnel had suggested touching the inability of Ireland to restore his majesty, was committed prisoner to the Bastille, on account of the zeal with which he had espoused the protestant interest. Although Lewis was sincerely disposed to assist James effectually, his intentions were obstructed by the disputes of his ministry. Louvois possessed the chief credit in council; but, Seignelai enjoyed a greater share of personal favour, both with the king and madam de Maintenon. To this nobleman, as secretary for ma-

rine affairs, James made his chief application; and he had promised the command of the troops destined for his service, to Laufun, whom Louvois hated. For these reasons this minister thwarted his measures, and retarded the assistance which Lewis had promised towards his restoration.

§ XXX. Yet, notwithstanding all his opposition, the succours were prepared, and the fleet ready to put to sea by the latter end of February. The French king is said to have offered an army of fifteen thousand natives of France to serve in this expedition; but, James replied, that he would succeed by the help of his own subjects, or perish in the attempt. Accordingly he contented himself with about twelve hundred British subjects * and a good number of French officers, who were embarked in the fleet at Brest, consisting of fourteen ships of the line, seven frigates, three fireships, with a good number of transports. The French king also supplied him with a considerable quantity of arms for the use of his adherents in Ireland; accommodated him with a large sum of money, superb equipages, store of plate, and necessaries of all kinds for the camp and the household. At parting, he presented him with his own cuirass, and embracing him affectionately, "The best thing I can wish you (said he) is "that I may never see you again." On the seventh day of March James embarked at Brest, together with the count D'Avaux, who accompanied him in quality of ambassador, and his principal officers. He was detained in the harbour by contrary winds till the seventeenth day of the month, when he set sail, and on the twenty-second landed at Kinsale in Ireland. By this time, king William perceiving himself amused by Tyrconnel, had published a declaration, requiring the Irish to lay down their arms, and submit to the new government. On the twenty-second day of February thirty ships of war had been put in commission, and the command of them conferred upon admiral Herbert; but, the armament was retarded in such a manner by the disputes of the council, and the king's attention to the affairs of the continent, that the admiral was not in a condition to sail till the beginning of April, and then with part of his fleet only. James was received with open arms at Kinsale, and the whole country seemed to be at his devotion; for, although the protestants in the North had declared for the new government, their strength and number was deemed considerable when compared with the power of Tyrconnel, who had disarmed all the other protestant subjects in one day, and assembled an army of thirty thousand foot, and eight thousand cavalry for the service of his master.

§ XXXI. In the latter end of March, James made his public entry into Dublin, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. He was met at the castle-gate by a procession of popish bishops and priests in their pontificals, bearing the

* James in this expedition was attended by the duke of Berwick and Mr. Fitzjames grand prior, the duke of Powis, the earls of Dover, Melfort, Abercorn, and Seaforth; the lords Henry and Thomas Howard, the lords Drummond, Dungan, Trendraught, Buchan, Hunsdon, and Brittas; the bishops of Chester and Galway, the late lord-chief-justice Herbert; the marquis D'Estades, Mr. de Rozen marechal de camp; Mamoo, Puffin, and Lori lieutenant-generals, Prontee engineer-general; the marquis de Albeville, Sir

John Sparrow, Sir Roger Strickland, Sir William Jennings, Sir Henry Bond, Sir Charles Carney, Sir Edward Vaudrey, Sir Charles Murray, Sir Robert Parker, Sir Alphonso Maiolo, Sir Samuel Foxon, and Sir William Wallis; the colonels Porter, Sarsfield, Anthony and John Hamilton, Simon and Henry Lutterel, Ramsay, Dorrington, Sutherland, Clifford, Parker, Purcel, Cannon, and Fielding, with about two and twenty other officers of inferior rank.

host, which he publicly adored. He dismissed from the council-board, the lord Granard, judge Keating, and other protestants, who had exhorted the lord-lieutenant to an accommodation with the new government. In their room he admitted the French ambassador, the bishop of Chester, colonel Dorrington, and by degrees, the principal noblemen who accompanied him in the expedition. On the second day after his arrival in Dublin, he issued five proclamations: the first recalling all the subjects of Ireland who had abandoned the kingdom, by a certain time, on pain of outlawry and confiscation; and requiring all persons to join him against the prince of Orange. The second contained expressions of acknowledgment to his catholic subjects for their vigilance and fidelity; and an injunction to such as were not actually in his service, to retain and lay up their arms until it should be found necessary to use them for his advantage. By the third he invited the subjects to supply his army with provisions; and prohibited the soldiers to take any thing without payment. By the fourth he raised the value of the current coin. And in the fifth he summoned a parliament, to meet on the seventh day of May at Dublin. Finally, he created Tyrconnel a duke, in consideration of his eminent services.

§ XXXII. The adherents of James in England pressed him to settle the affairs of Ireland immediately, and bring over his army either to the north of England, or the west of Scotland, where it might be joined by his party, and act without delay against the usurper; but, his council dissuaded him from complying with their solicitations, until Ireland should be totally reduced to obedience. On the first alarm of an intended massacre, the protestants of Londonderry had shut their gates against the regiment commanded by the earl of Antrim; and resolved to defend themselves against the lord-lieutenant. They transmitted this resolution to the government of England, together with an account of the danger they incurred by such a vigorous measure; and implored immediate assistance. They were accordingly supplied with some arms and ammunition; but, did not receive any considerable reinforcement till the middle of April, when two regiments arrived in Loughfoyl, under the command of Cunningham and Richards. By this time king James had taken Coleraine, invested Killmore, and was almost in sight of Londonderry. George Walker, rector of Donaghmore, who had raised a regiment for the defence of the protestants, conveyed this intelligence to Lundy the governor. This officer directed him to join colonel Crafter, and take post at the Long-causey, which he maintained a whole night against the advanced guard of the enemy, until being overpowered by numbers, he retreated to Londonderry, and exhorted the governor to take the field, as the army of king James was not yet completely formed. Lundy assembling a council of war, at which Cunningham and Richards assisted, they agreed, that as the place was not tenable, it would be imprudent to land the two regiments; and that the principal officers should withdraw themselves from Londonderry, the inhabitants of which would obtain the more favourable capitulation in consequence of their retreat. An officer was immediately dispatched to king James, with proposals of a negotiation; and lieutenant-general Hamilton agreed, that the army should halt at the distance of four miles from the town. Notwithstanding this preliminary, James advanced at the head of his troops; but met with such a warm reception from the besieged, that he was fain to retire to St. John's town in some disorder. The inhabitants
and

and soldiers in garrison at Londonderry were so incensed at the members of the council of war, who had resolved to abandon the place, that they threatened immediate vengeance. Cunningham and Richards retired to their ships; and Lundy locked himself in his chamber. In vain did Walker and major Baker exhort him to maintain his government. Such was his cowardice or treachery, that he absolutely refused to be concerned in the defence of the place; and he was suffered to escape in disguise, with a load of match upon his back: but, he was afterwards apprehended in Scotland, from whence he was sent to London, to answer for his perfidy or misconduct.

§ XXXIII. After his retreat, the townsmen chose Mr. Walker and major Baker for their governors, with joint-authority; but, this office they would not undertake, until it had been offered to colonel Cunningham as the officer next in command to Lundy. He rejected the proposal, and with Richards returned to England, where they were immediately cashiered. The two new governors, thus abandoned to their fate, began to prepare for a vigorous defence; and indeed their courage seems to have transcended the bounds of discretion; for, the place was very ill fortified: their cannon, which did not exceed twenty pieces, were wretchedly mounted; they had not one engineer to direct their operations; they had a very small number of horse; the garrison consisted of people unacquainted with military discipline; they were destitute of provisions; they were besieged by a king in person, at the head of a formidable army, directed by good officers, and supplied with all the necessary implements for a siege or battle. This town was invested on the twentieth day of April; the batteries were soon opened; and several attacks were made with great impetuosity: but, the besiegers were always repulsed with considerable loss. The townsmen gained divers advantages in repeated sallies; and would have held their enemies in the utmost contempt, had not they been afflicted with a contagious distemper, and reduced to extremity by want of provision. They were even tantalized in their distress; for, they had the mortification to see some ships which had arrived with supplies from England, prevented from sailing up the river by the batteries the enemy had raised on both sides, and a boom with which they had blocked up the channel. At length, a reinforcement arrived in the Lough, under the command of general Kirke, who had deserted his master and been employed in the service of king William. He found means to convey intelligence to Walker, that he had troops and provisions on board for their relief; but, found it impracticable to sail up the river: he promised, however, that he would land a body of forces at the Inch, and endeavour to make a diversion in their favour, when joined by the troops at Inniskillen, which amounted to five thousand men, including two thousand cavalry. He said he expected six thousand men from England, where they were embarked before he set sail. He exhorted them to persevere in their courage and loyalty, and assured them he would come to their relief at all hazards. These assurances enabled them to bear their miseries a little longer, though their numbers daily diminished; and major Baker dying, his place was filled with colonel Michelburn, who now acted as colleague to Mr. Walker.

§ XXXIV. King James having returned to Dublin to be present at the parliament, the command of his army devolved to the French general Rosene, who was exasperated at such an obstinate opposition by a handful of half-starved

starved militia. He threatened to raze the town to its foundations, and destroy the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, unless they would immediately submit themselves to their lawful sovereign. The governors treated his menaces with contempt; and published an order, that no person, on pain of death, should talk of surrendering. They had now consumed the last remains of their provision, and supported life by eating the flesh of horses, dogs, cats, rats, mice, tallow, starch, and salted hides; and even this loathsome food began to fail. Rosene finding them deaf to all his proposals, threatened to wreak his vengeance on all the protestants of that country, and drive them under the walls of Londonderry, where they should be suffered to perish by famine. The bishop of Meath being informed of this design, complained to king James of the barbarous intention, intreating his majesty to prevent its being put in execution. That prince assured him that he had already ordered Rosene to desist from such proceedings. Nevertheless, he executed his threats with the utmost rigour. Parties of dragoons were detached on this cruel service, and after having stripped all the protestants for thirty miles round, they drove these unhappy people before them like cattle; without even sparing the enfeebled old men, nurses with infants at their breasts, tender children, women just delivered, and some even in the pangs of labour. Above four thousand of these miserable objects were driven under the walls of Londonderry. This expedient, far from answering the purpose of Rosene, produced a quite contrary effect. The besieged were so exasperated at this act of inhumanity, that they resolved to perish rather than submit to such a barbarian. They erected a gibbet in sight of the enemy, and sent a message to the French general, importing, That they would hang all the prisoners they had taken during the siege, unless the protestants whom they had driven under the walls, should be immediately dismissed. This threat produced a negotiation, in consequence of which the protestants were released, after they had been detained three days without tasting food. Some hundreds died of famine or fatigue; and those who lived to return to their own habitations, found them plundered and sacked by the papists; so that the greater number perished for want, or were murdered by the straggling parties of the enemy: yet, those very people had for the most part obtained protections from king James, to which no respect was paid by his general.

§ XXXV. The garrison of Londonderry was now reduced from seven to five thousand seven hundred men; and these were driven to such extremity of distress, that they began to talk of killing the popish inhabitants, and feeding on their bodies. In this emergency, Kirke, who had hitherto lain inactive, ordered two ships laden with provision to sail up the river, under convoy of the Dartmouth frigate. One of these, called the Mountjoy, broke the enemy's boom; and all the three, after having sustained a very hot fire from both sides of the river, arrived in safety at the town, to the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants. The army of James were so dispirited by the success of this enterprise, that they abandoned the siege in the night; and retired with precipitation, after having lost about nine thousand men before the place. Kirke no sooner took possession of the town, than Walker was prevailed upon to embark for England, with an address of thanks from the inhabitants to their majesties, for the seasonable relief they had received.

§ XXXVI.

§ XXXVI. The Inniskilliners were no less remarkable than the people of Londonderry for the valour and perseverance with which they opposed the papists. They raised twelve companies, which they regimented under the command of Gustavus Hamilton, whom they chose for their governor. They proclaimed William and Mary on the eleventh day of March; and resolved in a general council to maintain their title against all opposition. The lord Gilmoy invested the castle of Crom belonging to the protestants in the neighbourhood of Inniskillin, the inhabitants of which threw succours into the place, and compelled Gilmoy to retire to Belturbet. A detachment of the garrison, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Lloyd, took and demolished the castle of Aughor; and they gained the advantage in several skirmishes with the enemy. On the day that preceded the relief of Londonderry, they defeated six thousand Irish papists at a place called Newton-Butler, and took their commander Maccarty, commonly called lord Moncashel.

§ XXXVII. The Irish parliament being assembled at Dublin, according to the proclamation of king James, he, in a speech from the throne, thanked them for the zeal, courage, and loyalty they had manifested; extolled the generosity of the French king, who had enabled him to visit them in person; insisted upon executing his design of establishing liberty of conscience, as a step equally agreeable to the dictates of humanity and discretion; and promised to concur with them in enacting such laws as would contribute to the peace, affluence, and security of his subjects. Sir Richard Neagle being chosen speaker of the commons, moved for an address of thanks to his majesty; and that the count D'Avaux should be desired to make their acknowledgments to the most christian king, for the generous assistance he had given to their sovereign. These addresses being drawn up, with the concurrence of both houses, a bill was brought in to recognize the king's title, to express their abhorrence of the usurpation by the prince of Orange, as well as of the defection of the English. Next day James published a declaration, complaining of the calumnies which his enemies had spread to his prejudice; expatiating upon his own impartiality in preferring his protestant subjects; his care in protecting them from their enemies, in redressing their grievances, and in granting liberty of conscience; promising that he would take no step but with the approbation of parliament; offering a free pardon to all persons who should desert his enemies, and join with him in four and twenty days after his landing in Ireland; and charging all the blood that might be shed, upon those who should continue in rebellion.

§ XXXVIII. His conduct, however, very ill agreed with this declaration; nor can it be excused on any other supposition but that of his being governed in some cases against his own inclination, by the count D'Avaux, and the Irish catholics, on whom his whole dependance was placed. As both houses were chiefly filled with members of that persuasion, we ought not to wonder at their bringing in a bill for repealing the act of settlement, by which the protestants of the kingdom had been secured in the possession of their estates. These were by this law divested of their lands, which reverted to the heirs of those catholics to whom they belonged before the rebellion. This iniquitous bill was framed in such a manner, that no regard was payed to such protestant owners as had purchased estates for valuable considerations: no allowance was

made for improvements, nor any provision for protestant widows: the possessor and tenants were not even allowed to remove their stock and corn. When the bill was sent up to the lords, Dr. Dopping bishop of Meath opposed it with equal courage and ability; and an address in behalf of the purchasers under the act of settlement, was presented to the king by the earl of Granard: but, notwithstanding these remonstrances, it received the royal assent; and the protestants of Ireland were mostly ruined.

§ XXXIX. Yet, in order to complete their destruction, an act of attainder was passed against all protestants whether male or female, whether of high or low degree, who were absent from the kingdom, as well as against all those who retired into any part of the three kingdoms, which did not own the authority of king James, or corresponded with rebels, or were any ways aiding, abetting, or assisting to them from the first day of August in the preceding year. The number of protestants attainted by name in this act, amounted to about three thousand, including two archbishops, one duke, seventeen earls, seven countesses, as many bishops, eighteen barons, three and thirty baronets, one and fifty knights, eighty-three clergymen, who were declared traitors, and adjudged to suffer the pains of death and forfeiture. The individuals subjected to this dreadful proscription, were even cut off from all hope of pardon, and all benefit of appeal: for, by a clause in the act, the king's pardon was deemed null, unless enrolled before the first day of December; and a subsequent law was enacted, declaring Ireland independent of the English parliament. This assembly passed another act, granting twenty thousand pounds per annum, out of the forfeited estates, to Tyrconnel, in acknowledgement of his signal services: they imposed a tax of twenty thousand pounds per month for the service of the king: the royal assent was given to an act for liberty of conscience: they enacted that the tythes payable by papists should be delivered to priests of that communion: the maintenance of the protestant clergy in cities and corporations was taken away: and all dissenters were exempted from ecclesiastical jurisdictions. So that the established church was deprived of all power and prerogative; notwithstanding the express promise of James, who had declared immediately after his landing, that he would maintain the clergy in their rights and privileges.

§ XL. Nor was the king less arbitrary in the executive part of his government, if we suppose that he countenanced the grievous acts of oppression that were daily committed upon the protestant subjects of Ireland: but the tyranny of his proceedings may be justly imputed to the temper of his ministry, consisting of men abandoned to all sense of justice and humanity, who acted from the dictates of rapacity and revenge, inflamed with all the acrimony of religious rancour. Soldiers were permitted to live upon free quarter; the people were robbed and plundered; licences and protections were abused, in order to extort money from the trading part of the nation. The king's old stores were ransacked, the shops of tradesmen, and the kitchens of burghers, were pillaged to supply the mint with a quantity of brass, which was converted into current coin for his majesty's occasions. An arbitrary value was set upon it, and all persons were required and commanded to take it in payment, under the severest penalties, though the proportion between its intrinsic worth and currency was nearly as one to three hundred. A vast sum of this counter-

feit coin was issued in the course of one year, and forced upon the protestants in payment of merchandize, provision, and necessaries for the king's service. James, not content with the supply granted by parliament, imposed by his own authority a tax of twenty thousand pounds per month on chattels, as the former was laid upon lands. This seems to have been a temporary expedient, during the adjournment of the two houses, as the term of the assessment was limited to three months: it was, however, levied by virtue of a commission under the seals; and seems to have been a stretch of the prerogative the less excusable, as he might have obtained the money in a parliamentary way. Understanding that the protestants had laid out all their brass money, in purchasing great quantities of hides, tallow, wool, and corn, he assumed the despotic power of fixing the prices of these commodities, and then bought them for his own use. One may see his ministers were bent upon the utter destruction of those unhappy people.

§ XLI. All vacancies in public schools were supplied with popish teachers. The pension allowed from the exchequer to the university of Dublin, was cut off: the vice-provost, fellows, and scholars, were expelled: their furniture, plate, and public library, were seized, without the least shadow of pretence, and in direct violation of the king's promise to preserve their privileges and immunities. His officers converted the college into a garrison, the chapel into a magazine, and the apartments into prisons: a popish priest was appointed provost; one Maccarty of the same persuasion was made library-keeper; and the whole foundation was changed into a catholic seminary. When bishoprics and benefices in the gift of the crown became vacant, the king ordered the profits to be lodged in the exchequer, and suffered the cures to be totally neglected. The revenues were chiefly employed in the maintenance of romish bishops and priests, who grew so insolent under this indulgence, that in several places they forcibly seized the protestant churches. When complaint was made of this outrage, the king promised to do justice to the injured; and in some places actually ordered the churches to be restored: but the popish clergy refused to comply with his order, alledging, that in spirituals they owed obedience to no earthly power but the holy see; and James found himself unable to protect his protestant subjects against a powerful body which he durst not disoblige. Some ships appearing in the bay of Dublin, a proclamation was issued, forbidding the protestants to assemble in any place of worship, or elsewhere, on pain of death. By a second, they were commanded to bring in their arms, on pain of being treated as rebels and traitors. Lutterel governor of Dublin published an ordinance by beat of drum, requiring the farmers to bring in their corn for his majesty's horses within a certain day, otherwise he would order them to be hanged before their own doors. Brigadier Sarsfield commanded all protestants of a certain district to retire to the distance of ten miles from their habitations, on pain of death; and, in order to keep up the credit of the brass money, the same penalty was denounced, in a proclamation, against any person who should give more than one pound eighteen shillings for a guinea.

§ XLII. All the revenues of Ireland, and all the schemes contrived to bolster up the credit of this base coin, would have proved insufficient to support the expences of the war, had not James received occasional supplies from

the French monarch. After the return of the fleet which had conveyed him to Ireland, Lewis sent another strong squadron, commanded by Chateau Renault, as a convoy to some transports laden with arms, ammunition, and a large sum of money for the use of king James. Before they sailed from Brest, king William being informed of their destination, detached admiral Herbert from Spithead, with twelve ships of the line, one fireship, and four tenders, in order to intercept the enemy. He was driven by stress of weather into Milford-haven, from whence he steered his course to Kinsale, on the supposition that the French fleet had sailed from Brest; and that in all probability he would fall in with them on the coast of Ireland. On the first day of May, he discovered them at anchor in Bantrey-bay, and stood in to engage them, though they were greatly superior to him in number. They no sooner perceived him at day-break, than they weighed, stood out to windward, formed their line, bore down and began the action, which was maintained for two hours with equal valour on both sides, though the English fleet sustained considerable damage from the superior fire of the enemy. Herbert tacked several times, in hope of gaining the weather-gage; but the French admiral kept his wind with uncommon skill and perseverance. At length the English squadron stood off to sea, and maintained a running fight till five in the afternoon, when Chateau Renault tacked about and returned into the bay, content with the honour he had gained. The loss of men was inconsiderable on both sides; and, where the odds were so great, the victor could not reap much glory. Herbert retired to the isles of Scilly, where he expected a reinforcement; but being disappointed in this expectation, he returned to Portsmouth, in very ill humour, with which his officers and men were infected. The common sailors still retained some attachment to James, who had formerly been a favourite among them; and the officers complained that they had been sent upon this service with a force so much inferior to that of the enemy. King William, in order to appease their discontent, made an excursion to Portsmouth, where he dined with the admiral on board the ship Elizabeth, declared his intention of creating him an earl, in consideration of his good conduct and services, conferred the honour of knighthood on the captains Ashby and Shovel, and bestowed a donation of ten shillings on every private sailor.

Burnet.
Reresby.
King.
Belcarres.
De la Fayette.
Voltaire.

§ XLIII. The parliament of England thought it incumbent upon them, not only to raise supplies for the maintenance of the war in which the nation was involved, but also to do justice with respect to those who had been injured by illegal or oppressive sentences in the late reigns. The attainders of lord Russell, Algernoon Sidney, Alderman Cornish, and the lady Lisle, were now reversed. A committee of privileges was appointed by the lords, to examine the case of the earl of Devonshire, who in the late reign had been fined in thirty thousand pounds for assaulting colonel Culpepper in the presence-chamber. They reported that the court of king's-bench, in over-ruling the earl's plea of privilege of parliament, had committed a manifest breach of privilege: that the fine was excessive and exorbitant, against the great charter, the common right of the subject, and the law of the realm. The sentence pronounced upon Samuel Johnson chaplain to lord Russell, in consequence of which he had been degraded, fined, scourged, and set in the pillory, was now annulled, and the commons recommended him to his majesty for some ecclesiastical

ecclesiastical preferment. He received one thousand pounds in money, with a pension of three hundred pounds for his own life and that of his son, who was moreover gratified with a place of one hundred pounds a year; but the father never obtained any ecclesiastical benefice. Titus Oates seized this opportunity of petitioning the house of lords for a reversal of the judgment given against him on his being convicted of perjury. The opinions of all the judges and counsel at the bar were heard on this subject, and a bill of reversal passed the commons; but the peers having inserted some amendments and a proviso, a conference was demanded, and violent heats ensued. Oates, however, was released from confinement; and the lords, with the consent of the commons, recommended him to his majesty for a pardon, which he obtained, together with a comfortable pension. The committee appointed to inquire into the cases of the state-prisoners, found Sir Robert Wright, late lord chief justice to have been concerned in the cruelties committed in the West after the insurrection of Monmouth; as also one of the ecclesiastical commissioners, and guilty of manifold enormities. Death had by this time delivered Jeffries from the resentment of the nation. Graham and Burton, who had acted as solicitors in the illegal prosecutions carried on against those who opposed the court in the reign of Charles II. were reported guilty of having been instrumental in taking away the lives and estates of those who had suffered the loss of either under colour of law for eight years last past; of having, by malicious indictments, informations, and prosecutions of Quo Warranto, endeavoured the subversion of the protestant religion, and the government of the realm; and of having wasted many thousand pounds of the public revenue in the course of these infamous practices.

§ XLIV. Nor did the misconduct of the present ministry escape the animadversion of the parliament. The lords having addressed the king to put the isle of Wight, Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, Dover-castle, and the other fortresses of the kingdom, in a posture of defence, and to disarm the papists, empowered a committee to enquire into the miscarriages in Ireland, which were generally imputed to the neglect of the marquisses of Caermarthen and Hallifax. They presented an address to the king, desiring the minute book of the committee for Irish affairs might be put into their hands; but his majesty declined gratifying them in this particular: then the commons voted, that those persons who had advised the king to delay this satisfaction were enemies to the kingdom. William, alarmed at this resolution, allowed them to inspect the book, in which they found very little for their purpose. The house resolved that an address should be presented to his majesty, declaring that the succour of Ireland had been retarded by unnecessary delays; that the transports prepared were not sufficient to convey the forces to that kingdom; and that several ships had been taken by the enemy, for want of proper convoy. At the same time the question was put, Whether or not they should address the king against the marquis of Hallifax? But it was carried in the negative by a small majority. Before this period, Howe vice-chamberlain to the queen had moved for an address against such counsellors as had been impeached in parliament, and betrayed the liberties of the nation. This motion was levelled at Carmaerthen and Hallifax, the first of whom had been formerly impeached of high treason, under the title of earl of Danby; and the other was charged with

with all the misconduct of the present administration. Warm debates ensued, and in all probability the motion would have been carried in the affirmative, had not those who spoke warmly in behalf of it, suddenly cooled in the course of the dispute. Some letters from king James to his partisans being intercepted, and containing some hints of an intended invasion, Mr. Hambden, chairman of the committee of the whole house, enlarged upon the imminent danger to which the kingdom was exposed, and moved for a further supply to his majesty. In this unexpected motion, he was not seconded by one member. The house, however, having taken the letters into consideration, resolved to draw up an address to the king, desiring him to secure and disarm all papists of note; and they brought in a bill for attainting several persons in rebellion against their majesties; but it was not finished during this session.

§ XLV. Another bill being prepared in the house of lords, enjoining the subjects to wear the woollen manufacture at certain seasons of the year, a petition was presented against it by the silk-weavers of London and Canterbury, assembled in a tumultuous manner at Westminster. The lords refused their petition, because this was an unusual manner of application. They were persuaded to return to their respective places of abode: precautions were taken against a second riot; and the bill was unanimously rejected in the upper house. This parliament passed an act, vesting the presentations belonging to papists in the two universities; those of the southern counties being given to Oxford; and those of the northern to Cambridge, on certain specified conditions. Courts of conscience were erected at Bristol, Gloucester, and Newcastle; and that of the Marches of Wales was abolished, as an intolerable oppression on that country. The protestant clergymen who had been forced to leave their benefices in Ireland, were rendered capable of holding any living in England, without forfeiting their title to their former preferment, with the proviso that they should resign their English benefices when restored to those they had been obliged to relinquish. The statute of Henry IV. against multiplying gold and silver was now repealed: the subjects were allowed to melt and refine metals and ores, and extract gold and silver from them, on condition that it should be brought to the Mint and converted into money, the owners receiving its full value in current coin. These, and several other bills of smaller importance being passed, the two houses adjourned to the twentieth day of September, and afterwards to the nineteenth day of October.

CHAP. II.

§ I. Duke of Schomberg lands with an army in Ireland. § II. The Inniskilliners obtain a victory over the Irish. § III. Schomberg censured for his inactivity. § IV. The French worsted at Walcourt. § V. Success of the confederates in Germany. The Turks defeated at Patocbin, Nissa, and Widin. § VI. Death of pope Innocent XI. § VII. King William becomes unpopular. § VIII. A good number of the clergy refuse to take the oaths. § IX. The king grants a commission for reforming church-discipline. § X. Meeting of the convocation. § XI. Their session discontinued by repeated prorogations. § XII. Proceedings in parliament. § XIII. The Whigs obstruct the bill of indemnity. § XIV. The commons resume the inquiry into the cause of the miscarriages in Ireland. § XV. King William irritated against the Whigs. § XVI. Plot against the government by Sir James Montgomery, discovered by bishop Burnet. § XVII. Warm debates in parliament about the corporation-bill. § XVIII. The king resolves to finish the Irish war in person. § XIX. General Ludlow arrives in England; but is obliged to withdraw. § XX. Efforts of the Jacobites in Scotland. § XXI. The court interest triumphs over all opposition in that country. § XXII. The Tory interest prevails in the new parliament of England. § XXIII. Bill for recognizing their majesties. § XXIV. Another violent contest about the bill of abjuration. § XXV. King William lands in Ireland. § XXVI. King James marches to the Boyne. § XXVII. William resolves to give him battle. § XXVIII. Battle of the Boyne. § XXIX. Death and character of Schomberg. § XXX. James embarks for France. § XXXI. William enters Dublin, and publishes his declaration. § XXXII. The French obtain a victory over the English and Dutch fleets off Beachy-head. § XXXIII. Torrington committed prisoner to the Tower. § XXXIV. Progress of William in Ireland. § XXXV. He invests Limerick; but is obliged to raise the siege, and returns to England. § XXXVI. Cork and Kinsale reduced by the earl of Marlborough. § XXXVII. Lauzun and the French forces quit Ireland. § XXXVIII. The duke of Savoy joins the confederacy. § XXXIX. Prince Waldeck defeated at Flerus. § XL. The archduke Joseph elected king of the Romans. Death of the duke of Lorraine. Progress of the war against the Turks. § XLI. Meeting of the parliament. § XLII. The commons comply with all the king's demands. § XLIII. Petition of the Tories in the city of London. § XLIV. Attempt against the marquis of Carmarthen. § XLV. The king's voyage to Holland. § XLVI. He assists at a congress. Returns to England.

§ I. **T**HOUGH the affairs of Ireland were extremely pressing, and the protestants of that country had made repeated application for relief, the succours were retarded either by the disputes among the ministers, or the neglect of those who had the management of the expedition, in such a manner, that king James had been six months in Ireland before the army was embarked for that kingdom. At length, eighteen regiments of infantry, and five of dragoons being raised for that service, a train of artillery provided, and transports pre-

prepared, the duke of Schomberg, on whom king William had conferred the chief command of this armament, set out for Chester, after he had in person thanked the commons for the uncommon regard they had payed to his services; and received assurances from the house that they would pay particular attention to him and his army. On the thirteenth day of August he landed in the neighbourhood of Carrickfergus with about ten thousand foot and dragoons; and took possession of Belfast, from whence the enemy retired at his approach to Carrickfergus, where they resolved to make a stand. The duke having refreshed his men, marched thither and invested the place; the siege was carried on till the twenty-sixth day of the month, when the breaches being practicable, the besieged capitulated, on condition of marching out with their arms and as much baggage as they could carry on their backs; and of their being conducted to the next Irish garrison, which was at Newry. During this siege the duke was joined by the rest of his army from England; but, he had left orders for conveying the greater part of the artillery and stores from Chester directly to Carlingford. He now began his march through Lisburne and Hillsborough, encamped at Drummore, where the protestants of the North had been lately routed by Hamilton; thence he proceeded to Loughbrillane, where he was joined by the horse and dragoons of Iniskillin. Then the enemy abandoned Newry and Dundalk, in the neighbourhood of which Schomberg encamped on a low, damp, ground, having the town and river on the south, and surrounded on every other part by hills, bogs, and mountains.

§ II. His army consisting chiefly of new-raised men little inured to hardship, began to flag under the fatigue of marching, the inclemency of the weather, and scarcity of provision. Here he was reinforced by the regiments of Kirke, Hanmer, and Stuart; and would have continued his march to Drogheda, where he understood Rosene lay with about twenty thousand men, had not he been obliged to wait for the artillery, which was not yet arrived at Carlingford. King James having assembled all his forces, advanced towards Schomberg, and appeared before his intrenchments in order of battle; but, the duke knowing they were greatly superior in number of horse, and that his own army was undisciplined, and weakened by death and sickness, restrained his men within the lines; and in a little time the enemy retreated. Immediately after their departure, a conspiracy was discovered in the English camp, hatched by some French papists, who had insinuated themselves into the protestant regiments. One of these, whose name was Du Plessis, had written a letter to the ambassador D'Avaux, promising to desert with all the papists of the three French regiments in Schomberg's army. This letter being found, Du Plessis and five accomplices were tried by a court-martial, and executed. About two hundred and fifty papists being discovered in the French regiments, they were sent over to England, and from thence to Holland. While Schomberg remained in this situation, the Inniskilliners made excursions in the neighbourhood, under the command of colonel Lloyd; and on the twenty-seventh day of September, they obtained a complete victory over five times their number of the Irish; having killed seven hundred on the spot, and taken O Kelly their commander, with about fifty officers, and a considerable booty of cattle. The duke was so pleased with their behaviour on this occasion, that they received a very honourable testimony of his approbation.

§ III.

§ III. Mean while the enemy took possession of James-Town, and reduced Sligo, one of the forts of which was gallantly defended by St. Sauveur, a French captain, and his company of grenadiers, until he was obliged to capitulate for want of water and provision. A contagious distemper still continued to rage in Schomberg's camp, and swept off a great number of officers and soldiers: so that in the beginning of next spring, not above half the number of those who went over with the general, remained alive. He was censured for his inactivity; and the king in repeated letters desired him to hazard an engagement, provided any opportunity should occur: but, he did not think proper to run the risque of a battle, against an enemy that was above thrice his number, well-disciplined, healthy, and conducted by able officers. Nevertheless, he was certainly blameable for having chosen such an unwholesome situation; from whence, at the approach of winter, he retired into quarters, in hope of being reinforced with seven thousand Danes who had already arrived in Britain. These auxiliaries were stipulated in a treaty which William had just concluded with the king of Denmark. The English were not more successful at sea than they had proved in their operations by land. Admiral Herbert, now created earl of Torrington, having failed to Ireland with the combined squadrons of England and Holland, made a fruitless attempt upon Cork, and lost a great number of seamen by sickness, which was imputed to bad provision. The Dartmouth ship of war fell into the hands of the enemy, who infested the channel with such a number of armed ships and privateers, that the trade of England sustained incredible damage.

§ IV. The affairs of France wore but a gloomy aspect on the continent, where all the powers of Europe seemed to have conspired her destruction. King William had engaged in a new league with the states-general, in which former treaties of peace and commerce were confirmed. It was stipulated, that in case the king of Great-Britain should be attacked, the Dutch should assist him with six thousand infantry and twenty ships of the line; and that, provided hostilities should be committed against the states-general, England should supply them with ten thousand infantry and twenty ships of war. This treaty was no sooner ratified than king William dispatched the lord Churchill, whom he had by this time created earl of Marlborough, to Holland, in order to command the British auxiliaries in that service, to the number of eleven thousand, the greater part of which had been in the army of king James when the prince of Orange landed in England. He forthwith joined the Dutch army under the command of prince Waldec, who had fixed his rendezvous in the county of Liege, with a view to act against the French army commanded by the marechal D'Humieres, while the prince of Vaudemont headed a little army of observation, consisting of Spaniards, Dutch, and Germans, to watch the motions of Calvo in another part of the Low-Countries. The city of Liege was compelled to renounce the neutrality and declare for the allies. Marechal D'Humieres attacked the foragers belonging to the army of the states at Walcourt, in the month of August; an obstinate engagement ensued, and the French were obliged to retreat in confusion, with the loss of two thousand men, and some pieces of artillery. The army of observation levelled part of the French lines on the side of Courtray; and raised contributions on the territories of the enemy.

§ V. The French were almost intire masters of the three ecclesiastical electorates of Germany. They possessed Mentz, Triers, Bonne, Keiserfwaert, Philipsburg, and

and Landau. They had blown up the castle of Heidelberg in the Palatinate, and destroyed Mannheim. They had reduced Worms and Spire to ashes; and demolished Frankendahl, together with several other fortresses. These conquests, the fruits of sudden invasion, were covered with a numerous army, commanded by the marechal de Duras; and all his inferior generals were officers of distinguished courage and ability. Nevertheless, he found it difficult to maintain his ground against the different princes of the empire. The duke of Lorraine, who commanded the imperial troops, invested Mentz, and took it by capitulation: the elector of Brandenburg having reduced Keiserfwaert, undertook the siege of Bonne, which the garrison surrendered, after having made a long and vigorous defence. Nothing contributed more to the union of the German princes than their resentment of the shocking barbarity with which the French had plundered, wasted, and depopulated their country. Lewis having by his intrigues in Poland, and at Constantinople, prevented a pacification between the emperor and the Ottoman-porte, the campaign was opened in Croatia, where five thousand Turks were defeated by a body of Croats between Vihitz and Novi. The prince of Baden, who commanded the Imperialists on that side, having thrown a bridge over the Morava at Passarowitz, crossed that river, and marched in quest of the Turkish army, amounting to fifty thousand men, headed by a seraskier. On the thirtieth day of August he attacked the enemy in their entrenchments near Patochin, forced their lines, routed them with great slaughter, and took possession of their camp, baggage, and artillery. They retreated to Nissa, where their general finding them still more numerous than the Imperialists, resolved to make a stand; and encamped in a situation that was inaccessible in every part except the rear, which he left open for the convenience of a retreat. Through this avenue he was, on the twenty-fourth day of September, attacked by the prince of Baden, who, after a desperate resistance, obtained another complete victory, enriched his troops with the spoils of the enemy; and entered Nissa without opposition. There he found above three thousand horses and a vast quantity of provision. Having reposed his army for a few days in this place, he resumed his march against the Turks, who had chosen an advantageous post at Widin, and seemed ambitious of retrieving the honour they had lost in the two former engagements. The Germans attacked their lines without hesitation; and though the Mussulmans fought with incredible fury, they were a third time defeated with great slaughter. This defeat was attended with the loss of Widin, which being surrendered to the victor, he distributed his troops in winter-quarters, and returned to Vienna covered with laurels.

§ VI. The French were likewise baffled in their attempt upon Catalonia, where the duke de Noailles had taken Campredon, in the month of May. Leaving a garrison in this place, he retreated to the frontiers of France, while the duke de Villa-Hermosa, at the head of a Spanish army, blocked up the place, and laid Rouffillon under contribution. He afterwards undertook the siege in form, and Noailles marched to its relief; but, he was so hard pressed by the Spaniards, that he withdrew the garrison, dismantled the place, and retreated with great precipitation. The French king hoped to derive some considerable advantage from the death of pope Innocent XI. which happened on the twelfth day of August. That pontiff had been an inveterate enemy to Lewis ever since the affair of the franchises, and the seizure of Avignon. Cabals were immediately formed at Rome by the French faction, against the Spanish and Imperial

rial interest. The French cardinals de Bouillon and Bonzi, accompanied by Furstemberg, repaired to Rome with a large sum of money. Peter Ottoboni, a Venetian, was elected pope, and assumed the name of Alexander VIII. The duke de Chaulnes ambassador from France, immediately signified, in the name of his master, that Avignon should be restored to the patrimony of the church; and Lewis renounced the franchises in a letter written by his own hand to the new pontiff. Alexander received these marks of respect with the warmest acknowledgments; but, when the ambassador and Furstemberg besought him to re-examine the election of the bishop of Cologne, which had been the source of so much calamity to the empire, he lent a deaf ear to their solicitations. He even confirmed the dispensations granted by his predecessor to the prince of Bavaria, who was thus impowered to take possession of the electorate, though he had not yet attained the age required by the canons. Furstemberg retired in disgust to Paris, where Lewis immediately gratified him with the abbey of St. Germain.

§ VII. King William found it an easier task to unite the councils of Europe against the common enemy, than to conciliate and preserve the affections of his own subjects, among whom he began visibly to decline in point of popularity. Many were dissatisfied with his measures; and a great number even of those who had exerted themselves for his elevation, had conceived a disgust from his personal deportment, which was very unsuitable to the manners and disposition of the English people. Instead of mingling with his nobility in social amusements and familiar conversation, he maintained a disagreeable reserve which had all the air of fullen pride; he seldom or never spoke to his courtiers or attendants; he spent his time chiefly in the closet retired from all communication; or among his troops in a camp he had formed at Hounslow; or in the exercise of hunting, to which he was immoderately addicted. This had been prescribed to him by physicians, as necessary to improve his constitution, which was naturally weak; and by practice had become so habitual, that he could not lay it aside. His ill health co-operating with his natural aversion to society, produced a peevishness which could not fail of being displeasing to those who were near his person; and this was increased by the disputes in his cabinet, and the opposition of those who were professed enemies to his government, as well as by the alienation of his former friends. As he could not breathe without difficulty in the air of London, he resided chiefly at Hampton-Court, and expended considerable sums in beautifying and enlarging that palace; he likewise purchased the house at Kensington of the earl of Nottingham; and such profusion, in the beginning of an expensive war, gave umbrage to the nation in general. Whether he was advised by his counsellors, or his own sagacity pointed out the expediency of conforming with the English humour, he now seemed to change his disposition, and in some measure adopt the manners of his predecessors. In imitation of Charles II. he resorted to the races at Newmarket; he accepted an invitation to visit Cambridge, where he behaved with remarkable affability to the members of the university; he afterwards dined with the lord-mayor of London, accepted the freedom of the city, and condescended so far as to become sovereign-master of the company of grocers.

§ VIII. While William thus endeavoured to remove the prejudices which had been conceived against his person, the period arrived which the parliament had prescribed

prescribed for taking the oaths to the new government. Some individuals of the clergy sacrificed their benefices to their scruples of conscience, and absolutely refused to take oaths that were contrary to those they had already sworn in favour of their late sovereign. These were distinguished by the epithet of Nonjurors; but their number bore a very small proportion to that of others, who took them with such reservations and distinctions as redounded very little to the honour of their integrity. Many of those who had been the warmest advocates for non-resistance and passive obedience, made no scruple of renouncing their allegiance to king James, and complying with the present act, after having declared that they took the oaths in no other sense than that of a peaceable submission to the powers that were. They even affirmed that the legislature itself had allowed the distinction between a king *de facto* and a king *de jure*, as they had dropped the word "rightful" when the form was under debate. They alleged that as prudence obliged them to conform to the letter of the oath, so conscience required them to give it their own interpretation. Nothing could be more infamous, and of worse tendency, than this practice of equivocating in the most sacred of all obligations. It introduced a general disregard of oaths, which hath been the source of universal perjury and corruption. Though this set of temporisers were bitterly upbraided both by the nonjurors and the papists, they all concurred in representing William as an enemy to the church; as a prince educated in the doctrines of Calvin, which he plainly espoused by limiting his favour and preferment to such as were latitudinarians in religion, and by his abolishing episcopacy in Scotland. The presbyterians of that kingdom now tyrannised in their turn. They were headed by the earl of Crawford, a nobleman of a violent temper and strong prejudices. He was chosen president of the parliament by the interest of Melvil, and oppressed the episcopalians in such a manner, that the greater part of them, from resentment, became well-wishers to king James. Every circumstance of the hardships they underwent, was reported in England; and the earl of Clarendon, as well as the suspended bishops, circulated these particulars with great assiduity. The oaths being rejected by the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Ely, Chichester, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, and Gloucester, they were suspended from their functions, and threatened with deprivation. Lake of Chichester being seized with a dangerous distemper, signed a solemn declaration, in which he professed his adherence to the doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience, which he believed to be the distinguishing characteristic of the church of England. After his death, this paper was published, industriously circulated, and extolled by the party, as an inspired oracle pronounced by a martyr to religious truth and sincerity.

§ IX. All the clamour that was raised against the king could not divert him from prosecuting the scheme of comprehension. He granted a commission under the great seal to ten bishops, and twenty dignitaries of the church, authorising them to meet from time to time in the Jerusalem-chamber, to prepare such alteration of the liturgy and the canons, and such proposals for the reformation of ecclesiastical courts, as might most conduce to the good order, edification, and uniting of the church; and tend to reconcile all religious differences among the protestant subjects of the kingdom. A cry was immediately raised against this commission, as an ecclesiastical court illegal and dangerous. At their first

meeting, the authority of the commission was questioned by Sprat bishop of Rochester, who retired in disgust, and was followed by Mew of Winchester, and the doctors Jane and Aldrich. These were averse to any alteration of the forms and constitution of the church, in favour of an insolent and obstinate party, which ought to have been satisfied with the toleration they enjoyed. They observed, that an attempt to make such alteration would divide the clergy, and bring the liturgy into disesteem with the people, as it would be a plain acknowledgment that it wanted correction. They thought they should violate the dignity of the church, by condescending to make offers which the dissenters were at liberty to refuse; and they suspected some of their colleagues of a design to give up episcopal ordination; a step inconsistent with their honour, duty, oaths, and subscriptions.

§ X. The commissioners, notwithstanding this secession, proceeded to debate with moderation on the abuses of which the dissenters had complained, and corrected every article that seemed liable to any just objection: but the opposite party employed all their art and industry to inflame the minds of the people: the two universities declared against all alterations, and those who promoted them: the king himself was branded as an enemy to the hierarchy; and they bestirred themselves so successfully in the election of members for the convocation, that they procured a very considerable majority. At their first meeting, the friends of the comprehension scheme proposed Dr. Tillotson clerk of the closet to his majesty as prolocutor; but the other party carried it in favour of Dr. Jane, who was counted the most violent churchman in the whole assembly. In a Latin speech to the bishop of London as president, he, in the name of the lower house, asserted, that the liturgy of England needed no amendment, and concluded with the old declaration of the barons, "*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.*" We will not suffer the laws of England to be changed. The bishop, in his reply, exhorted them to moderation, charity, and indulgence, towards their brethren the dissenters; and to make such abatements in things indifferent as might serve to open a door of salvation to multitudes of straying christians. His injunctions, however, produced no favourable effect. The lower house seemed to be animated by a spirit of opposition; and next day the president prorogued them, on pretence that the royal commission by which they were to act was defective, for want of being sealed; and that a prorogation was necessary, until that sanction should be obtained. In this interval, means were used to mollify their noncompliant tempers; but all endeavours proved ineffectual. When they met again, the earl of Nottingham delivered the king's commission to both houses, with a speech of his own, and a message from his majesty, importing, that he had summoned them out of a pious zeal to do every thing that might tend to the best establishment of the church of England, which should always enjoy his favour and protection. He exhorted them to lay aside all prejudice; to consider calmly and impartially whatever should be proposed: he assured them he would offer nothing but what should be for the honour, peace, and advantage, of the protestant religion in general, and particularly of the church of England.

§ XI. The bishops adjourning to the Jerusalem-chamber, prepared a zealous address of thanks to his majesty, which being sent to the lower house for their concurrence, met with violent opposition. Amendments were proposed, a

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conference ensued, and, after warm debates, they agreed upon a cold address, which was accordingly presented. The majority of the lower house, far from taking any measures in favour of dissenters, converted all their attention to the relief of their nonjuring brethren. Zealous speeches were made in behalf of the suspended bishops; and Dr. Jane proposed that something might be done to qualify them to sit in the convocation. This, however, was such a dangerous point as they would not venture to discuss. Yet, rather than proceed upon the business for which they had been assembled, they began to take cognizance of some pamphlets lately published, which they conceived to be of dangerous consequence to the christian religion. The president and his party perceiving the disposition of the house, did not think proper to communicate any proposal touching the intended reformation; and the king suffered the session to be discontinued by repeated prorogations.

§ XII. The parliament meeting on the nineteenth day of October, the king, in a speech of his own composing, explained the necessity of a present supply to carry on the war; desired that they might be speedy in their determinations on this subject; for these would in a great measure influence the deliberations of the princes and states concerned in the war against France, as a general meeting of them was appointed to be held next month at the Hague, to settle the operations of the ensuing campaign. He concluded with recommending the dispatch of a bill of indemnity, that the minds of his subjects might be quieted; and that they might unanimously concur in promoting the honour and welfare of the kingdom. As several inflammatory bills and disputes, which had produced heats and animosities in the last session, were still depending, the king, after having consulted both houses, resolved to put an end to those disputes by a prorogation. He accordingly went to the house of lords, and prorogued the parliament till the twenty first day of October, by the mouth of the new speaker Sir Robert Atkins, the marquis of Halifax having resigned that office. When they reassembled, the king referred them to his former speech; then the commons unanimously resolved to assist his majesty in reducing Ireland, and in joining with his allies abroad for a vigorous prosecution of the war against France: for these purposes they voted a supply of two millions.

§ XIII. During this session the Whigs employed all their influence and intrigues in obstructing the bill of indemnity, which they knew would open a door for favour and preferment to the opposite party, which began to gain ground in the king's good graces. With this view they revived the prosecution of the state prisoners. A committee was appointed to prepare a charge against Burton and Graham. The commons resolved to impeach the earls of Peterborough, Salisbury, and Castlemain, Sir Edward Hales, and Obadiah Walker, of high treason, for having been reconciled to the church of Rome, contrary to the laws of the realm. A bill was ordered to be brought in to declare the estate of the late lord chancellor Jeffries forfeited to the crown, and attain his blood; but it met with such opposition that the measure was dropped: the house however agreed, that the pecuniary penalties incurred by those persons, who had exercised offices contrary to the laws against popish recusants, should be speedily levied, and applied to the public service. The lord Griffin being detected in maintaining a correspondence with king James and his partisans,
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was committed to the Tower; but, as no other evidence appeared against him than written letters, found in the false bottom of a pewter bottle, they could not help consenting to his being released upon bail, as they had lately resolved that Algernoon Sidney had been unjustly condemned, because nothing but writings had been produced against him at his trial. The two houses concurred in appointing a committee to enquire who were advisers and prosecutors in taking away the lives of lord Russel, colonel Sydney, Sir Thomas Armstrong, alderman Cornish, and others; and who were chiefly concerned in the arbitrary practices touching the writs of Quo Warranto, and the surrender of charters. This inquiry was levelled at the marquis of Halifax, who had concurred with the ministry of Charles in all those severities; and, though no proof appeared upon which votes or addresses could be founded, that nobleman saw it was necessary for him to withdraw himself from the administration. He therefore resigned the privy-seal, which was put in commission, and reconciled himself to the Tories, of whom he became the patron and protector.

§ XIV. The commons likewise resumed the examination of the miscarriages in Ireland; and desired the king would appoint commissioners to go over and inquire into the condition of the army in that kingdom. Schomberg understanding that he had been blamed in the house of commons for his inactivity, transmitted to the king a satisfactory vindication of his own conduct; and it appeared that the miscarriages in Ireland were wholly owing to John Shales purveyor-general to the army. The commons immediately presented an address to his majesty, praying that Shales might be taken into custody; that all his papers, accounts, and stores, should be secured; and that duke Schomberg might be empowered to fill his place with a more able purveyor. The king gave them to understand, that he had already sent orders to the general for that purpose. Nevertheless, they in another petition requested his majesty to name those who had recommended Shales to his service, as he had exercised the same office under king James, and was suspected of treasonable practices against the government. William declined gratifying their request; but he afterwards sent a message to the house, desiring them to recommend a certain number of commissioners to superintend such provisions and preparations as might be necessary for that service; as well as to nominate certain persons to go over and examine the state of the army in Ireland. The commons were so mollified by this instance of his condescension, that they left the whole affair to his own direction, and proceeded to examine other branches of misconduct. Instances of mismanagement appeared so numerous and so flagrant, that they resolved upon a subsequent address, to explain the ill conduct and success of his army and navy; to desire he would find out the authors of these miscarriages, and for the future entrust unsuspected persons with the management of affairs. They ordered the victuallers of the fleet to be taken into custody, on suspicion of having furnished the navy with unwholesome provisions; and new commissioners were appointed. Bitter reproaches were thrown out against the ministry; Mr. Hambden expressed his surprize that the administration should consist of those very persons whom king James had employed when his affairs were desperate, to treat with the prince of Orange; and moved that the king should be petitioned in an address to remove such persons

persons from his presence and councils. This was a stroke aimed at the earl of Nottingham, whose office of secretary Hambden desired to possess: but his motion was not seconded, the court-members observing that James did not depute those lords to the prince of Orange because they were attached to his own interest, but for a very different reason, namely, that they were well known to disapprove of his measures; and therefore would be the more agreeable to his highness. The house, however, voted an address to the king, desiring that the authors of the miscarriages might be brought to condign punishment.

§ XV. In the sequel, the question was proposed, Whether a placeman ought to have a seat in the house? And a very warm debate ensued; but it was carried in the affirmative, on the supposition that by such exclusion the commonwealth would be deprived of some of the ablest senators of the kingdom. But what chiefly irritated William against the Whigs, was their backwardness in promoting the public service; and their disregard of the earnest desire he expressed to see his revenue settled for life. He said his title was no more than a pageant; and the worst of all governments was that of a king without treasure. Nevertheless, they would not grant the civil list for a longer term than one year. They began to think there was something arbitrary in his disposition. His sullen behaviour in all probability first infused this opinion, which was strengthened and confirmed by the insinuations of his enemies. The Scots, who had come up to London to give an account of the proceedings in their parliament, were infected with the same notion. One Simpson, a presbyterian of that country, whom the earl of Portland employed as a spy, had insinuated himself into the confidence of Nevil Payne, an active and intelligent partisan, and agent of king James; by which means he supplied the earl with such intelligence as raised him to some degree of credit with that minister. This he used in prepossessing the earl against the king's best friends, and infusing jealousies which were soon kindled into mutual distrust and animosity.

§ XVI. Sir James Montgomery, who had been a warm advocate for the revolution, received advice that the court suspected him and others of disaffection, and was employed in seeking evidence by which they might be prosecuted. They were equally alarmed and incensed at this intimation, and Payne seized the opportunity of seducing them into a correspondence with the exiled king. They demanded the settlement of presbytery in Scotland, and actually engaged in a treaty for his restoration. They reconciled themselves to the duke of Queensberry, and the other noblemen of the episcopal party: they wrote to James for a supply of money, arms, and ammunition, together with a reinforcement of three thousand men from Dunkirk. Montgomery had acquired great interest among the Whigs of England, and this he employed in animating them against the king and the ministry. He represented them as a set of wicked men, who employed infamous spies to ensnare and ruin the fast friends of the government; and found means to alienate them so much from William, that they began to think in earnest of recalling their banished prince. The duke of Bolton and the earl of Monmouth were almost persuaded into a conspiracy for this purpose: they seemed to think James was now so well convinced of his former errors, that they might trust him without scruple. Montgomery and Payne were the chief managers of the scheme; and

and they admitted Ferguson into their councils, as a veteran in the arts of treason. In order to blast William's credit in the city, they circulated a report that James would grant a full indemnity, separate himself entirely from the French interest, and be contented with a secret connivance in favour of the roman catholics. Montgomery's brother assured the bishop of Salisbury, that a treaty with king James was absolutely concluded, and an invitation subscribed by the whole cabal. He said this paper would be sent to Ireland by the way of France, as the direct communication was difficult; and he proposed a method for seizing it before it should be conveyed out of the kingdom. Williamson, the supposed bearer of it, had obtained a pass for Flanders; and a messenger being sent in pursuit of him, secured his cloaths and portmanteau; but, after a very strict examination, nothing appeared to justify the intelligence. Williamson had previously delivered the papers to Simpson, who hired a boat at Deal, and arrived in safety at France. He returned with large assurances, and twelve thousand pounds were remitted to the Scottish undertakers. Montgomery the informer, seeing his intelligence falsified, lost his credit with the bishop, and dreading the resentment of the other party, retired to the continent. The conspirators loudly complained of the false imputations they had incurred. The pretended discoveries were looked upon as fictions of the ministry, and the king on this occasion suffered greatly in the opinion of his subjects.

§ XVII. The Tories still continued to carry on a secret negotiation with the court. They took advantage of the ill humour subsisting between the king and the Whigs; and promised large supplies of money, provided this parliament should be dissolved, and another immediately convoked. The opposite party being apprised of their intention, brought a bill into the house of commons for restoring corporations to their antient rights and privileges. They knew their own strength at elections consisted in these corporations; and they inserted two additional severe clauses against those who were in any shape concerned in surrendering charters. The whole power of the Tories was exerted against this clause; and now the Whigs vied with them in making court to his majesty, promising to manifest the most submissive obedience should this bill be enacted into a law. The strength of the Tories was now become so formidable in the house, that they outvoted the other party, and the clauses were rejected; but the bill passed in its original form. The lords debated upon the point, Whether a corporation could be forfeited or surrendered? Lord chief justice Holt and two other judges declared their opinion in the affirmative: the rest thought otherwise, as no precedents could be produced farther back than the reign of Henry VIII. when the abbies were surrendered; and this instance seemed too violent to authorise such a measure in a regular course of administration. The bill, however, passed by one voice only. Then both parties quickened their applications to the king, who found himself so perplexed and distracted between two factions which he equally feared, that he resolved to leave the government in the queen's hands, and retire to Holland. He communicated this design to the marquis of Carmarthen, the earl of Shrewsbury, and some other noblemen, who pressed him to lay aside this resolution, and even mingled tears in their remonstrances.

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§ XVIII.

unity, and the Irish Catholics, and they are thus enabled to keep themselves in office; altho, the majority of English members are against them, as well as a majority of the Lords. The corporate offices are now filled by political dependents who are all republicans in politics, and care not to what length they go to destroy the Church party. But for the Tories of this day England wd. now be a republic - July 1838. - The Tories of this day are very near in principles to the Whigs of Henry 8th's reign -

The Whigs have now found it right to destroy all corporations from the support they have given to the Tories, and having rejected the bill of 1701, they have restored the Catholics to power; they have established some, but in such a scale of low qualification that they have nearly the whole of them in their power - They have accomplished by uniting themselves to the republicans

§ XVIII. He at length complied with their request, and determined to finish the Irish war in person. This design was far from being agreeable to the parliament. His friends dreaded the climate of that country, which might prove fatal to his weak constitution. The well-wishers of James were afraid of that prince's being hard pressed, should William take the field against him in person: both houses therefore began to prepare an address against this expedition. In order to prevent this remonstrance, the king went to the parliament, and formally signified his resolution. After his speech they were prorogued to the second day of April. On the sixth day of February they were dissolved by proclamation, and a new parliament was summoned to meet on the twentieth day of March. During this session, the commons, in an address to the king, desired that a revenue of fifty thousand pounds might be settled upon the prince and princess of Denmark, out of the civil list; and his majesty gratified them in this particular; though the warmth and industry with which the friends of the princess exerted themselves in promoting the settlement, produced a coldness and misunderstanding between the two sisters; and the subsequent disgrace of the earl of Marlborough was imputed to the part which his wife acted on the occasion. She was lady of the bed-chamber, and chief confidant to the princess, whom she strenuously advised to insist upon the settlement, rather than depend upon the generosity of the king and queen.

§ XIX. About this period, general Ludlow, who at the restoration had been excepted from the act of indemnity, as one of those who sat in judgment upon Charles I. arrived in England, and offered his service in reducing Ireland, where he had formerly commanded. Though a rigid republican, he was reputed a conscientious man, and a good officer. He had received some encouragement to come over, and probably would have been employed, had not the commons interposed. Sir Edward Seymour, who enjoyed by grant an estate in Wiltshire, which had formerly belonged to Ludlow, began to be in pain for his possession. He observed in the house, that the nation would be disgraced, should one of the parricides be suffered to live in the kingdom. An address was immediately presented to the king, desiring a proclamation might be issued, promising a reward for apprehending general Ludlow. This was accordingly published; but not before he had landed in Holland, from whence he returned to Vevay in Switzerland, where he wrote the memoirs of his life, and died after an exile of thirty years.

§ XX. While king William fluctuated between two parties in England, his interest in Scotland had well nigh given way to a coalition between the original Jacobites, and Montgomery's party of discontented presbyterians. Colonel Cannon, who succeeded the viscount Dundee in command, after having made several unsuccessful efforts in favour of the late king's interest, retired into Ireland; and the Highlanders chose Sir Hugh Cameron for their leader. Under him they renewed their incursions with the better prospect of success, as several regiments of the regular troops had been sent to reinforce the army of Schomberg. James assisted them with cloaths, arms, and ammunition, together with some officers, amongst whom was colonel Buchan, appointed to act as their chief commander. This officer, at the head of fifteen hundred men, advanced into the shire of Murray, in hope of being joined by other malecontents: but he was surprised and routed by Sir Thomas Livingstone, while
major

major Ferguson destroyed the places they possessed in the isle of Mull; so that the Highlanders were obliged to retire and conceal themselves among their hills and fastnesses. The friends of James despairing of doing any thing effectual for his service in the field, converted all their attention to the proceedings in parliament, where they imagined their interest was much stronger than it appeared to be upon trial. They took the oaths without hesitation, and hoped, by the assistance of their new allies, to embroil the government in such a manner that the majority of the people would declare for a restoration. But the views of these new cemented parties were altogether incompatible; and their principles diametrically opposite. Notwithstanding their concurrence in parliament, the earl of Melvil procured a small majority. The opposition was immediately discouraged; some individuals retracted, rather than fall with a sinking cause; and mutual jealousies began to prevail. The leaders of the coalition treated separately with king James; made inconsistent demands; reciprocally concealed their negotiations; in a word, they distrusted and hated one another with the most implacable resentment.

§ XXI. The earls of Argyle, Anandale, and Braidalbin, withdrew from their councils, and repaired to England. Montgomery, terrified at their defection, went privately to London, after he had hinted something of the plot to Melvil, and solicited a pass from the queen, which was refused. Anandale having received information that Montgomery had disclosed all the particulars of the negotiation, threw himself upon the queen's mercy, and discovered all he knew of the conspiracy. As he had not treated with any of the malecontents in England, they remained secure from his evidence; but, he informed against Nevil Payne, who had been sent down as their agent to Scotland, where he now resided. He was immediately apprehended by the council of that kingdom, in consequence of a letter from the earl of Nottingham; and twice put to the torture, which he resolutely bore without discovering his employers. Montgomery still absconded in London, soliciting a pardon; but, finding he could not obtain it, except on condition of making a full discovery, he abandoned his country and chose to die in exile, rather than betray his confederates. This disunion of the conspirators and discovery of the plot, left the earl of Melvil in possession of a greater majority; though even this he was fain to secure by overstraining his instructions in the articles of patronage, and the supremacy of the crown, which he yielded up to the fury of the fanatic presbyterians, contrary to the intention of king William. In lieu of these, however, they indulged him with the tax of chimney or hearth-money; and a test to be imposed upon all persons in office and parliament, declaring William and Mary their lawful sovereigns, and renouncing the pretended title of king James. All the laws in favour of episcopacy were repealed. Threescore of the presbyterian ministers, who had been ejected at the restoration, were still alive; and these the parliament declared the only sound part of the church. The government of it was lodged in their hands; and they were empowered to admit such as they should think proper, to their assistance. A few furious fanatics being thus associated, proceeded with ungovernable violence to persecute the episcopal party, exercising the very same tyranny against which they themselves had so loudly exclaimed.

§ XXII. While the presbyterian interest thus triumphed in Scotland, the two parties that divided England, employed their whole influence and atten-

Barnet.
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An. Ch. 1690.

tion in managing the elections for a new parliament; and the Tories obtained the victory. The king seemed gradually falling into the arms of this party. They complained of their having been totally excluded from the lieutenancy of London at the king's accession to the crown; and now a considerable number of the most violent Tories in the city was admitted into the commission by the interest and address of the bishop of London, the marquis of Carmarthen, and the earl of Nottingham. To gratify that party, the earls of Monmouth and Warrington were dismissed from their employments; nay, when the parliament met on the twentieth day of March, the commons chose for their speaker Sir John Trevor, a violent partisan of that faction, who had been created master of the rolls by the late king. He was a bold artful man, and undertook to procure a majority to be at the devotion of the court, provided he should be supplied with the necessary sums for the purposes of corruption. William finding there was no other way of maintaining his administration in peace, thought proper to countenance the practice of purchasing votes; and appointed Trevor first commissioner of the great seal. In his speech to the new parliament, he gave them to understand, that he still persisted in his resolution of going in person to Ireland. He desired they would make a settlement of the revenue, or establish it for the present, as a fund of credit, upon which the necessary sums for the service of the government might be immediately advanced: he signified his intention of sending to them an act of grace, with a few exceptions, that he might manifest his readiness to extend his protection to all his subjects; and leave no colour of excuse for raising disturbances in his absence, as he knew how busy some ill affected men were in their endeavours to alter the established government: he recommended an union with Scotland, the parliament of which had appointed commissioners for that purpose: he told them he should leave the administration in the hands of the queen; and desired they would prepare an act to confirm her authority: he exhorted them to dispatch the business for which they were assembled; to avoid debates; and expressed his hope that they should soon meet again to finish what might be now left imperfect.

§ XXIII. The commons, in compliance with his request, voted a supply of twelve hundred thousand pounds, one million of that sum to be raised by a clause of credit in the revenue-bills; but, he could not prevail upon them to settle the revenue for life. They granted, however, the hereditary excise for that term; but the customs for four years only. They considered this short-term as the best security the kingdom could have for frequent parliaments; though this precaution was not at all agreeable to their sovereign. A poll-bill was likewise passed; other supplies were granted; and both parties seemed to court his majesty by advancing money on those funds of credit. The Whigs however had another battery in reserve. They produced, in the upper house, a bill for recognizing their majesties as the rightful and lawful sovereigns of these realms; and for declaring all the acts of the last parliament to be good and valid. The Tories were now reduced to a very perplexed situation. They could not oppose the bill without hazarding the interest they had so lately acquired, nor assent to it without solemnly renouncing their former arguments and distinctions. They made no great objections to the first part, and even proposed to enact, That those should be deemed good laws for the time to come; but they refused to declare them valid for that which was past. After

a long debate, the bill was committed ; yet the Whigs lost their majority on the report : nevertheless, the bill was recovered, and passed with some alteration in the words, in consequence of a nervous spirited protest, signed Bolton, Macclesfield, Stamford, Newport, Bedford, Herbert, Suffolk, Monmouth, Delamere, and Oxford. The whole interest of the court was thrown into the scale with this bill, before it would preponderate against the Tories, the chiefs of whom, with the earl of Nottingham at their head, protested in their turn. The same party in the house of commons were determined upon a vigorous opposition ; and in the mean time some trifling objections were made that it might be committed for amendment ; but their design was prematurely discovered by one of their faction, who chanced to question the legality of the convention, as it was not summoned by the king's writ. This insinuation was answered by Somers the solicitor-general, who observed, that if it was not a legal parliament, they who were then met, and who had taken the oaths enacted by that parliament, were guilty of high-treason : the laws repealed by it were still in force ; it was their duty therefore to return to king James ; and all concerned in collecting and paying the money levied by the acts of that parliament, were highly criminal. The Tories were so struck with these arguments, that the bill passed without further opposition, and immediately received the royal assent. Thus the settlement was confirmed by those very people who had so loudly exclaimed against it as illegal ; but, the Whigs, with all their management, would not have gained their point, had not the court been interested in the dispute.

§ XXIV. There was another violent contest between the two parties, on the import of a bill requiring all subjects in office to abjure king James, on pain of imprisonment. Though the clergy were at first exempted from this test, the main body of the Tories opposed it with great vehemence, while the Whigs, under countenance of the ministry, supported it with equal vigour. It produced long and violent debates ; and the two factions seemed pretty equally ballanced. At length, the Tories represented to the king, that a great deal of precious time would be lost in fruitless altercation : that those who declared against the bill would grow sullen and intractable, so as to oppose every other motion that might be made for the king's service : that, in case of its being carried, his majesty must fall again into the hands of the Whigs, who would renew their former practices against the prerogative ; and many individuals, who were now either well affected to him, or at least neutral, would become Jacobites from resentment. These suggestions had such weight with king William, that he sent an intimation to the commons, desiring they would drop the debate, and proceed to matters that were more pressing. The Whigs in general were disgusted at this interposition ; and the earl of Shrewsbury, who had interested himself warmly in behalf of the bill, resented it so deeply, that he insisted on resigning his office of secretary of state. The king, who revered his talents and integrity, employed Dr. Tillotson and others, who were supposed to have credit with the earl, to dissuade him from quitting his employment ; but, he continued deaf to all their remonstrances, and would not even comply with the request of his majesty, who pressed him to keep the seals until he should return from Ireland. Long debates were likewise managed in the house of lords, upon the bill of abjuration, or rather an oath of special fidelity to William, in opposition to James. The Tories professed themselves willing to enter into a
negative

negative engagement against the late king and his adherents ; but they opposed the oath of abjuration with all their might ; and the house was so equally divided that neither side was willing to hazard a decision : so that all the fruits of their debates was a prolongation of the session.

§ XXV. An act was prepared for investing the queen with the administration during the king's absence ; another for reversing the judgment on a Quo Warranto against the city of London, and restoring it to its antient rights and privileges ; and at length, the bill of indemnity so cordially recommended by the king, passed both houses *. On the twenty-first day of May, the king closed the session with a short speech, in which he thanked them for the supplies they had granted ; and recommended to them a punctual discharge of their duties in their respective counties, that the peace of the nation might not be interrupted in his absence. The houses were adjourned to the seventh day of July ; then the parliament was prorogued and adjourned successively. As a further security for the peace of the kingdom, the deputy-lieutenants were authorized to raise the militia, in case of necessity. All papists were prohibited to stir above five miles from their respective places of abode : a proclamation was published for apprehending certain disaffected persons ; Sir John Cochran and Ferguson were actually arrested on suspicion of treasonable practices. On the fourth day of June the king set out for Ireland, attended by prince George of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, the earls of Oxford, Scarborough, Manchester, and many other persons of distinction : on the fourteenth day of the month he landed at Carrickfergus, from whence he immediately proceeded to Belfast, where he was met by the duke of Schomberg, the prince of Wurtemberg, major-general Kirke, and other officers. By this time colonel Wolsley, at the head of a thousand men, had defeated a strong detachment of the enemy near Belturbat ; Sir John Lanier had taken Bedloe-castle, and that of Charlemont, a strong post of great importance, together with Balingargy near Cavan, had been reduced. King William having reposed himself for two or three days at Belfast, visited the duke's head-quarters at Lisburne ; and advancing to Hillsborough, published an order against pressing horses, and committing violence on the country-people. When some of his general-officers proposed cautious measures, he declared he did not come to Ireland to let the grass grow under his feet. He ordered the army to encamp and be reviewed at Loughbrilland, where he found it amounted to six and thirty thousand effective men well appointed. Then he marched to Dundalk ; and afterwards advanced to Ardee, which the enemy had just abandoned.

§ XXVI. King James trusted so much to the disputes in the English parliament, that he did not believe his son-in-law would be able to quit that kingdom ; and he had been six days in Ireland before he received intimation of his

* The following persons were excepted from the benefit of this act. William, marquis of Powis ; Theophilus, earl of Huntingdon ; Robert, earl of Sunderland ; John, earl of Melfort ; Roger, earl of Castlemain ; Nathaniel, lord-bishop of Durham ; Thomas, lord-bishop of St. David's ; Henry, lord Dover ; lord Thomas Howard, Sir Edward Hales, Sir Francis Withers, Sir Edward

Lutwych, Sir Thomas Jenner, Sir Nicholas Butler, Sir William Herbert, Sir Richard Holloway, Sir Richard Heath, Sir Roger L'Estrange, William Molineux, Thomas Tyndesley, colonel Townly, colonel Lundy, Robert Brent, Edward Morgan, Philip Burton, Richard Graham, Edward Petre, Obadiah Walker, Matthew Crone, and George lord Jeffries deceased.

arrival.

arrival. This was no sooner known, than he left Dublin under the guard of the militia commanded by Lutterel, and with a reinforcement of six thousand infantry which he had lately received from France, joined the rest of his forces, which now almost equalled William's army in number, exclusive of about fifteen thousand men who remained in different garrisons. He occupied a very advantageous post on the bank of the Boyne, and contrary to the advice of his general officers, resolved to stand battle. They proposed to strengthen their garrisons, and retire to the Shannon, to wait the effect of the operations at sea. Lewis had promised to equip a powerful armament against the English fleet, and send over a great number of small frigates to destroy William's transports, as soon as their convoy should be returned to England. The execution of this scheme was not at all difficult, and must have proved fatal to the English army; for, their stores and ammunition were still on board; the ships sailed along the coast as the troops advanced in their march; and there was not one secure harbour into which they could retire on any emergency. James, however, was bent upon hazarding an engagement; and expressed uncommon confidence and alacrity. Besides the river, which was deep, his front was secured by a morass and a rising-ground: so that the English army could not attack him without manifest disadvantage.

§ XXVII. King William marched up to the opposite bank of the river, and as he reconnoitred their situation, was exposed to the fire of some field-pieces, which the enemy purposely planted against his person. They killed a man and two horses close by him; and the second bullet rebounding from the earth, grazed upon his right shoulder, so as to carry off part of his cloaths and skin, and produce a considerable contusion. This accident, which he bore without the least emotion, created some confusion among his attendants, which the enemy perceiving, concluded he was killed, and shouted aloud in token of their joy. Their whole camp resounded with acclamation; and several squadrons of their horse were drawn down towards the river, as if they had intended to pass it immediately and attack the English army. The report was instantly communicated from place to place, until it reached Dublin, from thence it was conveyed to Paris, where, contrary to the custom of the French court, the people were encouraged to celebrate the event with bonfires and illuminations. William rode along the line, to shew himself to the army after this narrow escape. At night he called a council of war; and declared his resolution to attack the enemy in the morning. Schomberg at first opposed this design; but finding the king determined, he advised that a strong detachment of horse and foot should that night pass the Boyne at Slane-bridge, and take post between the enemy and the pass of Duleck, that the action might be the more decisive. This counsel being rejected, the king determined that early in the morning, lieutenant-general Douglas, with the right wing of infantry, and young Schomberg, with the horse, should pass at Slane-bridge, while the main body of foot should force their passage at Old-bridge, and the left at certain fords between the enemy's camp and Drogheda. The duke perceiving his advice was not relished by the Dutch generals, retired to his tent, where the order of battle being brought to him, he received it with an air of discontent, saying, it was the first that had ever been sent him in that manner. The proper dispositions being made, William rode quite through the army by torch-light, and then retired to his

his tent, after having given order for the soldiers to distinguish themselves from the enemy by wearing green boughs in their hats during the action.

§ XXVIII. At six o'clock in the morning, general Douglas, with young Schomberg, the earl of Portland and Overkirk, marched towards Slane-bridge, and passed the river with very little opposition. When they reached the farther bank, they perceived the enemy drawn up in two lines, to a considerable number of horse and foot, with a morass in their front; so that Douglas was obliged to wait for a reinforcement. This being arrived, the infantry were led on to the charge through the morass, while count Schomberg rode round it with his cavalry, to attack the enemy in flank. The Irish, instead of waiting the assault, faced about and retreated towards Duleck with some precipitation; yet not so fast, but that Schomberg fell in among their rear, and did considerable execution. King James, however, soon reinforced his left wing from the center; and the count was in his turn obliged to send for assistance. At this juncture, king William's main body, consisting of the Dutch guards, the French regiments, and some battalions of English, passed the river, which was waist high, under a general discharge of artillery. King James had imprudently removed his cannon from the other side; but, he had posted a strong body of musqueteers along the bank, behind hedges, houses, and some works raised for the occasion. They poured in a close fire upon the English troops before they reached the shore; but it produced very little effect: then the Irish gave way; and some battalions landed without farther opposition. Yet, before they could form, they were charged with great impetuosity by a squadron of the enemy's horse; and a considerable body of their cavalry and foot, commanded by general Hamilton, advanced from behind some little hillocks, to attack those that were landed, as well as to prevent the rest from reaching the shore. His infantry turned their backs and fled immediately; but, the horse charged with incredible fury, both upon the bank and in the river, so as to put the unformed regiments in confusion. Then the duke of Schomberg passing the river in person, put himself at the head of the French protestants, and pointing to the enemy, "Gentlemen" "(said he) those are your persecutors;" with these words he advanced to the attack, where he himself sustained a violent onset from a party of the Irish horse which had broke through one of the regiments, and were now on their return. They were mistaken for English, and allowed to gallop up to the duke, who received two severe wounds in the head; but, the French regiments being now sensible of their mistake, rashly threw in their fire upon the Irish while they were engaged with the duke; and instead of saving, shot him dead upon the spot. The fate of this general had well nigh proved fatal to the English army, which was immediately involved in tumult and disorder; while the infantry of king James rallied and returned to their posts with a face of resolution. They were just ready to fall upon the center, when king William having passed with the left wing, composed of the Danish, Dutch, and Inniskillin horse, advanced to attack them on the right. They were struck with such a panic at his appearance, that they made a sudden halt, and then facing about, retreated to the village of Dunore. There they made such a vigorous stand, that the Dutch and Danish horse, though headed by the king in person, recoiled. Even the Inniskilliners gave way; and that whole wing would have been routed, had not a detachment of dragoons belonging to the regiments of Cunningham and Le-

vifon, difmounted, and lined the hedges on each fide of the defile through which the fugitives were driven. There they did fuch execution upon the purfuers as foon checked their ardour. The horfe which were broken, had now time to rally, and returning to the charge, drove the enemy before them in their turn. In this action general Hamilton, who had been the life and foul of the Irish during the whole engagement, was wounded and taken; an incident which difcouraged them to fuch a degree, that they made no further efforts to retrieve the advantage they had loft. He was immediately brought to the king, who asked him if he thought the Irish would make any further refiftance? and he replied, "Upon my honour, I believe they will; for, they have ftill a good body of horfe intire." William eying him with a look of difdain, repeated "Your honour! your honour!" but took no other notice of his having acted contrary to his engagement, when he was permitted to go to Ireland, on promife of perfuading Tyrconnel to fubmit to the new government. The Irish now abandoned the field with precipitation; but, the French and Swifs troops that acted as their auxiliaries, under Lauzun, retreated in good order, after having maintained the battle for fome time with intrepidity and perfeverance. As king William did not think proper to purfue the enemy, the carnage was not great.

§ XXIX. The Irish loft about fifteen hundred men, and the Englifh about one third of that number; tho' the victory was dearly purchafed; confidering the death of the gallant duke of Schomberg, who fell in the eighty-second year of his age, after having rivalled the beft generals of the age in military reputation. He was defcended of a noble family in the Palatinate, and his mother was an Englifhwoman, daughter of lord Dudley. Being obliged to leave his country on account of the troubles by which it was agitated, he commenced a foldier of fortune, and ferved fucceffively in the armies of Holland, England, France, Portugal, and Brandenburgh. He attained to the dignities of marechal in France, grandee in Portugal, generaliffimo in Pruffia, and duke in England. He profefled the proteftant religion; was courteous and humble in his deportment, cool, penetrating, refolute, and fagacious; nor was his probity inferior to his courage. This battle likewise proved fatal to the brave Caillemote, who had followed the duke's fortunes, and commanded one of the proteftant regiments. After having received a mortal wound, he was carried back through the river by four foldiers; and though almoft in the agonies of death, he with a chearful countenance encouraged thofe who were croffing to do their duty, exclaiming, "A la gloire mes enfans; a la gloire! To glory, my lads; to glory!" The third remarkable perfon who loft his life on this occafion, was Walker the clergyman, who had fo valiantly defended Londonderry againft the whole army of king James. He had been very graciously received by king William, who gratified him with a reward of five thoufand pounds, and a promife of further favour: but, his military genius ftill predominating, he attended his royal patron in this battle; and being shot in the belly, died in a few minutes. The perfons of diftinction who fell on the other fide, were the lords Dongan and Carlingford, Sir Neile O Neile, and the marquis of Hocquincourt. James himfelf ftood aloof during the action, on the hill of Dunmore, furrounded with fome fquadrons of horfe; and feeing victory declare againft him, retired to Dublin, without having made the leaft effort to reafemble his broken forces.

Had he possessed either spirit or conduct, his army might have been rallied, and reinforced from his garrisons, so as to be in a condition to keep the field, and even act upon the offensive; for his loss was inconsiderable, and the victor did not attempt to molest his troops in their retreat; an omission which has been charged upon him as a flagrant instance of misconduct. Indeed, through the whole of this engagement, his personal courage was much more conspicuous than his military skill.

§ XXX. King James no sooner arrived at Dublin, than he assembled the magistrates and council of the city, and in a short speech resigned them to the fortune of the victor. He complained of the cowardice of the Irish, signified his resolution of leaving the kingdom immediately; forbade them, on their allegiance, to burn or plunder the city after his departure; and assured them, that tho' he was obliged to yield to force, he would never cease to labour for their deliverance. Next day he set out for Waterford, attended by the duke of Berwick, Tyrconnel, and the marquis of Powis. He ordered all the bridges to be broken down behind him; and embarked in a vessel which had been prepared for his reception. At sea he fell in with the French Squadron, commanded by the sieur de Foran, who persuaded him to go on board one of his frigates, which was a prime sailer. In this he was safely conveyed to France; and returned to the place of his former residence at St. Germain's. He had no sooner quitted Dublin, than it was also abandoned by all the papists. The protestants immediately took possession of the arms belonging to the militia, under the conduct of the bishops of Meath and Limerick. A committee was formed to take charge of the administration; and an account of these transactions was transmitted to king William, together with a petition that he would honour the city with his presence.

§ XXXI. On the morning after the battle of the Boyne, William sent a detachment of horse and foot, under the command of Mr. Melionere, to Drogheda, the governor of which surrendered the place without opposition. The king, at the head of the army, began his march for Dublin, and halted the first night at Bally-Breghan, where having received advice of the enemy's retreat from the capital, he sent the duke of Ormond, with a body of horse, to take possession. These were immediately followed by the Dutch guards, who secured the castle. In a few days the king encamped at Finglas, in the neighbourhood of Dublin, where he was visited by the bishops of Meath and Limerick, at the head of the protestant clergy, whom he assured of his favour and protection. Then he published a declaration of pardon to all the common people who had served against him, provided they should return to their dwellings, and surrender their arms by the first day of August. Those that rented lands of popish proprietors who had been concerned in the rebellion, were required to retain their rents in their own hands, until they should have notice from the commissioners of the revenue, to whom they might be paid. The desperate leaders of the rebellion, who had violated the laws of the kingdom, called in the French, authorised the depredations which had been committed upon protestants, and rejected the pardon offered to them on the king's first proclamation, were left to the event of war, unless by evident demonstrations of repentance they should deserve mercy, which would never be refused to those that were truly penitent. The next step taken by king William, was to issue a proclamation, reducing the brass money to

to nearly its intrinsic value. In the mean time, the principal officers in the army of James, after having seen him embark at Waterford, returned to their troops, determined to prosecute the war as long as they could be supplied with means to support their operations.

§ XXXII. During these transactions, the queen, as regent, found herself surrounded with numberless cares and perplexities. Her council was pretty equally divided into Whigs and Tories, who did not always act with unanimity. She was distracted between her apprehensions for her father's safety and her husband's life: she was threatened with an invasion by the French from abroad, and with an insurrection by the Jacobites at home. Nevertheless, she disguised her fears, and behaved with equal prudence and fortitude. Advice being received that a fleet was ready to sail from Brest, lord Torrington hoisted his flag in the Downs, and sailed round to St. Helen's, in order to assemble such a number of ships as would enable him to give them battle. The enemy being discovered off Plymouth, on the twentieth day of June, the English admiral, reinforced with a Dutch squadron, put to sea with a view to intercept them at the back of the Isle of Wight, should they presume to sail up the channel. Not that he thought himself strong enough to cope with them in battle; for their fleet consisted of seventy-eight ships of war, and two and twenty fireships; whereas, the combined squadrons of England and Holland did not exceed six and fifty; but, he had received orders to hazard an engagement, if he thought it might be done with any prospect of success. After the hostile fleets had continued five days in sight of each other, lord Torrington bore down upon the enemy off Beachy-head, on the thirtieth day of June at day-break. The Dutch squadron which composed the van, began the engagement about nine in the morning; in about half an hour the blue division of the English were close engaged with the rear of the French; but, the red, which formed the center, under the command of Torrington in person, did not fill the line till ten o'clock; so that the Dutch were almost surrounded by the enemy; and though they fought with great valour, sustained considerable damage. At length, the admiral's division drove between them and the French; and in that situation the fleet anchored about five in the afternoon, when the action was interrupted by a calm. The Dutch had suffered so severely, that he thought it would be imprudent to renew the battle: he therefore weighed anchor in the night, and with the tide of flood retired to the eastward. The next day the disabled ships were destroyed, that they might not be retarded in their retreat. They were pursued as far as Rye; and an English ship of seventy guns being stranded near Winchelsea, was set on fire, and deserted, by the captain's command. A Dutch ship of sixty-four guns met with the same accident, and some French frigates attempted to burn her; but, the captain defended her so vigorously, that they were obliged to desist; and he afterwards found means to carry her safe to Holland. In this engagement the English lost two ships, two sea-captains, and about four hundred men; but, the Dutch were more unfortunate. Six of their great ships were destroyed. Dick and Brackel rear-admirals, were slain, together with a great number of inferior officers and seamen. Torrington retreated without further interruption into the mouth of the Thames; and having taken precautions against any attempts of the enemy in that quarter, returned to London, the inhabitants of which were overwhelmed with consternation.

§ XXXIII. The government was infected with the same panic. The ministry pretended to believe that the French acted in concert with the malecontents of the nation; that insurrections in different parts of the kingdom had been projected by the Jacobites; and that there would be a general revolt in Scotland. These insinuations were circulated by the court-agents, in order to justify, in the opinion of the public, the measures that were deemed necessary at this juncture; and they produced the desired effect. The apprehensions, thus artfully raised among the people, inflamed their aversion to nonjurors and Jacobites. Addresses were presented to the queen, by the Cornish tanners, the lieutenancy of Middlesex, and by the mayor, aldermen, and lieutenancy of London, filled with professions of loyalty, and promises of supporting their majesties as their lawful sovereigns, against all opposition. The queen, at this crisis, exhibited remarkable proofs of courage, activity, and discretion. She issued out proper orders and directions for putting the nation in a posture of defence, as well as for refitting and augmenting the fleet: she took measures for appeasing the resentment of the states-general, who exclaimed against the earl of Torrington for his behaviour in the late action. He was deprived of his command, and sent prisoner to the Tower; and commissioners were appointed to examine the particular circumstances of his conduct. A camp was formed in the neighbourhood of Torbay, where the French seemed to threaten a descent. Their fleet, which lay at anchor in the bay, cannonaded a small village called Tintmouth. About a thousand of their men landed without opposition, set fire to the place, and burned a few coasting vessels: then they reembarked, and returned to Brest; so vain of this achievement, that they published a pompous account of their invasion. Some of the Whig partisans published pamphlets, and diffused reports, implying, that the suspended bishops were concerned in the conspiracy against the government; and these arts proved so inflammatory among the common people, that the prelates thought it necessary to print a paper, in which they asserted their innocence in the most solemn protestations. The court seems to have harboured no suspicion against them; otherwise they would not have escaped imprisonment, when the queen published a proclamation for apprehending the earls of Litchfield, Aylesbury, and Castlemain, viscount Preston, the lords Montgomery and Bellasis, Sir Edward Hales, Sir Robert Tharold, Sir Robert Hamilton, Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, colonel Edward Sackville, and some other officers, accused of having conspired with other disaffected persons, to disturb and destroy the government; and of a design to concur with her majesty's enemies in the intended invasion. The earl of Torrington continued a prisoner in the Tower till next session, when he was brought into the house of commons; and made a speech in his own defence. His case produced long debates in the upper house, where the form of his commitment was judged illegal: at length, he was tried by a court-martial, appointed by the commissioners of the admiralty, though not before an act had passed, declaring the power of a lord high-admiral vested in those commissioners. The president of the court was Sir Ralph Delaval, who had acted as vice-admiral of the blue, in the engagement. The earl was acquitted: but, the king dismissed him from the service; and the Dutch exclaimed against the partiality of his judges.

§ XXXIV.

§ XXXIV. William is said to have taken all the papers of his father-in-law and Tyrconnel, and to have learned from them, not only the design projected by the French to burn the English transports, but likewise the undertaking of one Jones, who engaged to assassinate king William. No such attempt, however, was made; and, in all probability, the whole report was a fiction, calculated to throw an odium on James's character. On the ninth day of July, William detached general Douglas with a considerable body of horse and foot towards Athlone; while he himself, having left Trelawny to command at Dublin, advanced with the rest of his army to Inchequin, in his way to Kilkenny. Colonel Grace, the governor of Athlone forking James, being summoned to surrender, fired a pistol at the trumpeter, saying, "These are my terms." Then Douglas resolved to undertake the siege of the place, which was naturally very strong, and defended by a resolute garrison. An inconsiderable breach was made, when Douglas receiving intelligence that Sarsfield was on his march to the relief of the besieged, abandoned the enterprize, after having lost above four hundred men in the attempt. The king continued his march to the westward; and, by dint of severe examples, established such order and discipline in his army, that the peasants were secure from the least violence. At Carlow he detached the duke of Ormond to take possession of Kilkenny, where that nobleman regaled him in his own castle, which the enemy had left undamaged. While the army encamped at Carrick, major-general Kirke was sent to Waterford, the garrison of which, consisting of two regiments, capitulated, upon condition of marching out with their arms and baggage, and being conducted to Malloy. The fort of Duncannon was surrendered on the same terms. Here the lord Dover and the lord George Howard were admitted to the benefit of the king's mercy and protection.

§ XXXV. On the first day of August, William being at Chapel-Izard, published a second declaration of mercy, confirming the former, and even extending it to persons of superior rank and station, whether natives or foreigners, provided they would, by the twenty-fifth day of the month, lay down their arms, and submit to certain conditions. This offer of indemnity produced very little effect; for the Irish were generally governed by their priests; and the news of the victory which the French fleet had obtained over the English and Dutch, were circulated with such exaggerations as elevated their spirits, and effaced all thoughts of submission. The king had returned to Dublin, with a view to embark for England; but receiving notice that the designs of his domestic enemies were discovered and frustrated, that the fleet was repaired, and the French navy retired to Brest, he postponed his voyage, and resolved to reduce Limerick, in which monsieur Boisseleau commanded as governor, and the duke of Berwick and colonel Sarsfield acted as inferior officers. On the ninth day of August, the king having called in his detachments, and advanced into the neighbourhood of the place, summoned the commander to deliver the town; and Boisseleau answered, that he imagined the best way to gain the good opinion of the prince of Orange, would be a vigorous defence of the town, which his majesty had committed to his charge. Before the place was fully invested, colonel Sarsfield, with a body of horse and dragoons, passed the Shannon in the night, intercepted the king's train of artillery on its way to the camp, routed the troops that guarded it, disabled the cannon, destroyed the

the carriages, waggons, and ammunition, and returned in safety to Limerick. Notwithstanding this disaster, the trenches were opened on the seventeenth day of the month, and a battery was raised with some cannon brought from Waterford. The siege was carried on with vigour, and the place defended with great resolution. At length the king ordered his troops to make a lodgment in the covered way or counterscarp, which was accordingly assaulted with great fury: but the assailants met with such a warm reception from the besieged, that they were repulsed with the loss of twelve hundred men, either killed on the spot or mortally wounded. This disappointment concurring with the badness of the weather, which became rainy and unwholesome, induced the king to renounce his undertaking. The heavy baggage and cannon being sent away, the army decamped and marched towards Clonmel. William having constituted the lord Sidney and Thomas Coningsby lords justices of Ireland, and left the command of the army with count Solmes, embarked at Duncannon, with prince George of Denmark, on the fifth of September, and next day arrived in King's road, near Bristol, from whence he repaired to Windsor.

§ XXXVI. About the latter end of this month, the earl of Marlborough arrived in Ireland with five thousand English troops, to attack Cork and Kinsale, in conjunction with a detachment from the great army, according to a scheme he had proposed to king William. Having landed his soldiers, without much opposition in the neighbourhood of Cork, he was joined by five thousand men, under the prince of Wirtemberg, between whom and the earl a dispute arose about the command: but this was compromised by the interposition of La Melloiere. The place being invested, and the batteries raised, the besiegers proceeded with such rapidity that a breach was soon effected. Colonel Mackillicut the governor demanded a parley, and hostages were exchanged: but he rejected the conditions that were offered, and hostilities recommenced with redoubled vigour. The duke of Grafton, who served on this occasion as a volunteer, was mortally wounded in one of the attacks, and died regretted as a youth of promising talents. Preparations being made for a general assault, the besieged thought proper to capitulate, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Besides the governor and colonel Ricaut, the victor found the earls of Clancarty and Tyrone among the individuals of the garrison. Marlborough having taken possession of Cork, detached brigadier Villiers with a body of horse and dragoons to summon the town and forts of Kinsale; and next day advanced with the rest of the forces. The old fort was immediately taken by assault; but Sir Edward Scot, who commanded the other, sustained a regular siege, until the breach was practicable, and then obtained an honourable capitulation. These maritime places being reduced, all communication between France and the enemy, on this side of the island, was cut off, and the Irish were confined to Ulster, where they could not subsist without great difficulty. The earl of Marlborough having finished this expedition in thirty days, returned with his prisoners to England, where the fame of this exploit added greatly to his reputation.

§ XXXVII. During these transactions, count de Lauzun commander of the French auxiliaries in Ireland, lay inactive in the neighbourhood of Galway, and transmitted such a lamentable account of his situation to the court of

France, that transports were sent over to bring home the French forces. In these he embarked with his troops, and the command of the Irish forces devolved to the duke of Berwick, though it was afterwards transferred to Mr. St. Ruth. Lauzun was disgraced at Versailles, for having deserted the cause before it was desperate; and Tyrconnel, who accompanied him in his voyage, solicited the French court for a further supply of officers, arms, cloaths, and ammunition, for the Irish army, which he said would continue firm to the interest of king James, if thus supported. Mean while, they formed themselves into separate bodies of freebooters, and plundered the country, under the appellation of Rapparees; while the troops of king William either enjoyed their ease in quarters, or imitated the rapine of the enemy; so that, between both, the poor people were miserably harrassed.

§ XXXVIII. The affairs of the continent had not yet undergone any change of importance, except in the conduct of the duke of Savoy, who renounced his neutrality, engaged in an alliance with the emperor and king of Spain; and, in a word, acceded to the grand confederacy. He had no sooner declared himself, than Catinat the French general entered his territories at the head of eighteen thousand men; defeated him in a pitched battle near Saluces, which immediately surrendered to the conqueror. Then he reduced Savillana, Villa Franca, with several other places, pursued the duke to Carignan, surpris'd Suza, and distributed his forces in winter-quarters, partly in Provence, and partly in the dutchy of Savoy, which St. Ruth had lately reduced under the dominion of France. The duke finding himself disappointed in the succours he expected from the emperor and king of Spain, demanded assistance of the states-general and king William, to whom he sent an ambassador to congratulate him upon his accession to the throne of England. The confederates, in their general congress at the Hague, had agreed that the army of the states under prince Waldeck should oppose the forces of France, commanded by the duke of Luxemburg in Flanders; while the elector of Brandenburg should observe the marquis de Boufflers on the Moselle: but, before the troops of Brandenburg could be assembled, Boufflers encamped between the Sambre and the Meuse, and maintained a free communication with Luxemburg.

§ XXXIX. Prince Waldeck understanding that this general intended to cross the Sambre between Namur and Charleroy, in order to lay the Spanish territories under contribution, decamped from the river Pieton, and detached the count of Berlo, with a great body of horse, to observe the motions of the enemy. He was encountered by the French army near Flerus, and slain; and his troops, though supported by two other detachments, were hardly able to rejoin the main body, which continued all night in order of battle. Next day they were attacked by the French, who were greatly superior to them in number; and, after a very obstinate engagement, obliged to give way, leaving about five thousand men dead upon the field of battle. The enemy took about four thousand prisoners, and the greatest part of their artillery; but the victory was dearly bought. The Dutch infantry fought with surpris'ing resolution and success. The duke of Luxemburg owned, with surpris'e, that they had surpassed the Spanish foot at the battle of Rocroy. "Prince Waldeck (said he) ought always to remember the French horse; and "I shall never forget the Dutch infantry." The Dutch general exerted him-
self

self with such activity, that the French derived very little advantage from their victory. The prince being reinforced with the five English regiments, nine thousand Hanoverians, ten thousand from the bishopric of Liege and Holland, joined the elector of Brandenburg; so that the confederate army amounted to five and fifty thousand men; and they marched by the way of Genap to Bois-Seigneur-Isaac. They were now superior to Luxemburg, who thought proper to fortify his camp, that he might not be obliged to fight, except with considerable advantage. Nevertheless, prince Waldeck would have attacked him in his intrenchments, had not he been prohibited from hazarding another engagement, by an express order of the states-general; and, when this restriction was removed, the elector would not venture a battle.

§ XL. By this time the emperor's son Joseph was by the electoral college chosen king of the Romans; but his interest sustained a rude shock in the death of the gallant duke of Lorraine, who was suddenly seized with a quinsy, at a small village near Lintz, and expired, not without suspicion of having fallen a sacrifice to the fears of the French king, against whom he had formally declared war, as a sovereign prince unjustly expelled from his territories. He possessed great military talents, and had threatened to enter Lorraine, at the head of forty thousand men, in the course of the ensuing summer. The court of France, alarmed at this declaration, is said to have had recourse to poison, for preventing the execution of the duke's design. At his death the command of the imperial army was conferred upon the elector of Bavaria, who having joined the elector of Saxony, advanced against the dauphin, who had passed the Rhine at Fort Louis, with a considerable army, and intended to penetrate into Wirtemberg: but the duke of Bavaria checked his progress, and he acted on the defensive during the remaining part of the campaign. The emperor was less fortunate in his efforts against the Turks, who rejected the conditions of peace he had offered, and took the field, under a new vizir. In the month of August, count Tekeli defeated a body of Imperialists near Cronstadt, in Transylvania; then convoking the states of that province at Albajulia, he compelled them to elect him their sovereign: but his reign was of short duration. Prince Lewis of Baden having taken the command of the Austrian army, detached four regiments into Belgrade, and advanced against Tekeli, who retired into Valachia at his approach. Mean while, the grand vizir invested Belgrade, and carried on his attacks with surprising resolution. At length, a bomb falling upon a great tower, in which the powder-magazine of the besieged was contained, the place blew up with a dreadful explosion. Seventeen hundred soldiers of the garrison were destroyed; the walls and ramparts were overthrown, the ditch was filled up, and so large a breach was opened, that the Turks entered by squadrons and battalions, cutting in pieces all that fell in their way. The fire spread from magazine to magazine, until eleven were destroyed; and, in the confusion, the remaining part of the garrison escaped to Peterwaradin. By this time the Imperialists were in possession of Transylvania, and cantoned at Cronstadt and Clausenburg. Tekeli undertook to attack the province on one side, while a body of Turks should invade it on the other: these last were totally dispersed by prince Lewis of Baden: but prince Augustus of Hanover, whom he had detached against the count, was slain in a narrow defile, and his troops obliged to retreat with precipitation.

Tekeli, however, did not improve this advantage. Being apprised of the fate of his allies, and afraid of seeing his retreat cut off by the snow, that frequently choaks up the passes of the mountains, he retreated again to Valachia, and prince Lewis returned to Vienna.

§ XLI. King William having published a proclamation, requiring the attendance of the members on the second day of October, both houses met accordingly, and he opened the session with a speech to the usual purport. He mentioned what he had done towards the reduction of Ireland; commended the behaviour of the troops; told them the supplies were not equal to the necessary expence; represented the danger to which the nation would be exposed, unless the war should be prosecuted with vigour; conjured them to clear his revenue, which was mortgaged for the payment of former debts, and enable him to pay off the arrears of the army; assured them that the success of the confederacy abroad would depend upon the vigour and dispatch of their proceedings; expressed his resentment against those who had been guilty of misconduct in the management of the fleet; recommended unanimity and expedition, and declared, that whoever should attempt to divert their attention from those subjects of importance which he had proposed, could neither be a friend to him, nor a wellwisher to his country. The late attempt of the French upon the coast of England, the rumours of a conspiracy by the Jacobites, the personal valour which William had displayed in Ireland, and the pusillanimous behaviour of James, concurred in warming the resentment of the nation against the adherents of the late king, and in raising a tide of loyalty in favour of the new government. Both houses presented separate addresses of congratulation to the king and queen, upon his courage and conduct in the field, and her fortitude and sagacity at the helm, in times of danger and disquiet. The commons, pursuant to an estimate laid before them of the next year's expences, voted a supply of four millions for the maintenance of the army and navy, and settled the funds for that purpose.

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§ XLII. They proposed to raise one million by the sale of forfeited estates in Ireland: they resolved, that a bill should be brought in for confiscating those estates, with a clause, empowering the king to bestow a third part of them on those who had served in the war, as well as to grant such articles and capitulations to those who were in arms, as he should think proper. This clause was rejected; and a great number of petitions were offered against the bill, by creditors and heirs, who had continued faithful to the government. These were supposed to have been suggested by the court, in order to retard the progress of the bill; for the estates had been already promised to the king's favourites: nevertheless, the bill passed the lower house, and was sent up to the lords, among whom it was purposely delayed by the influence of the ministry. It was at this juncture that lord Torrington was tried and acquitted, very much to the dissatisfaction of the king, who not only dismissed him from the service, but even forbade him to appear in his presence. When William came to the house of lords, to give the royal assent to a bill for doubling the excise, he told the parliament, that the posture of affairs required his presence at the Hague; that therefore, they ought to lose no time in perfecting such other supplies as were still necessary for the maintenance of the army and navy; and he reminded them of making some provision for the expence of the civil government. Two

bills were accordingly passed for granting to their majesties the duties on goods imported for five years; and these, together with the mutiny-bill, received the royal assent: upon which occasion the king observed, that if some annual provision could be made for augmenting the navy, it would greatly conduce to the honour and safety of the nation. In consequence of this hint, they voted a considerable supply for building additional ships of war*, and proceeded with such alacrity and expedition, as even seemed to anticipate the king's desires. This liberality and dispatch were in a great measure owing to the management of lord Godolphin, who was now placed at the head of the treasury, and Sir John Somers the solicitor-general. The place of secretary of state, which had remained vacant since the resignation of the earl of Shrewsbury, was now filled with lord Sidney; and Sir Charles Porter was appointed one of the justices of Ireland, in the room of this nobleman.

§ XLIII. Notwithstanding the act for reversing the proceedings against the city-charter, the Whigs had made shift to keep possession of the magistracy: Pilkington continued mayor, and Robinson retained the office of chamberlain. The Tories of the city presuming upon their late services, presented a petition to the house of commons, complaining, That the intent of the late act of parliament for reversing the judgment on the Quo Warranto, was frustrated by some doubtful expression; so that the old aldermen elected by commissions under the late king's great seal, still acted by virtue of that authority: That Sir Thomas Pilkington was not duly returned as mayor by the common-hall: and, That he and the aldermen had imposed Mr. Leonard Robinson upon them as chamberlain, though another person was duly elected into that office: That divers members of the common-council were illegally excluded, and others duly elected were refused admittance. They specified other grievances, and petitioned for relief. Pilkington and his associates undertook to prove, that those allegations were either false or frivolous; and represented the petition as a contrivance of the Jacobites, to disturb the peace of the city, that the supply might be retarded, and the government distressed. In the late panic which overspread the nation, the Whigs had appeared to be the monied men, and subscribed largely for the security of the settlement they had made, while the Tories kept aloof with a suspicious caution. For this reason the court now interposed its influence in such a manner, that little or no regard was payed to their remonstrance.

§ XLIV. The marquis of Carmarthen lord-president, who was at the head of the Tory interest in the ministry, and had acquired great credit with the king and queen, now fell under the displeasure of the opposite faction; and they resolved (if possible) to revive his old impeachment. The earl of Shrewsbury, and thirteen other leading men, had engaged in this design. A committee of lords was appointed to examine precedents, and enquire whether impeachments continued in statu quo from parliament to parliament. Several such precedents were reported; and violent debates ensued: but, the marquis eluded the ven-

* This supply was raised by the additional duties upon beer, ale, and other liquors. They also provided in the bill, that the impositions on wines, vinegar, and tobacco, should be made a fund of credit: That the surplus of the grants they had made, after the current service was pro-

vided for, should be applicable to the payment of the debts contracted by the war: and, That it should be lawful for their majesties to make use of five hundred thousand pounds, out of the said grants, on condition of that sum's being repaid from the revenue.

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geance of his enemies, in consequence of the following question, "Whether the earls of Salisbury and Peterborough, who had been impeached in the former parliament, for being reconciled to the church of Rome, shall be discharged from their bail?" The house resolved in the affirmative, and several lords entered a protest. The commons having finished a bill for appointing commissioners to take and state the public accounts; and having chosen the commissioners from among their own members, sent it up to the house of lords. There the earl of Rochester moved, that they should add some of their number to those of the commons: they accordingly chose an equal number by ballot; but, Rochester himself being elected, refused to act: the others followed his example, and the bill passed without alteration. On the fifth day of January, the king put an end to the session with a speech, in which he thanked them for the repeated instances they had exhibited of their affection to his person and government. He told them it was high time for him to embark for Holland; recommended unanimity, and assured them of his particular favour and protection. Then lord chief baron Atkins signified his majesty's pleasure, that the two houses should adjourn themselves to the thirty-first day of March.

§ XLV. William having settled the affairs of the nation, set out for Margate on the sixth day of January; but, the ship in which he proposed to embark, being detained by an easterly wind and hard frost, he returned to Kensington. On the sixteenth, however, he embarked at Gravesend with a numerous retinue, and set sail for Holland, under convoy of twelve ships of war, commanded by admiral Rooke. Next day, being informed by a fisherman, that he was within a league and a half of Goree, he quitted the yacht, and went into an open boat, attended by the duke of Ormond, the earls of Devonshire, Dorset, Portland, and Monmouth, with Overkirke, and Zuylestein. Instead of landing immediately, they lost sight of the fleet, and night coming on, were exposed in very severe weather to the danger of the enemy and the sea, which ran very high for eighteen hours, during which the king and all his attendants were drenched with sea-water. When the sailors expressed their apprehensions of perishing, the king asked, if they were afraid to die in his company? At day-break he landed on the isle of Goree, where he took some refreshment in a fisherman's hut; then he committed himself to the boat again, and was conveyed to the shore in the neighbourhood of Maeslandsluys. A deputation of the states received him at Hounslardyke; and about six in the evening he arrived at the Hague, where he was immediately complimented by the states-general, the states of Holland, the council of state, the other colleges, and the foreign ministers. He afterwards, at the request of the magistrates, made his public entry with surprising magnificence; and the Dutch celebrated his arrival with bonfires, illuminations, and other marks of tumultuous joy. He assisted at their different assemblies; informed them of his successes in England and Ireland; and assured them of his constant zeal and affection for his native country.

§ XLVI. At a solemn congress of the confederate princes, he represented, in a set speech, the dangers to which they were exposed from the power and ambition of France; and the necessity of acting with vigour and dispatch. He declared he would spare neither his credit, forces, nor person, in concurring with their measures; and that in the spring he would come at the head of his troops to fulfil his engagements. They forthwith resolved to employ two hundred and

twenty-two thousand men against France in the ensuing campaign. The proportions of the different princes and states were regulated; and the king of England agreed to furnish twenty thousand. He supplied the duke of Savoy so liberally, that his affairs soon assumed a more promising aspect. The plan of operations was settled; and they transacted their affairs with such harmony, that no dispute interrupted their deliberations. In the beginning of March, immediately after the congress broke up, the siege of Mons was undertaken by the French king in person, accompanied by the dauphin, the dukes of Orleans and Chartres. The garrison consisted of about six thousand men, commanded by the prince of Bergue; but, the besiegers carried on their works with such rapidity as they could not withstand. King William no sooner understood that the place was invested, than he ordered prince Waldeck to assemble the army, determined to march against the enemy in person. Fifty thousand men were soon collected at Halle near Brussels; but, when he went thither, he found the Spaniards had neglected to provide carriages and other necessaries for the expedition. Mean while, the burghers of Mons seeing their town in danger of being utterly destroyed by the bombs and cannon of the enemy, pressed the governor to capitulate, and even threatened to introduce the besiegers: so that he was forced to comply, and obtained very honourable conditions. William being apprized of this event, returned to the Hague, embarked for England, and arrived at Whitehall on the thirteenth day of April *.

* A few days before his arrival, great part of the palace of Whitehall was consumed by fire, through the negligence of a female servant.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

§ I. Conspiracy against the government by lord Preston and others. § II. The king fills up the vacant bishopricks. § III. Affairs of Scotland. § IV. Campaign in Flanders. § V. Progress of the French in Piedmont. § VI. Election of a new pope. § VII. The emperor's success against the Turks. § VIII. Affairs of Ireland. § IX. General Ginckle reduces Athlone. § X. Defeats the Irish at Aghrim. § XI. Undertakes the siege of Limerick. § XII. The French and Irish obtain an honourable capitulation. § XIII. Twelve thousand Irish catholics are transported to France. § XIV. Meeting of the English parliament. § XV. Discontent of the nation. § XVI. Transactions in parliament. § XVII. Disputes concerning the bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason. § XVIII. The English and Dutch fleets worsted by the French in an engagement off Beachy-Head. § XIX. The king disobliges the presbyterians of Scotland. § XX. The earl of Braidalbin undertakes for the submission of the Highlanders. § XXI. Massacre of Glencoe. § XXII. Preparations for a descent upon England. § XXIII. Declaration of king James. § XXIV. Efforts of his friends in England. § XXV. Precautions taken by the queen for the defence of the nation. § XXVI. Admiral Russel puts to sea. § XXVII. He obtains a complete victory over the French fleet off La Hogue. § XXVIII. Troops embarked at St. Helen's for a descent upon France. § XXIX. The design laid aside. The troops landed at Ostend. § XXX. The French king takes Namur in sight of king William. § XXXI. The allies are defeated at Steenkirk. § XXXII. Extravagant rejoicings in France on account of this victory. § XXXIII. Conspiracy against the life of king William, hatched by the French ministry. § XXXIV. Misfortune of a design upon Dunkirk. § XXXV. The campaign is inactive on the Rhine and in Hungary. § XXXVI. The duke of Savoy invades Dauphiné. § XXXVII. The duke of Hanover created an elector of the empire.

§ I. **A** Conspiracy against the government had been lately discovered. In the latter end of December, the master of a vessel who lived at Barkington in Essex, informed the marquis of Carmarthen, that his wife had let out one of his barks to carry over some persons to France; and that they would embark on the thirtieth day of the month. This intelligence being communicated to the king and council, an order was sent to captain Billop, to watch the motion of the vessel and secure the passengers. He accordingly boarded her at Gravesend, and found in the hold lord Preston, Mr. Ashton, a servant of the late queen, and one Elliot. He likewise seized a bundle of papers, some of which were scarce intelligible; and among the rest, two letters supposed to be written by Turner bishop of Ely to king James and his queen, under fictitious names. The whole amounted to an invitation to the French king, to assist king James in reascending the throne, upon certain conditions, while William should be absent from the kingdom: but the scheme was ill layed, and countenanced but by a very few persons of consideration, among whom the chiefs were the earl of Clarendon, the bishop of Ely, lord Preston, his brother Mr. Graham, and Penn the famous quaker. Notwithstanding the outcries which had been made against the severities of the late government, Preston and his accomplice Ashton,

Ashton, were tried at the Old Bailey for compassing the death of their majesties king William and queen Mary; and their trials were hurried on without any regard to their petitions for delay. Lord Preston alledged, in his defence, that the treasons charged upon him were not committed in the county of Middlesex, as laid in the indictment; that none of the witnesses declared he had any concern in hiring the vessel; that the papers were not found upon him; that there ought to be two credible witnesses to every fact, whereas the whole proof against him rested on similitude of hands and mere supposition. He was nevertheless found guilty. Ashton behaved with great intrepidity and composure. He owned his purpose of going to France, in pursuance of a promise he had made to general Worden, who, on his death-bed, conjured him to go thither and finish some affairs of consequence which he had left there depending; and with a view to recover a considerable sum of money due to himself. He denied that he was privy to the contents of the papers found upon him; he complained of his having been denied time to prepare for his trial; and called several persons to prove him a protestant of exemplary piety and irreproachable morals. These circumstances had no weight with the court. He was brow-beaten by the bench, and found guilty by the jury, as he had the papers in his custody: yet there was no privy proved; and the Whig party themselves had often expressly declared, that of all sorts of evidence, that of finding papers in a person's possession is the weakest, because no man can secure himself from such danger. Ashton suffered with equal courage and decorum. In a paper which he delivered to the sheriff, he owned his attachment to king James; he witnessed to the birth of the prince of Wales; denied his knowledge of the contents of the papers that were committed to his charge; complained of the hard measure he had met with from the judges and the jury, but forgave them in the sight of heaven. This man was celebrated by the Nonjurors as a martyr to loyalty; and they boldly affirmed, that his chief crime in the eyes of the government, was his having among his baggage, an account of such evidence as would have been convincing to all the world, concerning the birth of the prince of Wales, which by a great number of people was believed supposititious*. Lord Preston obtained a pardon; Elliot was not tried, because no evidence appeared against him; the earl of Clarendon was sent to the Tower, where he remained some months, and he was afterwards confined to his own house in the country: an indulgence which he owed to his consanguinity with the queen, who was his first cousin. The bishop of Ely, Graham, and Penn absconded; and a proclamation was issued for apprehending them as traitors.

§ II. This prelate's being concerned in a conspiracy, furnished the king with a plausible pretence for filling up the vacant bishoprics. The deprived bishops had been given to understand, that an act of parliament might be obtained to excuse them from taking the oaths, provided they would perform their episcopal functions; but, as they declined this expedient, the king resolved to fill up

* To one of the pamphlets published on this occasion, is annexed a petition to the present government, in the name of king James's adherents, importing, that some grave and learned person should be authorized to compile a treatise shewing the grounds of William's title; and in case

the performance should carry conviction along with it, they would submit to that title, as they had hitherto opposed it from a principle of conscience. The best answer that could be made to this summons, was Locke's book upon government, which appeared at this period. Ralph,

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their places at his return from Holland. Accordingly the archbishopric of An. Ch. 1691. Canterbury was conferred upon doctor Tillotson *, one of the most learned, moderate, and virtuous ecclesiastics of the age, who did not accept of this promotion without great reluctance, because he foresaw that he should be exposed to the slander and malevolence of that party which espoused the cause of his predecessor. The other vacant sees were given to divines of unblemished character; and the public in general seemed very well satisfied with this exertion of the king's supremacy. The deprived bishops at first affected all the meekness of resignation. They remembered those shouts of popular approbation, by which they had been animated in the persecution they suffered under the late government; and they hoped the same cordial would support them in their present affliction: but, finding the nation cold in their concern, they determined to warm it by argument and declamation. The press groaned with the efforts of their learning and resentment; and every essay was answered by their opponents. The Nonjurors affirmed that Christianity was a doctrine of the cross; that no pretence whatever could justify an insurrection against the sovereign; that the primitive christians thought it their indispensable duty to be passive under every invasion of their rights; that non-resistance was the doctrine of the English church, confirmed by all the sanctions that could be derived from the laws of God and man. The other party not only supported the natural rights of mankind, and explained the use that might be made of the doctrine of non-resistance, in exciting fresh commotions, but they also argued, that if passive obedience was right in any instance, it was conclusively so with regard to the present government; for the obedience required by scripture was indiscriminate, "the powers that be, are ordained of God—let every soul be subject to the higher powers." From these texts they inferred, that the new oaths ought to be taken without scruple; and that those who refused them, concealed party under the cloak of conscience. On the other hand, the fallacy and treachery of this argument were demonstrated. They said it levelled all distinctions of justice and duty; that those who taught such doctrines attached themselves solely to possession, howsoever unjustly acquired; that if twenty different usurpers should succeed one another, they would recognize the last, notwithstanding the allegiance they had so solemnly sworn to his predecessor, like the fawning spaniel that followed the thief who mounted his master's horse, after having murdered the right owner. They also denied the justice of a lay deprivation, and with respect to church-government started the same distinctions "De jure" and "De facto," which they had formerly made in the civil administration. They had even recourse to all the bitterness of invective against Tillotson and the new bishops, whom they reviled as intruders and usurpers; but their acrimony was chiefly directed against Dr. Sherlock, who had been one of the most violent sticklers against the revolution, but thought proper to take the oaths upon the retreat of king James from Ireland. They branded him as an apostate who had betrayed his cause, and published a review of his whole conduct, which proved a severe satire upon his character. Their attacks upon individuals were mingled with their vengeance against the government: and indeed the great aim of their divines as well as of their politicians, was to sap the foundation of

* Beveridge was promoted to the see of Bath and Wells, Fowler to that of Gloucester, Cumberland to Peterborough, Moore to Norwich, Grove to Chichester, and Patrick to Ely.

the new settlement. In order to alienate the minds of the people from the interests of the reigning prince, they ridiculed his character, inveighed against his measures, accused him of sacrificing the concerns of England to the advantage of his native country; and drew invidious comparisons between the wealth, the trade, the taxes of the last and of the present reign. To frustrate these efforts of the malecontents, the court employed their engines to answer and re-criminate; all sorts of informers were encouraged and caressed; in a proclamation issued against papists and other disaffected persons, all magistrates were enjoined to make search and apprehend those who should, by seditious discourses and libels, presume to defame the government. Thus the revolutioners commenced the professed enemies of those very arts and practices which had enabled them to bring their scheme to perfection.

§ III. The presbyterians in Scotland acted with such folly, violence, and tyranny, as rendered them equally odious and contemptible. The transactions in their general assembly were carried on with such peevishness, partiality, and injustice, that the king dissolved it by an act of state, and convoked another for the month of November in the following year. The episcopal party promised to enter heartily into the interests of the new government, to keep the Highlanders quiet, and induce the clergy to acknowledge and serve king William, provided he would ballance the power of Melvill and his partisans in such a manner as would secure them from violence and oppression; provided the episcopal ministers should be permitted to perform their functions among those people by whom they were beloved; and that such of them as were willing to mix with the presbyterians in their judicatories, should be admitted without any severe imposition in point of opinion. The king, who was extremely disgusted at the presbyterians, relished the proposal; and young Dalrymple, son of lord Stair, was appointed joint secretary of state with Melvill. He undertook to bring over the majority of the Jacobites, and a great number of them took the oaths; but at the same time they maintained a correspondence with the court of St. Germain, by the connivance of which they submitted to William, that they might be in a condition to serve James the more effectually. The Scottish parliament was adjourned by proclamation to the sixteenth day of September. Precautions were taken to prevent any dangerous communication with the continent; a committee was appointed to put the kingdom in a posture of defence; to exercise the powers of the regency, in securing the enemies of the government: and the earl of Home, with Sir Peter Fraser and Sir Æneas Macpherson, was apprehended and imprisoned.

§ IV. The king having settled the operations of the ensuing campaign in Ireland, where general Ginkel exercised the supreme command, manned his fleet by dint of pressing sailors, to the incredible annoyance of commerce, left the queen as before at the helm of government in England, returned to Holland, accompanied by lord Sidney secretary of state, the earls of Marlborough and Portland, and began to make preparations for taking the field in person. On the thirtieth day of May, the duke of Luxemburg having passed the Scheld at the head of a large army, took possession of Halle, and gave it up to plunder, in sight of the confederates, who were obliged to throw up intrenchments for their preservation. At the same time the marquis de Boufflers, with a considerable body of forces, intrenched himself before Liege, with a view

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to bombard that city. In the beginning of June, king William took upon himself the command of the allied army, by this time reinforced in such a manner as to be superior to the enemy. He forthwith detached the count de Tilly with ten thousand men to the relief of Liege, which was already reduced to ruins and desolation by the bombs, bullets, and repeated attacks of Bouffiers, who now thought proper to retreat to Dinant. Tilly having thus raised the siege and thrown a body of troops into Huy, rejoined the confederate army, which had been augmented even since his departure with six thousand men from Brandenburg, and ten thousand Hessians, commanded by the landgrave in person. Such was the vigilance of Luxemburg, that William could not avail himself of his superiority. In vain he exhausted his invention in marches, countermarches, and stratagems, to bring on a general engagement: the French marshal avoided it with such dexterity as baffled all his endeavours. In the course of this campaign, the two armies twice confronted each other; but they were situated in such a manner that neither could begin the attack without a manifest disadvantage. While the king lay encamped at Court-sur-heure, a soldier, corrupted by the enemy, set fire to the fuses of several bombs, the explosion of which might have blown up the whole magazine, and produced infinite confusion in the army, had not the mischief been prevented by the courage of the men that guarded the artillery: even while the fuses were burning they disengaged the waggons from the line, and overturned them down the side of a hill; so that the communication of the fire was intercepted. The person who made this treacherous attempt being discovered, owned he had been employed for this purpose by the duke of Luxemburg. He was tried by a court-martial, and suffered the death of a traitor. King William quitting Court-sur-heure, encamped upon the plain of St. Girard, where he remained till the fourth day of September, consuming the forage and exhausting the country. Then he passed the Sambre near Jemeppe, while the French crossed it at La Busierre, and both armies marched towards Enghien. The enemy perceiving the confederates were at their heels, proceeded to Gramont, passed the Dender, and took possession of a strong camp between Aeth and Oudenarde; William followed the same route, and encamped between Aeth and Leuse. While he continued in this post, the Hessian forces and those of Liege, amounting to about eighteen thousand men, separated from the army and passed the Meuse at Namur; then the king returned to the Hague, leaving the command to prince Waldeck, who forthwith removed to Leuse, and on the twentieth day of the month began his march to Cambron. Luxemburg, who watched his motions with a curious eye, found means to attack him in his retreat so suddenly, that his rear was surprised and defeated, though the French were at last obliged to retire: the prince continued his route to Cambron, and in a little time both armies retired into winter-quarters. In the mean time, the duke de Noailles besieged and took Urgel in Catalonia, while a French squadron, commanded by the count D'Etrees, bombarded Barcelona and Alicant.

§ V. The confederates had proposed to act vigorously in Italy against the French; but the season was far advanced before they were in a condition to take the field. The emperor and Spain had undertaken to furnish troops to join the duke of Savoy, and the maritime powers contributed their proportion in money. The elector of Bavaria was nominated to the supreme command of

the imperial forces in that country; the marquis de Leganez, governor of the Milanese, acted as trustee for the Spanish monarch; duke Schomberg, lately created duke of Leinster, managed the interest of William as king of England and stadtholder, and commanded a body of the Vaudois payed by Great Britain. Before the German auxiliaries arrived, the French had made great progress in their conquests. Catinat made himself master of Villa-Franca, Nice, and some other fortifications; then he reduced Villana and Carmagnola, and detached the marquis de Feuquieres to invest Coni, a strong fortress garrisoned by the Vaudois and French refugees. The duke of Savoy was now reduced to the brink of ruin. He saw almost all his places of strength in the possession of the enemy: Coni was besieged; and la Hogue, another French general, had forced the passes of the valley of Aoste; so that he had free admission into the Verceillois and the frontiers of the Milanese. Turin was threatened with a bombardment; the people were dispirited and clamorous; and their sovereign lay with his little army encamped on the hill of Montcallier, from whence he beheld his towns taken and his palace of Rivoli destroyed. Duke Schomberg exhorted him to act on the offensive, and give battle to Catinat, while that officer's army was weakened by detachments; and prince Eugene supported his remonstrance: but this proposal was vehemently opposed by the marquis de Leganez, who foresaw that if the duke should be defeated, the French would penetrate into the territories of Milan. The relief of Coni, however, was undertaken by prince Eugene, who began his march for that place with a convoy guarded by two and twenty hundred horse: at Magliano he was reinforced by five thousand militia; and Bulonde, who commanded at the siege, no sooner heard of his approach than he retired with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind some pieces of cannon, mortars, bombs, arms, ammunition, tents, provisions, utensils, with all his sick and wounded. When he joined Catinat, he was immediately put under arrest, and afterwards cashiered with disgrace. Hogue abandoned the valley of Aoste; Feuquieres was sent with a detachment to change the garrison of Casal, and Catinat retired with his army towards Villa Nova d'Aste.

§ VI. The miscarriage of the French before Coni affected Louvois the minister of Lewis so deeply, that he could not help shedding tears when he communicated the event to his master, who told him, with great composure, that he was spoiled by good fortune. But the retreat of the French from Piedmont had a still greater influence over the resolutions of the conclave at Rome, then sitting for the election of a new pope in the room of Alexander VIII. who died in the beginning of February. Notwithstanding the power and intrigues of the French faction, headed by the cardinal D'Etrees, the affairs of Piedmont had no sooner taken this turn, than the Italians joined the Spanish and imperial interest, and cardinal Pignatelli, a Neapolitan, was elected pontiff. He assumed the name of Innocent, in honour of the last pope known by that appellation, and adopted all his maxims against the French monarch. When the German auxiliaries arrived, under the command of the elector of Bavaria, the confederates resolved to give battle to Catinat; but he repassed the Po, and sent couriers to Versailles to solicit a reinforcement. Then prince Eugene invested Carmagnola, and carried on the siege with such vigour, that in eleven days the garrison capitulated. Mean while the marquis de Hoquincourt undertook the conquest

conquest of Montmelian, and reduced the town without much resistance. The castle, however, made such a vigorous defence, that Catinat marched thither in person; and, notwithstanding all his efforts, the place held out till the second day of December, when it surrendered on honourable conditions.

§ VII. This summer produced nothing of importance on the Rhine. The French endeavoured to surprise Mentz, by maintaining a correspondence with one of the emperor's commissioners; but this being discovered, their design was frustrated. The imperial army, under the elector of Saxony, passed the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Mannheim; and the French crossing the same river at Philippsburg, reduced the town of Portzheim in the marquisate of Baden-Dourlach. The execution of the scheme, projected by the emperor for this campaign, was prevented by the death of his general the elector of Saxony, which happened on the second day of September. His affairs wore a more favourable aspect in Hungary, where the Turks were totally defeated by prince Lewis of Baden on the banks of the Danube. The Imperialists afterwards undertook the siege of Great Waradin in Transylvania; but this was turned into a blockade, and the place was not surrendered till the following spring. The Turks were so dispirited by the defeat, by which they had lost the grand vizir, that the emperor might have made peace upon very advantageous terms: but his pride and ambition overshot his success. He was weak, insolent, and superstitious; he imagined that now the war of Ireland was almost extinguished, king William, with the rest of the allies, would be able to humble the French power, though he himself should not co-operate with heretics, whom he abhorred; and that, in the mean time, he should not only make an entire conquest of Transylvania, but also carry his victorious arms to the gates of Constantinople, according to some ridiculous prophecy by which his vanity had been flattered. The Spanish government was become so feeble, that, rather than be at the expence of defending the Netherlands, it offered to deliver the whole country to king William, either as monarch of England or stadtholder of the United Provinces. He declined this offer, because he knew the people would never be reconciled to a protestant government: but he proposed that the Spaniards should confer the administration of Flanders upon the elector of Bavaria, who was ambitious of signalizing his courage, and able to defend the country with his own troops and treasure. This proposal was relished by the court of Spain: the emperor imparted it to the elector, who accepted the office without hesitation; and he was immediately declared governor of the Low Countries by the council of state at Madrid. King William, after his return from the army, continued some time at the Hague, settling the operations of the ensuing campaign; and embarking in the Maese, landed in England on the nineteenth day of October.

§ VIII. Before we explain the proceedings in parliament, it will be necessary to give a detail of the late transactions in Ireland. In the beginning of the season the French king had sent a large supply of provision, cloaths, and ammunition, for the use of the Irish at Limerick, under the conduct of monsieur St. Ruth, accompanied by a good number of French officers, furnished with commissions from king James, though St. Ruth issued all his orders in the name of Lewis. Tyrconnel had arrived in January with three frigates and nine vessels, loaded with succours of the same nature; otherwise the Irish could not

have been so long kept together. Nor indeed could these supplies prevent them from forming separate and independent bands of Rapparees, who plundered the country, and committed the most shocking barbarities. The lords justices, in conjunction with general Ginckle, had taken every step their prudence could suggest, to quiet the disturbances of the country, and prevent such violence and rapine, of which the soldiers in king William's army were not intirely innocent. The justices had issued proclamations, denouncing severe penalties against those who should countenance or conceal such acts of cruelty and oppression: they promised to protect all papists who should live quietly within a certain frontier line; and Ginckle gave the catholic rebels to understand, that he was authorized to treat with them, if they were inclined to return to their duty. Before the armies took the field, several skirmishes had been fought between parties; and these had always turned out so unfortunate to the enemy, that their spirits were quite depressed, while the confidence of the English rose in the same proportion.

§ IX. St. Ruth and Tyrconnel were joined by the Rapparees, and general Ginckle was reinforced by Mackay, with those troops which had reduced the Highlanders in Scotland. He, in the beginning of June, marched from Mullingar to Ballymore, which was garrisoned by a thousand men under colonel Bourke, who, when summoned to surrender, returned an evasive answer. But, when a breach was made in the place, and the besiegers began to make preparations for a general assault, his men layed down their arms, and submitted at discretion. The fortifications of this place being repaired and augmented, the general left a garrison for its defence, and advanced to Athlone, situated on the other side of the Shannon, and supported by the Irish army encamped almost under its walls. The English town, on the hither side of the river, was taken sword in hand; and the enemy broke down an arch of the bridge in their retreat. Batteries were raised against the Irish town; and several unsuccessful attempts were made to force the passage of the bridge, which was defended with great vigour. At length, it was resolved, in a council of war, that a detachment should pass at a ford a little to the left of the bridge, though the river was deep and rapid, the bottom foul and stony, and the pass guarded by a bastion erected for that purpose. The forlorn hope consisted of sixty grenadiers in armour, headed by captain Sandys, and two lieutenants. They were seconded by another detachment, and this was supported by six battalions of infantry. Never was a more desperate service, nor was ever exploit performed with more valour and intrepidity. They passed twenty a-breast, in the face of the enemy, through an incessant shower of balls, bullets, and grenades. Those who followed them took possession of the bridge, and laid planks over the broken arch. pontoons were fixed at the same time, that the troops might pass in different places. The Irish were amazed, confounded, and abandoned the town in the utmost consternation; so that, in half an hour, it was wholly secured by the English, who did not lose above fifty men in this attack. Mackay, Terteau, and Talmash, exhibited proofs of the most undaunted courage in passing the river; and general Ginckle, for his conduct, intrepidity, and success on this occasion, was created earl of Athlone. When St. Ruth was informed by express, that the English had entered the river, he said, it was impossible they should pretend to take a town which he covered with his army; and that he would give a thousand pistoles they would attempt to force a passage. Sarsfield insisted upon the truth

truth of the intelligence, and pressed him to send succours to the town: he ridiculed this officer's fears, and some warm expostulation passed between them. Being at length convinced that the English were in possession of the place, he ordered some detachments to drive them out again; but, the cannon of their own works being turned against them, they found the task impracticable; and that very night their army decamped. St. Ruth, after a march of ten miles, took post at Aghrim, and having by draughts from garrisons, augmented his army to five and twenty thousand men, resolved to hazard a decisive engagement.

§ X. Ginckle having put Athlone in a posture of defence, passed the Shannon, and marched up to the enemy, determined to give them battle, though his forces did not exceed eighteen thousand; and the Irish were posted in a very advantageous situation. St. Ruth had made an admirable disposition, and taken every precaution that military skill could suggest. His center extended along a rising-ground, uneven in many places, intersected with banks and ditches, joined by lines of communication, and fronted by a large bog almost impassable. His right was fortified with intrenchments, and his left secured by the castle of Aghrim. He harangued his army in the most pathetic strain, conjuring them to exert their courage in defence of their holy religion, in the extirpation of heresy, in recovering their antient honours and estates, and in restoring a pious king to the throne, from whence he had been expelled by an unnatural usurper. He employed the priests to enforce his exhortations, to assure the men that they might depend upon the prayers of the church; and that, in case they should fall in battle, the saints and angels would convey their souls to heaven. They are said to have sworn upon the sacrament, that they would not desert their colours, and to have received an order that no quarter should be given to the French heretics in the army of the prince of Orange. Ginckle had encamped on the Roscommon side of the river Suc, within three miles of the enemy; and, after having reconnoitred their posture, resolved, with the advice of a council of war, to attack them on Sunday the twelfth day of July. The necessary orders being given, the army passed the river at two fords and a stone-bridge, and advancing to the edge of the great bog, began about twelve o'clock to force the two passages, in order to possess the ground on the other side. The enemy fought with surprising fury, and the horse were several times repulsed; but, at length, the troops upon the right carried their point by means of some field-pieces. The day was now so far advanced, that the general determined to postpone the battle till next morning; but, perceiving some disorder among the enemy, and fearing they would decamp in the night, he altered his resolution, and ordered the attack to be renewed. At six o'clock in the evening, the left wing of the English advanced to the right of the Irish, from whom they met with such a warm and obstinate reception, that it was not without the most surprising efforts of courage and perseverance, that they at length obliged them to give ground; and even that they lost by inches. St. Ruth seeing them in danger of being overpowered, immediately detached succours to them from his center and left wing. Mackay no sooner perceived them weakened by these detachments, than he ordered three battalions to skirt the bog, and attack them on the left, while the center advanced through the middle of the morass, the men wading up to the waste in mud and water. After they had reached the other side, they found themselves obliged to

to ascend a rugged hill, fenced with hedges and ditches; and these were lined with musqueteers, supported at proper intervals with squadrons of cavalry. They made such a desperate resistance, and fought with such impetuosity, that the assailants were repulsed into the middle of the bog with great loss; and St. Ruth exclaimed, "Now will I drive the English to the gates of Dublin." In this critical conjuncture, Talmash came up with a fresh body to sustain them, rallied the broken troops, and renewed the charge with such vigour, that the Irish gave way in their turn, and the English recovered the ground they had lost, though they found it impossible to improve their advantage. Mackay brought a body of horse and dragoons to the assistance of the left wing; and first turned the tide of battle in favour of the English. Major-general Rouvigny, who had behaved with great gallantry during the whole action, advanced with five regiments of cavalry to support the center, when St. Ruth perceiving his design, resolved to fall upon him in a dangerous hollow way, which he was obliged to pass. For this purpose he began to descend Kircommodon-hill with his whole reserve of horse; but, in his way was killed by a cannon-ball. His troops immediately halted; and his guards retreated with his body. His fate dispirited the troops, and produced such confusion as Sarsfield could not remedy; for though he was next in command, he had been at variance with St. Ruth since the affair at Athlone, and was ignorant of the plan he had concerted. Rouvigny having passed the hollow way without opposition, charged the enemy in flank; and bore down all before him with surprising impetuosity: the center redoubled their efforts, and pushed the Irish to the top of the hill; and then their whole line giving way at once from right to left, threw down their arms. The foot fled towards a bog in their rear, and their horse took the route by the highway to Loughneagh: both were pursued by the English cavalry, who for four miles made a terrible slaughter. In the battle, which lasted two hours, and pursuit, above four thousand of the enemy were slain, and six hundred taken, together with all their baggage, tents, provision, ammunition, and artillery, nine and twenty pair of colours, twelve standards, and almost all the arms of the infantry. In a word, the victory was decisive; and not above eight hundred of the English were killed upon the field of battle. The vanquished retreated in great confusion to Limerick, where they resolved to make a final stand, in hope of receiving such succours from France as would either enable them to retrieve their affairs, or obtain good terms from the court of England. There Tyrconnel died of a broken heart, after having survived his authority and reputation, and incurred the contempt of the French, as well as the hatred of the Irish, whom he had advised to submit to the new government, rather than totally ruin themselves and their families.

§ XI. Immediately after the battle, detachments were sent to reduce Portumny, Bonnachar, and Moor-castle, considerable passes on the Shannon, which were accordingly secured. Then Ginckle advanced to Galway, which he summoned to surrender; but, he received a defiance from lord Dillon and general D'Ussone, who commanded the garrison. The trenches were immediately opened; a fort which commanded the approaches to the town, was taken by assault; six regiments of foot, and four squadrons of horse, passed the river on pontoons; and the place being wholly invested, the governor thought proper to capitulate. The garrison marched out with the honours of war, and was allowed safe-

safe-conduct to Limerick. Ginckle directed his march to the same town, which was the only post of consequence that now held out for king James. Within four miles of the place he halted, until the heavy cannon could be brought from Athlone. Hearing that Lutterel had been seized by the French general D'Uffone, and sentenced to be shot for having proposed to surrender, he sent a trumpet to tell the commander, that if any person should be put to death for such a proposal, he would make retaliation on the Irish prisoners. On the twenty-fifth day of August, the enemy were driven from all their advanced posts: captain Cole, with a squadron of ships, sailed up the Shannon, and his frigates anchored in sight of the town. On the twenty-sixth day of the month the batteries were opened, and a line of contravallation was formed: while the Irish army lay encamped on the other side of the river on the road to Killaloe, and the fords were guarded with four regiments of their dragoons. On the fifth day of September, after the town had been almost laid in ruins by the bombs, and large breaches made in the walls by the battering cannon; the guns were dismounted, the out-forts evacuated, and such other motions made as indicated a resolution to abandon the siege. The enemy expressed their joy in loud acclamations; but this was of short continuance. In the night the besiegers began to throw a bridge of pontoons over the river, about a mile higher up than the camp; and this work was finished before morning. A considerable body of horse and foot had passed when the alarm was given to the enemy, who were seized with such consternation, that they threw down their arms and betook themselves to flight, leaving behind them their tents, baggage, two pieces of cannon, and one standard. The bridge was immediately removed nearer the town, and fortified; all the fords and passes were secured; and the batteries continued firing incessantly till the twenty-second day of the month, when Ginckle passed over with a division of the army, and fourteen pieces of cannon. About four in the afternoon, the grenadiers attacked the forts that commanded Thomond-bridge, and carried them sword in hand, after an obstinate resistance. The garrison had made a sally from the town to support them; and this detachment was driven back with such precipitation, that the French officer on command in that quarter, fearing the English would enter pell-mell with the fugitives, ordered the bridge to be drawn up, leaving his own men to the fury of a victorious enemy. Six hundred were killed; two hundred taken prisoners, including many officers; and a good number was drowned in the Shannon.

§ XII. Then the English made a lodgment within ten paces of the bridge-foot; and the Irish seeing themselves surrounded on all sides, determined to capitulate. General Sarsfield and colonel Wahop signified their resolution to Scravenmore and Rouvigny: hostages were exchanged; a negotiation was immediately begun, and hostilities ceased on both sides of the river. The lords-justices arrived in the camp on the first day of October; and on the fourth the capitulation was executed, extending to all the places in the kingdom that were still in the hands of the Irish. The Roman catholics were restored to the enjoyment of such liberty in the exercise of religion as was consistent with the laws of Ireland, and conformable with that which they possessed in the reign of Charles II. All persons whatever were entitled to the protection of these laws, and restored to the possession of their estates, privileges, and immunities, upon their submitting to the present government, and taking the oath of allegiance

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to their majesties king William and queen Mary, excepting, however, certain persons who were forfeited or exiled. This article even extended to all merchants of Limerick, or any other garrison possessed by the Irish, who happened to be abroad, and had not bore arms since the declaration in the first year of the present reign, provided they should return within the term of eight months. All the persons comprised in this and the foregoing article, were indulged with a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, premunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanours whatsoever, committed since the beginning of the reign of James II. and the lords-justices promised to use their best endeavours towards the reversal of such attainders and outlawries as had passed against any of them in parliament. In order to allay the violence of party, and extinguish private animosities, it was agreed, that no person should be sued or impleaded on either side, for any trespass, or made accountable for the rents, tenements, lands, or houses, he had received or enjoyed since the beginning of the war. Every nobleman and gentleman comprized in these articles, was authorized to keep a sword, a case of pistols, and a gun for his defence or amusement. The inhabitants of Limerick and other garrisons, were permitted to remove their goods and chattels, without search, visitation, or payment of duty. The lords-justices promised to use their best endeavours, that all persons comprehended in this capitulation, should for eight months be protected from all arrests and executions for debt or damage: they undertook, that their majesties should ratify these articles within the space of eight months; and use their endeavours that they might be ratified and confirmed in parliament. The subsequent article was calculated to indemnify colonel John Brown, whose estate and effects had been seized for the use of the Irish army, by Tyrconnel and Sarsfield, which last had been created lord Lucan by king James, and was now mentioned by that title. All persons were indulged with free leave to remove with their families and effects to any other country, except England and Scotland. All officers and soldiers in the service of king James, comprehending even the Rapparees, willing to go beyond sea, were at liberty to march in bodies to the places of embarkation, to be conveyed to the continent with the French officers and troops. They were furnished with passports, convoys, and carriages by land and water; and general Ginckle engaged to provide seventy ships, if necessary, for their transportation, with two men of war for the accommodation of their officers, and to serve as a convoy to the fleet. It was stipulated, That the provisions and forage for their subsistence should be payed for on their arrival in France: and, That hostages should be given for this indemnification, as well as for the return of the ships: That all the garrisons should march out of their respective towns and fortresses, with the honours of war: That the Irish should have liberty to transport nine hundred horses: and, That those who should choose to stay behind, might dispose of themselves according to their own fancy, after having surrendered their arms to such commissioners as the general should appoint: That all prisoners of war should be set at liberty on both sides: That the general should provide two vessels to carry over two different persons to France, with intimation of this treaty; and that none of those who were willing to quit the kingdom, should be detained on account of debt, or any other pretence. This is the substance of the famous treaty of Limerick, which the Irish Roman catholics consider as the great charter of their

civil and religious liberties. The town of Limerick was surrendered to Ginckle; but both sides agreed, that the two armies should intrench themselves, until the Irish should embark, that no disorders might arise from a communication.

§ XIII. The protestant subjects of Ireland were extremely disgusted at these concessions made in favour of vanquished rebels, who had exercised such acts of cruelty and rapine. They complained, That they themselves, who had suffered for their loyalty to king William, were neglected, and obliged to sit down with their losses, while their enemies, who had shed so much blood in opposing his government, were indemnified by the articles of the capitulation, and even favoured with particular indulgences. They were dismissed with the honours of war; they were transported at the government's expence, to fight against the English in foreign countries: an honourable provision was made for the Rapparees, who were professed banditti; the Roman catholic interest in Ireland obtained the sanction of regal authority; attainders were overlooked, forfeitures annulled, pardons extended, and laws set aside, in order to effect a pacification. Ginckle had received orders to put an end to the war at any rate, that William might convert his whole influence and attention to the affairs of the continent. When the articles of capitulation were ratified, and hostages exchanged for their being duly executed, about two thousand Irish foot and three hundred horse, began their march for Cork, where they proposed to take shipping for France, under the conduct of Sarsfield; but, three regiments refusing to quit the kingdom, delivered up their arms, and dispersed to their former habitations. Those who remained at Limerick embarked on the seventh day of November, in French transports; and sailed immediately to France, under convoy of a French squadron which had arrived in the bay of Dingle immediately after the capitulation was signed. Twelve thousand men chose to undergo exile from their native country, rather than submit to the government of king William. When they arrived in France, they were welcomed by a letter from James, who thanked them for their loyalty; told them they should still serve under his commission and command; and that the king of France had already given orders for their being new clothed, and put into quarters of refreshment.

§ XIV. The reduction of Ireland being thus completed, baron Ginckle returned to England, where he was solemnly thanked by the house of commons for his great services, after he had been created earl of Athlone by his majesty. When the parliament met on the twenty-second day of October, the king in his speech insisted upon the necessity of sending a strong fleet to sea, early in the season, and of maintaining a considerable army to annoy the enemy abroad, as well as to protect the kingdom from insult and invasion; for which purposes, he said, sixty-five thousand men would be barely sufficient. Each house presented an address of congratulation upon his majesty's safe return to England, and the reduction of Ireland: they promised to assist him to the utmost of their power, in prosecuting the war with France; and, at the same time, drew up addresses to the queen, acknowledging her prudent administration during his majesty's absence. Notwithstanding this appearance of cordiality and complaisance, a spirit of discontent had insinuated itself into both houses of parliament, and even infected great part of the nation.

§ XV. A great number of individuals who wished well to their country, could not, without anxiety and resentment, behold the interest of the nation sa-

crificed to foreign connections, and the king's favour so partially bestowed upon Dutchmen, in prejudice of his English subjects. They observed, that the number of forces he demanded was considerably greater than that of any army which had ever been payed by the public, even when the nation was in the most imminent danger: that, instead of contributing as allies to the maintenance of the war upon the continent, they had embarked as principals, and bore the greatest part of the burthen, though they had the least share of the profit. They even insinuated, that such a standing army was more calculated to make the king absolute at home, than to render him formidable abroad; and the secret friends of the late king did not fail to enforce these insinuations. They renewed their animadversions upon the disagreeable part of his character: they dwelt upon his proud reserve, his sullen silence, his imperious disposition, and his base ingratitude, particularly to the earl of Marlborough, whom he had dismissed from all his employments, immediately after the signal exploits he had performed in Ireland. The disgrace of this nobleman was partly ascribed to the freedom with which he had complained of the king's undervaluing his services, and partly to the intrigues of his wife, who had gained an ascendancy over the princess Anne of Denmark, and is said to have employed her influence in fomenting a jealousy between the two sisters. The malecontents of the whiggish faction, enraged to find their credit declining at court, joined in the cry which the Jacobites had raised against the government. They scrupled not to say, that the arts of corruption were shamefully practised, to secure a majority in parliament: that the king was as tender of the prerogative as any of his predecessors had ever been: and, that he even ventured to admit Jacobites into his council, because they were the known tools of arbitrary power. These reflections alluded to the earls of Rochester and Ranelagh, who, with Sir Edward Seymour, had been lately created privy-counsellors. Rochester entertained very high notions of regal authority; he proposed severity as one of the best supports of government; was clear in understanding, violent in his temper, and incorrupt in his principles. Ranelagh was a man of parts and pleasure, who possessed the most plausible and winning address; and was capable of transacting the most important and intricate affairs, in the midst of riot and excess. He had managed the revenue of Ireland in the reign of Charles II. enjoyed the office of pay-master in the army of king James; and maintained the same footing under the government of William and Mary. Sir Edward Seymour was the proudest commoner in England, and the boldest orator that ever filled the speaker's chair. He was intimately acquainted with the business of the house, and knew every individual member so exactly, that with one glance of his eye he could prognosticate the fate of every motion. He had opposed the court with great acrimony, questioned the king's title, censured his conduct, and reflected upon his character. Nevertheless, he now became a proselyte, and was brought into the treasury.

§ XVI. The commons voted three millions, four hundred and eleven thousand, six hundred and seventy-five pounds for the use of the ensuing year; but, the establishment of funds for raising these supplies, was retarded, partly by the ill humour of the opposition, and partly by intervening affairs that diverted the attention of the commons. Several eminent merchants presented a petition to the house against the East-India company, charging them with manifold abuses;

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at the same time, a counter-petition was delivered by the company, and the affair referred to the examination of a committee appointed for that purpose. After a minute enquiry into the nature of the complaints, the commons voted certain regulations with respect to the stock and the traffic; and resolved to petition his majesty, that, according to the said regulations, the East-India company should be incorporated by charter. The committee was ordered to bring in a bill for this establishment; but divers petitions being presented against it, and the company's answers proving unsatisfactory, the house addressed the king to dissolve it, and grant a charter to a new company. He said it was an affair of great importance to the trade of the kingdom; therefore he would consider the subject, and in a little time return a positive answer. The parliament was likewise amused by a pretended conspiracy of the papists in Lancashire, to raise a rebellion, and restore James to the throne. Several persons were seized, and some witnesses examined; but, nothing appeared to justify the information. At length, one Fuller, a prisoner in the King's-bench, offered his evidence, and was brought to the bar of the house of commons, where he produced some papers. He obtained a blank pass from the king for two persons, who, he said, would come from the continent to give evidence. He was afterwards examined at his own lodgings, where he affirmed, that colonel Thomas Delaval, and James Hayes, were the witnesses for whom he had procured the pass and the protection. Search was made for them according to his direction; but no such persons were found. Then the house declared Fuller a notorious impostor, cheat, and false accuser. He was, at the request of the commons, prosecuted by the attorney-general, and sentenced to stand in the pillory; a disgrace which he accordingly underwent.

§ XVII. A bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason having been layed aside by the lords in the preceding session, was now again brought upon the carpet, and passed the lower house. The design of this bill was, to secure the subject from the rigours to which he had been exposed in the late reigns. It provided, That the prisoner should be furnished with a copy of his indictment, at also of the pannel ten days before his trial: and, That his witnesses should be examined upon oath, as well as those of the crown. The lords, in their own behalf added a clause, enacting, That upon the trial of any peer or peers, for treason or misprision of treason, all the peers who have a right to sit and vote in parliament, should be duly summoned to assist at the trial: That this notice should be given twenty days before the trial: and, That every peer so summoned, and appearing, should vote upon the occasion. The commons rejected this amendment; and a free conference ensued. The point was argued with great vivacity on both sides, which served only to inflame the dispute, and render each party the more tenacious of their own opinion. After three conferences that produced nothing but animosity, the bill was dropped; for, the commons resolved to bear the hardships of which they complained, rather than be relieved at the expence of purchasing a new privilege to the lords; and without this advantage the peers would not contribute to their relief.

§ XVIII. The next object that engrossed the attention of the lower house, was the miscarriage of the fleet during the summer's expedition. Admiral Russel, who commanded at sea, having been joined by a Dutch squadron, sailed in quest of the enemy; but, as the French king had received undoubted intel-

ligence, that the combined squadrons were superior to his navy in number of ships and weight of metal, he ordered Tourville to avoid an engagement. This officer acted with such vigilance, caution, and dexterity, as baffled all the endeavours of Russel, who was moreover perplexed with obscure and contradictory orders. Nevertheless, he cruised all summer either in the channel or in soundings, for the protection of the trade, and in particular secured the homeward-bound Smyrna fleet, in which the English and Dutch had a joint concern, amounting to four millions sterling. Having scoured the channel and run along great part of the French coast, he returned to Torbay in the beginning of August, and received fresh orders to put to sea again, notwithstanding his repeated remonstrances against exposing large ships to the storms that always blow about the time of the equinox. He therefore sailed back to soundings, where he continued cruising till the second day of September, when he was overtaken by a violent tempest, which drove him into the channel, and obliged him to make for the port of Plymouth. The weather being hazy, he reached the Sound with great difficulty; the *Coronation*, a second-rate, foundered at anchor off the Ram-Head; the *Harwich*, a third-rate, bulged upon the rocks, and perished; two others ran ashore, but were got off with little damage; the whole fleet was scattered and distressed. The nation murmured at the supposed misconduct of the admiral, and the commons subjected him to an inquiry: but, when they examined his papers, orders, and instructions, they perceived he had adhered to them with great punctuality, and thought proper to drop the prosecution, out of tenderness to the ministry. Then the house took into consideration, some letters which had been intercepted in a French ship taken by Sir Ralph Delaval. Three of these are said to have been written by king James, and the rest sealed with his seal. They related to the plan of an insurrection in Scotland and in the northern parts of England; and Legg lord Dartmouth, with one Crew, being mentioned in them as agents and abettors in the design, warrants were immediately issued against them. Crew absconded, but lord Dartmouth was committed to the Tower. Lord Preston was examined touching some cyphers which they could not explain, and pretending ignorance, was imprisoned in Newgate, from whence, however, he soon obtained his release. The funds for the supplies of the ensuing year being established, and several acts * passed relating to domestic regulations, the king, on the twenty-fourth day of February, closed the session with a short speech, thanking the parliament for their demonstrations of affection in the liberal supplies they had granted, and communicating his intention of repairing speedily to the continent. Then the two houses, at his desire, adjourned themselves to the twelfth day of April, and the parliament was afterwards prorogued to the twenty-ninth day of May, by proclamation †.

§ XIX.

* The laws enacted in this session were these: an act for abrogating the oath of supremacy in Ireland, and appointing other oaths; an act for taking away clergy from some offenders, and bringing others to punishment; an act against deer-stealing; an act for repairing the highways, and settling the rates of carriage of goods; an act for the relief of creditors against fraudulent devices; an act for explaining and supplying the defects of former laws for the settlement of the

poor; an act for the encouragement of the breeding and feeding of cattle; and an act for ascertaining the tythes of hemp and flax.

† In the course of this session, Dr. Welwood, a Scottish physician, was taken into custody, and reprimanded at the bar of the house of commons, for having reflected upon that house in a weekly paper intitled *Mercurius Reformatus*; but, as it was written in defence of the government, the king

§ XIX. The king had suffered so much in his reputation by his complaisance to the presbyterians of Scotland, and was so displeased with the conduct of that stubborn sect of religionists, that he thought proper to admit some prelatists into the administration. Johnston, who had been sent envoy to the elector of Brandenburg, was recalled, and, with the master of Stair, made joint secretary of Scotland; Melvill, who had declined in his importance, was made lord privy-seal of that kingdom; Tweeddale was constituted lord chancellor; Crawford retained the office of president in the council; and Lothian was appointed high commissioner to the general assembly. The parliament was adjourned to the fifteenth day of April, because it was not yet compliant enough to be assembled with safety; and the episcopal clergy were admitted to a share of the church-government. These measures, instead of healing the divisions, served only to inflame the animosity of the two parties. The episcopalians triumphed in the king's favour, and began to treat their antagonists with insolence and scorn; the presbyterians were incensed to see their friends disgraced, and their enemies distinguished by the royal indulgence. They insisted upon the authority of the law, which happened to be upon their side: they became more than ever sour, surly, and implacable; they refused to concur with the prelatists, or abate in the least circumstance of discipline; and the assembly was dissolved, without any time or place assigned for the next meeting. The presbyterians pretended an independent right of assembling annually, even without a call from his majesty; they therefore adjourned themselves, after having protested against the dissolution. The king resented this measure as an insolent invasion of the prerogative, and conceived an aversion to the whole sect, who in their turn began to lose all respect for his person and government.

§ XX. As the Highlanders were not yet totally reduced, the earl of Braidalbin undertook to bring them over, by distributing sums of money among their chiefs; and fifteen thousand pounds were remitted from England for this purpose. The clans being informed of this remittance, suspected that the earl's design was to appropriate to himself the best part of the money, and when he began to treat with them made such extravagant demands, that he found his scheme impracticable. He was therefore obliged to refund the sum he had received; and he resolved to wreak his vengeance with the first opportunity, on those who had frustrated his intention. He who chiefly thwarted his negotiation was Macdonald of Glencoe; and his opposition arose from a private circumstance, which ought to have had no effect upon a treaty that regarded the public weal. Macdonald had plundered the lands of Braidalbin during the course of hostilities; and this nobleman insisted upon being indemnified for his losses, from the other's share of the money which he was employed to distribute. The Highlander not only refused to acquiesce in these terms, but, by his influence among the clans, defeated the whole scheme, and the earl in revenge devoted him to destruction. King William had by proclamation offered an indemnity to all

king appointed him one of his physicians in ordinary. At this period Charles Montague, afterwards earl of Halifax, distinguished himself in the house of commons by his fine talents and elocution. The privy seal was committed to the earl of Pembroke; lord viscount Sidney was

created lord lieutenant of Ireland; Sir John Sommers appointed attorney-general; and the see of Lincoln, vacant by the death of Barlow, conferred upon Dr. Thomas Tennison, who had been recommended to the king, as a divine remarkable for his piety and moderation.

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those who had been in arms against him, provided they would submit and take the oaths by a certain day; and this was prolonged to the end of the present year, with a denunciation of military execution against those who should hold out after the end of December. Macdonald, intimidated by this declaration, repaired on the very last day of the month to Fort-William, and desired that the oaths might be tendered to him by colonel Hill governor of that fortress. As this officer was not vested with the power of a civil magistrate, he refused to administer them; and Macdonald set out immediately for Inverary, the county-town of Argyle. Though the ground was covered with snow and the weather intensely cold, he travelled with such diligence, that the term prescribed by the proclamation was but one day elapsed when he reached the place, and addressed himself to Sir Colin Campbell sheriff of the county, who, in consideration of his disappointment at Fort-William, was prevailed upon to administer the oaths to him and his adherents. Then they returned to their own habitations in the valley of Glencoe, in full confidence of being protected by the government, to which they had so solemnly submitted.

§ XXI. Braidalbin had represented Macdonald at court as an incorrigible rebel, and a ruffian inured to bloodshed and rapine, who would never be obedient to the laws of his country, nor live peaceably under any sovereign. He observed that he had payed no regard to the proclamation; and proposed that the government should sacrifice him to the quiet of the kingdom, in extirpating him, with his family and dependents, by military execution. His advice was supported by the suggestions of the other Scottish ministers; and the king, whose chief virtue was not humanity, signed a warrant for the destruction of those unhappy people, though it does not appear that he knew of Macdonald's submission. An order for this barbarous execution, signed and counter-signed by his majesty's own hand, being transmitted to the master of Stair, secretary for Scotland, he sent particular directions to Livingstone, who commanded the troops in that kingdom, to put the inhabitants of Glencoe to the sword, charging him to take no prisoners, that the scene might be more terrible. In the month of February captain Campbell of Glenlyon, by virtue of an order from major Duncan, marched into the valley of Glencoe, with a company of soldiers belonging to Argyle's Highland regiment, on pretence of levying the arrears of the land-tax and hearth-money. When Macdonald demanded whether they came as friends or enemies, he answered as friends, and promised upon his honour that neither he nor his people should sustain the least injury. In consequence of this declaration, he and his men were received with the most cordial hospitality, and lived fifteen days with the men of the valley, in all the appearance of the most unreserved friendship. At length the fatal period approached. Macdonald and Campbell having passed the day together, parted about seven in the evening, with mutual professions of the warmest affection. The younger Macdonald, perceiving the guards doubled, began to suspect some treachery, and communicated his suspicion to his brother; but neither he nor the father would harbour the least doubt of Campbell's sincerity: nevertheless, the two young men went forth privately to make further observations. They overheard the common soldiers say they liked not the work; that though they would have willingly fought the Macdonalds of the Glen fairly in the field, they held it base to murder them in cool blood, but that their officers were answerable for the treachery. When the youths halted

back to apprise their father of the impending danger, they saw the house already surrounded; they heard the discharge of muskets, the shrieks of women and children, and, being destitute of arms, secured their own lives by immediate flight. The savage ministers of vengeance had entered the old man's chamber, and shot him through the head. He fell down dead in the arms of his wife, who died next day, distracted by the horror of her husband's fate. The laird of Auchintrincken, Macdonald's guest, who had three months before this period submitted to the government, and at this very time had a protection in his pocket, was put to death without question. A boy of eight years, who fell at Campbell's feet, imploring mercy, and offering to serve him for life, was stabbed to the heart by one Drummond, a subaltern officer. Eight and thirty persons suffered in this manner, the greater part of whom were surprised in their beds, and hurried into eternity before they had time to implore the divine mercy. The design was to butcher all the males under seventy that lived in the valley, the number of whom amounted to two hundred: but some of the detachments did not arrive soon enough to secure the passes; so that one hundred and sixty escaped. Campbell, having perpetrated this brutal massacre, ordered all the houses to be burned, made a prey of all the cattle and effects that were found in the valley, and left the helpless women and children, whose fathers and husbands he had murdered, naked and forlorn, without covering, food, or shelter, in the midst of the snow that covered the whole face of the country, at the distance of six long miles from any inhabited place. Distracted with grief and horror, surrounded with the shades of night, shivering with cold, and appalled with the apprehension of immediate death from the swords of those who had sacrificed their friends and kinsmen, they could not endure such a complication of calamities, but generally perished in the waste before they could receive the least comfort or assistance. This barbarous massacre, performed under the sanction of king William's authority, though it answered the immediate purpose of the court, by striking terror into the hearts of the Jacobite Highlanders, excited the horror of all those who had not renounced every sentiment of humanity, and produced such an aversion to the government, as all the arts of a ministry could never totally surmount. A detail of the particulars was published at Paris with many exaggerations; and the Jacobites did not fail to expatiate upon every circumstance, in domestic libels and private conversation. The king, alarmed at the outcry which was raised upon this occasion, ordered an inquiry to be set on foot, and dismissed the master of Stair from his employment of secretary: he likewise pretended that he had subscribed the order amidst a heap of other papers, without knowing the purport of it; but, as he did not severely punish those who had made his authority subservient to their own cruel revenge, the imputation stuck fast to his character; and the Highlanders, though terrified into silence and submission, were inspired with the most implacable resentment against his person and administration.

§ XXII. A great number in both kingdoms waited impatiently for an opportunity to declare in behalf of their exiled monarch, who was punctually informed of all these transactions, and endeavoured to make his advantage of the growing discontent. King William having settled the domestic affairs of the nation, and exerted uncommon care and assiduity in equipping a formidable fleet, embarked for Holland on the fifth day of March, and was received by the

Burnet.
Story.
Kennet.
Life of king
William.
Nav. hist.
Ralph.
Voltaire.

An. Ch. 1692.

the states-general with expressions of the most cordial regard. While he was here employed in promoting the measures of the grand confederacy, the French king resolved to invade England in his absence, and seemed heartily engaged in the interest of James, whose emissaries in Britain began to bestir themselves with uncommon assiduity, in preparing the nation for his return. One Lant, who was imprisoned on suspicion of distributing his commissions, had the good fortune to be released; and the papists of Lancashire dispatched him to the court of St. Germain, with an assurance that they were in a condition to receive their old sovereign. He returned with advice that king James would certainly land in the spring; and that colonel Parker and other officers should be sent over with full instructions, touching their conduct at and before the king's arrival. Parker accordingly repaired to England, and made the Jacobites acquainted with the whole scheme of a descent, which Lewis had actually concerted with the late king. He assured them, that their lawful sovereign would once more visit his British dominions, at the head of thirty thousand effective men, to be embarked at La Hogue; that the transports were already prepared, and a strong squadron equipped for their convoy; he therefore exhorted them to be speedy and secret in their preparations, that they might be in readiness to take arms and co-operate in effecting his restoration. This officer, and one Johnson, a priest, are said to have undertaken the assassination of king William; but, before they could execute their design, he set sail for Holland.

§ XXIII. Mean while, James addressed a letter to several lords, who had been formerly members of his council, as well as to divers ladies of quality and distinction, intimating the pregnancy of his queen, and requiring them to attend as witnesses at the labour. He took notice of the injury his family and honour had sustained, from the cruel aspersions of his enemies concerning the birth of his son; and as providence had now favoured him with an opportunity of refuting the calumny of those who affirmed that the queen was incapable of child-bearing, he assured them, in the name of his brother the French king, as well as upon his own royal word, that they should have free leave to visit his court, and return after the labour*. This invitation, however, no person would venture to accept. He afterwards employed his emissaries in circulating a printed declaration, importing that the king of France had enabled him to make another effort to retrieve his crown; and that, although he was furnished with a number of troops sufficient to untie the hands of his subjects, he did not intend to deprive them of their share in the glory of restoring their lawful king and their ancient government. He exhorted the people to join his standard. He assured them that the foreign auxiliaries should behave with the most regular discipline, and be sent back immediately after his re-establishment. He observed, that when such a number of his subjects were so infatuated, as to concur with the unnatural design of the prince of Orange, he had chose to rely upon the fidelity of his English army, and refused considerable succours that were offered to him by his most christian majesty; that when he was ready to oppose force

* The letter was directed not only to privy-counsellors, but also to the duchesses of Somerset and Beaufort, the marchioness of Halifax, the countesses of Derby, Mulgrave, Rutland, Brooks, Nottingham, Lumley, and Danby, the ladies Fitzharding and Fretchville, those of Sir

John Trevor speaker of the house of commons, Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Christopher Musgrave, the wives of Sir Thomas Stamford lord mayor of London, Sir William Ashurst and Sir Richard Levett the sheriffs, and lastly, to Dr. Chamberlain the famous practitioner in midwifery.

with

with force, he nevertheless offered to give all reasonable satisfaction to his subjects who had been misled, and endeavoured to open their eyes with respect to the vain pretences of his adversary, whose aim was not the reformation but the subversion of the government; that when he saw himself deserted by his army, betrayed by his ministers, abandoned by his favourites, and even his own children, and at last rudely driven from his own palace by a guard of insolent foreigners; he had, for his personal safety, taken refuge in France: that his retreat from the malice and cruel designs of the usurper had been construed into an abdication, and the whole constitution of the monarchy destroyed by a set of men illegally assembled, who, in fact, had no power to alter the property of the meanest subject. He expressed his hope that by this time the nation had fairly examined the account, and from the losses and enormous expence of the three last years, were convinced that the remedy was worse than the disease; that the beginning, like the first years of Nero's reign, would, in all probability, be found the mildest part of the usurpation, and the instruments of the new establishment live to suffer severely by the tyranny they had raised; that even, though the usurpation should continue during his life, an indisputable title would survive in his issue, and expose the kingdom to all the miseries of a civil war. He not only solicited but commanded his good subjects to join him, according to their duty and the oaths they had taken. He forbade them to pay taxes or any part of the revenue to the usurper. He promised pardon and even rewards to all those who should return to their duty, and to procure in his first parliament an act of indemnity, with an exception of certain persons* whom he now enumerated. He declared, that all soldiers who should quit the service of the usurper, and enlist under his banners, might depend upon receiving their pardon and arrears; and that the foreign troops, upon laying down their arms, should be payed and transported to their respective countries. He solemnly protested that he would protect and maintain the church of England as by law established, in all her rights, privileges, and possessions; he signified his resolution to use his influence with the parliament for allowing liberty of conscience to all his subjects, as an indulgence agreeable to the spirit of the christian religion, and conducive to the wealth and prosperity of the nation. He said his principal care should be to heal the wounds of the late distractions; to restore trade, by observing the act of navigation, which had been lately so much violated in favour of strangers; to put the navy in a flourishing condition; and to take every step that might contribute to the greatness of the monarchy and the happiness of the people. He concluded with professions of resignation to the divine will, declaring, that all who should reject his offers of mercy, and appear in arms against him, would be answerable to almighty God for all the blood that should be spilt, and all

* Those excepted were the duke of Ormond, the marquis of Winchester, the earls of Sunderland, Bath, Danby, and Nottingham, the lords Newport, Delamere, Wiltshire, Colchester, Cornbury, Dunblain, and Churchill; the bishops of London and St. Asaph, Sir Robert Howard, Sir John Worden, Sir Samuel Grimstone, Sir Stephen Fox, Sir George Treby, Sir Basil Dixwell, Sir James Oxenden, Dr. John Tillotson, Dr. Gilbert Burnet, Francis Russell, Richard Le-

viston, John Trenchard, Charles Duncomb, citizen of London; Edwards, Stapleton, and Hunt, fishermen, and all others who had offered personal indignities to him at Feverham; or had been concerned in the barbarous murder of John Ash-ton, Cross, or any others who had suffered death for their loyalty; and all spies or such as had betrayed his councils, during his late absence from England.

the miseries in which these kingdoms might be involved, by their desperate and unreasonable opposition.

§ XXIV. While this declaration operated variously on the minds of the people, colonel Parker, with some other officers, enlisted men privately for the service of James, in the counties of York, Lancaster, and the bishopric of Durham; and, at the same time, Fountaine and Holman were employed in raising two regiments of horse at London, that they might join their master immediately after his landing. His partisans sent Captain Loyd with an express to the lord Melfort, containing a detail of these particulars, with an assurance that they had brought over rear-admiral Carter to the interest of his majesty. They likewise transmitted a list of the ships that composed the English fleet; and exhorted James to use his influence with the French king, that the count de Tourville might be ordered to attack them before they should be joined by the Dutch squadron. It was in consequence of this advice, that Lewis commanded Tourville to fall upon the English fleet, even without waiting for the Toulon squadron, commanded by the marquis D'Etrees. By this time James had repaired to La Hogue, and was ready to embark with his army, consisting of a body of French troops, together with some English and Scottish refugees, and the regiments which had been transported from Ireland by virtue of the capitulation of Limerick.

§ XXV. The ministry of England was informed of all these particulars, partly by some agents of James, who betrayed his cause, and partly by admiral Carter, who gave the queen to understand he had been tampered with; and was instructed to amuse the Jacobites with a negotiation. King William no sooner arrived in Holland, than he hastened the naval preparations of the Dutch, so as that their fleet was ready for sea sooner than it was expected; and when he received the first intimation of the projected descent, he detached general Talmash with three of the English regiments from Holland. These, reinforced with other troops remaining in England, were ordered to encamp in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth. The queen issued a proclamation, commanding all papists to depart from London and Westminster: the members of both houses of parliament were required to meet on the twenty-fourth day of May, that she might avail herself of their advice in such a perilous conjuncture. Warrants were expedited for apprehending divers disaffected persons; and they withdrawing themselves from their respective places of abode, a proclamation was published for discovering and bringing them to justice. The earls of Scarfdale, Litchfield, and Newburgh, the lords Griffin, Forbes, Sir John Fenwick, Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, and others, found means to elude the search. The earls of Huntingdon and Marlborough were sent to the Tower: Edward Ridley, Knevitt, Hastings, and Robert Ferguson, were imprisoned in Newgate. The bishop of Rochester was confined to his own house: the lords Brudenel and Fanshaw were secured: the earls of Dunmore, Middleton, and Sir Andrew Forrester, were discovered in a quaker's house, and committed to prison, with several other persons of distinction. The trained-bands of London and Westminster were armed by the queen's direction, and she reviewed them in person; admiral Russel was ordered to put to sea with all possible expedition; and Carter, with a squadron of eighteen sail, continued to cruise along the French coast, to observe the motions of the enemy.

§ XXVI. On

§ XXVI. On the eleventh day of May, Ruffel sailed from Rye to St. Helen's, where he was joined by the squadrons under Delaval and Carter. There he received a letter from the earl of Nottingham, intimating, that a report having spread of the queen's suspecting the fidelity of the sea-officers, her majesty ordered him to declare in her name, that she reposed the most intire confidence in their attachment; and believed the report was raised by the enemies of the government. The flag-officers and captains forthwith drew up a very loyal and dutiful address, which was graciously received by the queen, and published for the satisfaction of the nation. Ruffel being reinforced by the Dutch squadrons, commanded by Allemonde, Callembergh, and Vandergoes, set sail for the coast of France on the eighteenth day of May, with a fleet of ninety-nine ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships. Next day about three o'clock in the morning, he discovered the enemy, under the count de Tourville, and threw out the signal for the line of battle, which by eight o'clock was formed in good order, the Dutch in the van, the blue division in the rear, and the red in the center. The French fleet did not exceed sixty-three ships of the line, and as they were to windward, Tourville might have avoided an engagement; but, he had received a positive order to fight, on the supposition that the Dutch and English squadrons had not joined. Lewis indeed was apprised of their junction before they were descried by his admiral, to whom he dispatched a countermanning order by two several vessels; but, one of them was taken by the English, and the other did not arrive till the day after the engagement.

§ XXVII. Tourville therefore, in obedience to the first mandate, bore down along side of Ruffel's own ship, which he engaged at a very small distance. He fought with great fury till one o'clock, when his rigging and sails being considerably damaged, his ship, the Rising-Sun, that carried one hundred and four cannon, was towed out of the line in great disorder. Nevertheless, the engagement continued till three, when the fleets were parted by a thick fog. When this abated, the enemy were descried flying to the northward; and Ruffel made the signal for chasing. Part of the blue squadron came up with the enemy about eight in the evening, and engaged them half an hour, during which admiral Carter was mortally wounded. Finding himself in extremity, he exhorted his captain to fight as long as the ship could swim; and expired with great composure. At length, the French bore away for Conquer-Road, having lost four ships in this day's action. Next day about eight in the morning, they were discovered crowding away to the westward, and the combined fleets chased with all the sails they could carry, until Ruffel's foretop-mast came by the board. Though he was retarded by this accident, they still continued the pursuit, and he anchored near Cape La Hogue. On the twenty-second of the month, about seven in the morning, part of the French fleet was perceived near the Race of Alderney, some at anchor, and some driving to the eastward with the tide of flood. He, and the ships nearest him, immediately slipped their cables and chased. The Royal-Sun having lost her masts, ran ashore near Cherbourg, where she was burned by Sir Ralph Delaval, together with the Admirable, another first-rate, and the Conquerant of eighty guns. Eighteen other ships of their fleet ran into La Hogue, where they were attacked by Sir George Rooke, who destroyed them, and a great number of transports loaded with ammunition, in the midst of a terrible fire from the enemy, and in

*at the time when
Ruffel sailed from
St. Helen's, the French
fleet left Portland
and the two fleets
approached the French
coast together, but
undecided to each
other - The French
fleet were a whole
day between the
Start & Portland.*

fight of the Irish camp. Sir John Ashby, with his own squadron and some Dutch ships, pursued the rest of the French fleet, which escaped through the Race of Alderney, by such a dangerous passage as the English could not attempt, without exposing their ships to the most imminent hazard. This was a very mortifying defeat to the French king, who had been so long flattered with an uninterrupted series of victories; and reduced James to the lowest ebb of despondence, as it frustrated the whole scheme of his embarkation, and overwhelmed his friends in England with grief and despair. Some historians alledge, that Russel did not improve his victory with all advantages that might have been obtained before the enemy recovered of their consternation. They say, to his affection to the service was in a good measure cooled by the disgrace of his friend the earl of Marlborough: that he hated the earl of Nottingham, by whose canal he received his orders: and, that he adhered to the letter rather than the spirit of his instructions. But this is a malicious imputation; and a very ungrateful return for his manifold services to the nation. He acted in this whole expedition with the genuine spirit of a British admiral. He plyed from the Nore to the Downs with a very scanty wind, through the dangerous sands, contrary to the advice of all his pilots; and by this bold passage effected a junction of the different squadrons, which otherwise the French would have attacked singly, and perhaps defeated. He behaved with great gallantry during the engagement; he destroyed about fifteen of the enemy's capital ships; in a word, he obtained such a decisive victory, that during the remaining part of the war, the French would hazard another battle by sea with the English.

§ XXVIII. Russel having joined Sir John Ashby, and the Dutch admiral Callembergh, to steer toward Havre de Grace, and endeavour to destroy the remainder of the French fleet, sailed back to St. Helen's, that the damaged ships might be refitted, and the fleet furnished with fresh supplies of provision and ammunition: but, his principal motive was to take on board a number of troops provided for a descent upon France, which had been projected by England and Holland, with a view to alarm and distract the enemy in their own dominions. The queen was so pleased with the victory, that she ordered thirty thousand pounds to be distributed among the sailors; medals to be struck in honour of the action; and the bodies of admiral Carter and captain Hastings, who had been killed in the battle, to be interred with great funeral pomp. In the latter end of July, seven thousand men, commanded by the duke of Leinster, embarked on board of transports, to be landed at St. Maloe's, Brest, or Rochfort; and the nation conceived the most sanguine hopes of this expedition. A council of war, consisting of land and sea-officers, being held on board the Breda, to deliberate upon the scheme of the ministry, the members unanimously agreed, that the season was too far advanced to put it in execution. Nevertheless, the admiral having detached Sir John Ashby with a squadron, to intercept the remains of the French fleet in their passage from St. Maloe's to Brest, set sail for La Hogue with the rest of the fleet and transports; but, in a few days the wind shifting, he was obliged to return to St. Helen's.

§ XXIX. The queen immediately dispatched the marquis of Carmarthen, the earls of Devonshire, Dorset, Nottingham, and Rochester, together with the lords Sidney and Cornwallis, to consult with the admiral, who demonstrated the impracticability of making an effectual descent upon the coast of France at

that season of the year. The design was therefore layed aside, and the forces were transported to Flanders. The higher the hopes of the nation had been raised by this armament, the deeper they felt their disappointment. A loud clamour was raised against the ministry, as the authors of this miscarriage. The people complained, that they were plundered and abused: that immense sums were extorted from them by the most grievous impositions: that by the infamous expedient of borrowing upon established funds, their taxes were perpetuated: that their burdens would daily increase: that their treasure was either squandered away in chimerical projects, or expended in foreign considerations, of which England was naturally independent. They were the more excusable for exclaiming in this manner, as their trade had grievously suffered by the French privateers, which swarmed in the channel. In vain the merchants had recourse to the admiralty, which could not spare particular convoys, while large fleets were required for the defence of the nation. The French king having nothing further to apprehend from the English armament, withdrew his troops from the coast of Normandy, and James returned in despair to St. Germain's, where his queen had been in his absence delivered of a daughter, who was born in presence of the archbishop of Paris, the keeper of the seals, and other persons of distinction.

§ XXX. Lewis had taken the field in the latter end of May. On the twentieth day of that month he arrived at his camp in Flanders, with all the effeminate pomp of an Asiatic emperor, attended by his women and parasites, his band of music, his dancers, his opera, and in a word, by all the ministers of luxury and sensual pleasure. Having reviewed his army, which amounted to about one hundred and twenty thousand men, he undertook the siege of Namur, which he invested on both sides of the Sambre, with about one half of his army, while the other covered the siege, under the command of Luxembourg. Namur is situated on the conflux of the Meuse and the Sambre. The citadel was deemed one of the strongest forts in Flanders, strengthened with a new work contrived by the famous engineer Coehorn, who now defended it in person. The prince de Barbason commanded the garrison, consisting of nine thousand men. The place was well supplied, and the governor knew that king William would make strong efforts for its relief: so that the besieged were animated with many concurring considerations. Notwithstanding these advantages, the assailants carried on their attacks with such vigour, that in seven days after the trenches were opened the town capitulated, and the garrison retired into the citadel. King William being joined by the troops of Brandenburg and Liege, advanced to the Meuse, at the head of one hundred thousand effective men, and encamped within cannon-shot of Luxembourg's army, which lay on the other side of the river. That general, however, had taken such precautions, that the king of England could not interrupt the siege, nor attack the French lines without great disadvantage. The besiegers, encouraged by the presence of their monarch, and assisted by the superior abilities of Vauban their engineer, repeated their attacks with such impetuosity, that the fort of Coehorn was surrendered, after a very obstinate defence, in which he himself had been dangerously wounded. The citadel being thus left exposed to the approaches of the enemy, could not long withstand the violence of their operations. The two covered-ways were taken by assault, and on the twentieth of May the governor capitulated, to the unspeakable mortification of king William, who saw

saw himself obliged to be inactive at the head of a powerful army, and be an eye-witness of the loss of the most important fortrefs in the Netherlands. Lewis having taken possession of the place, returned in triumph to Versailles, where he was flattered with all the arts of adulation; while William's reputation suffered a little from his miscarriage, and the prince of Barbason incurred the suspicion of treachery or misconduct.

§ XXXI. Luxembourg having placed a strong garrison in Namur, detached Boufflers with a body of troops to La Buftiere, and with the rest of his army encamped at Soignies. The king of England sent off detachments towards Liege and Ghent; and on the sixth day of July posted himself at Genap, resolved to seize the first opportunity of retrieving his honour, by attacking the enemy. Having received intelligence that the French general was in motion, and intended to take post between Steenkirk and Enghien, he passed the river Senne, in order to anticipate his purpose; but, in spite of all his diligence, Luxembourg gained his point; and William encamped at Lambeque, within six miles of the French army. Here he resolved, in a council of war, to attack the enemy; and the disposition was made for that purpose. The heavy baggage he ordered to be conveyed to the other side of the Senne; and one Millevoux, a detected spy, was compelled by menaces to mislead Luxembourg with false intelligence, importing, that he needed not be alarmed at the motions of the allies, who intended next day to make a general forage. On the twenty-fourth day of July, the army began to move from the left, in two columns, as the ground would not admit of their marching in an extended front. The prince of Wirtemberg began the attack on the right of the enemy, at the head of ten battalions of English, Danish, and Dutch infantry; and he was supported by a considerable body of British horse and foot, commanded by lieutenant-general Mackay. Though the ground was intersected by hedges, ditches, and narrow defiles, the prince marched with such diligence, that he was in a condition to begin the battle about two in the afternoon, when he charged the French with such impetuosity, that they were driven from their posts, and their whole camp became a scene of tumult and confusion. Luxembourg trusting to the intelligence he had received, allowed himself to be surprised; and it required the full exertion of his superior talents, to remedy the consequences of his neglect. He forthwith forgot a severe indisposition under which he happened to labour; he rallied his broken battalions; he drew up his forces in order of battle, and led them to the charge in person. The duke de Chartres, who was then in the fifteenth year of his age, the dukes of Bourbon and Vendome, the prince of Conti, and a great number of volunteers of the first quality, put themselves at the head of the household troops, and fell with great fury upon the English, who were very ill supported by count Solmes, who commanded the center of the allies. The prince of Wirtemberg had taken one of the enemy's batteries, and actually penetrated into their lines; but finding himself in danger of being overpowered by numbers, he sent an aid-de-camp twice to demand succours from Solmes, who derided his distress, saying, "Let us see what sport these English bulldogs will make." At length, when the king sent an express order, commanding him to sustain the left wing, he made a motion with his horse, which could not act while his infantry kept their ground; and the British troops, with a few Dutch and Danes, bore the whole brunt of the engagement. They fought with

with surprising courage and perseverance against dreadful odds; and the event of the battle continued doubtful, until Boufflers rejoined the French army with a great body of dragoons. The allies could not sustain the additional weight of this reinforcement, before which they gave way, though the retreat was made in tolerable order; and the enemy did not think proper to prosecute the advantage they had gained. In this action the confederates lost the earl of Angus, general Mackay, Sir John Lanier, Sir Robert Douglas, and many other gallant officers, together with about three thousand men left dead on the spot, a like number wounded or taken, a great many colours and standards, and several pieces of cannon.

§ XXXII. The French reaped no solid advantage from their victory, which cost them about three thousand men, including the prince of Turenne, the marquis de Bellefonds, Tilladet, and Fermaçon, with many officers of distinction: as for Millevoix the spy, he was hanged on a tree, on the right wing of the allied army. King William retired unmolested to his own camp; and notwithstanding all his overthrows, continued a respectable enemy, by dint of invincible fortitude, and a genius fruitful in resources. That he was formidable to the French nation, even in the midst of his ill success, appears from divers undeniable testimonies, and from none more than from the extravagance of joy expressed by the people of France, on occasion of this unimportant victory. When the princes who served in the battle returned to Paris, the roads through which they passed were almost blocked up with multitudes; and the whole air resounded with acclamation. All the ornaments of the fashion peculiar to both sexes, adopted the name of Steenkirk; every individual who had been personally engaged in the action, was revered as being of a superior species; and the transports of the women rose almost to a degree of frenzy.

§ XXXIII. The French ministry did not intirely depend upon the fortune of the war for the execution of their revenge against king William. They likewise employed assassins to deprive him of life, in the most treacherous manner. When Louvois died, his son the marquis de Barbesieux, who succeeded him in his office of secretary, found among his papers the draught of a scheme for this purpose; and immediately revived the design by means of the chevalier de Grandval, a captain of dragoons in the service. He and colonel Parker engaged one Dumont, who undertook to assassinate king William. Madame de Maintenon and Paparel, paymaster to the French army, were privy to the scheme, which they encouraged; and the conspirators are said to have obtained an audience of king James, who approved of their undertaking, and assured them of his protection; but, that unfortunate monarch was unjustly charged with the guilt of countenancing the intended murder, as they communicated nothing to him but an attempt to seize the person of the prince of Orange. Dumont actually enlisted in the confederate army, that he might have the better opportunity to shoot the king of England when he should ride out to visit the lines, while Grandval and Parker repaired to the French camp, with orders to Luxembourg to furnish them with a party of horse for the rescue of Dumont, after the blow should be struck. Whether this man's heart failed him, or he could not find the opportunity he desired, after having resided some weeks in the camp of the allies, he retired to Hanover; but still corresponded with Grandval and Barbesieux. This last admitted one Leefdale, a Dutch baron, into the secret, and likewise imparted it to monsieur Chanlais, quarter master-general of the French army,

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who animated Grandval and Leefdale with the promise of a considerable reward; and promised to co-operate with Parker for bringing off Dumont, for he still persisted in his undertaking. Leefdale had been sent from Holland on purpose to dive to the bottom of this conspiracy, in consequence of advice given by the British envoy at Hanover, where Dumont had dropped some hints that alarmed his suspicion. The Dutchman not only insinuated himself into the confidence of the conspirators, but likewise inveigled Grandval to Eyndhoven, where he was apprehended. Understanding that Dumont had already discovered the design to the duke of Zell, and that he himself had been betrayed by Leefdale, he freely confessed all the particulars, without enduring the torture; and being found guilty by a court-martial, was executed as a traitor.

§ XXXIV. About this period the duke of Leinster arrived at Ostend with the troops which had been embarked at St. Helen's. He was furnished with cannon sent down the Meuse from Maestricht; he was reinforced by a large detachment from the king's camp at Gramont, under the command of general Talmash. He took possession of Furnes, was joined by the earl of Portland and Mr. D'Auverquerque, and a disposition was made for investing Dunkirk; but, on further deliberation, the enterprize was thought very dangerous, and therefore layed aside. Furnes and Dixmuyde lately reduced by brigadier Ramsay, were strengthened with new works, and secured with strong garrisons. The cannon were sent back, and the troops returning to Ostend, reembarked for England. This fruitless expedition, added to the inglorious issue of the campaign, increased the ill humour of the British nation. They taxed William with having lain inactive at Gramont with an army of one hundred thousand men, while Luxembourg was posted at Courtray with half that number. They said, if he had found the French lines too strong to be forced, he might have passed the Scheld higher up, and not only layed the enemy's conquests under contribution, but even marched into the bowels of France; and they complained that Furnes and Dixmuyde were not worth the sums expended in maintaining their garrisons. On the twenty-sixth day of September king William left the army under the command of the elector of Bavaria, and repaired to his house at Loo: in two days after his departure the camp at Gramont was broke up; the infantry marched to Marienkerke, and the horse to Gaure. On the sixteenth day of October the king receiving intelligence, that Boufflers had invested Charleroy, and Luxembourg taken post in the neighbourhood of Condé, ordered the troops to be instantly reassembled between the village of Ixells and Halle, with design to raise the siege; and repaired to Brussels, where he held a council of war, in which the proper measures were concerted. Then he returned to Holland, leaving the command with the elector of Bavaria, who forthwith began his march for Charleroy. At his approach Boufflers abandoned the siege, and moved towards Philipville. The elector having reinforced the place, and thrown supplies into Aeth, distributed his forces into winter-quarters. Then Luxembourg, who had cantoned his army between Condé, Leuze, and Tournay, returned to Paris, leaving Boufflers to command in his absence.

§ XXXV. The allies had been unsuccessful in Flanders, and they were not fortunate in Germany. The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel undertook the siege of Eberemburg, which however he was obliged to abandon. The duke de Lorges, who commanded the French forces on the Rhine, surprised, defeated, and took the duke of Wirtemberg, who had posted himself with four thousand horse near Eidelshelm,

Eidellheim to check the progress of the enemy. Count Tallard, having invested Rhinefeld, the landgrave marched to its relief with such expedition, that the French were obliged to desist, and retreat with considerable damage. The elector of Saxony had engaged to bring an army into the field; but, he complained that the emperor left the burden of the war with France upon the princes, and converted his chief power and attention to the campaign in Hungary. A jealousy and misunderstanding ensued; Schoening, the Saxon general, in his way to the hot-baths at Dabltz in Bohemia, was seized by the emperor's order, on suspicion of having maintained a private correspondence with the enemy; and very warm expostulations on this subject passed between the courts of Vienna and Dresden. Schoening was detained two years in custody; and at length released, on condition that he should never be employed again in the empire. The war in Hungary produced no event of importance. The ministry of the Ottoman Porte was distracted by factions, and the seraglio threatened with tumults. The people were tired of maintaining an unsuccessful war: the vizir was deposed; and in the midst of this confusion, the garrison of Great Waradin, which had been blocked up by the Imperialists during the whole winter, surrendered by capitulation. Lord Paget, the English ambassador at Vienna, was sent to Constantinople with powers to mediate a peace; but the terms offered by the emperor were rejected at the porte: the Turkish army lay upon the defensive, and the season was spent in a fruitless negotiation.

§ XXXVI. The prospect of affairs in Piedmont was favourable for the allies; but the court of France had brought the pope to an accommodation, and began to tamper with the duke of Savoy. Mr. Chanlais was sent to Turin with advantageous proposals, which, however, the duke would not accept, because he thought himself intitled to better terms, considering that the allied army in Piedmont amounted to fifty thousand effective men, while Catinat's forces were not sufficient to defend his conquests in that country. In the month of July the duke marched into Dauphiné, where he plundered a number of villages, and reduced the fortrefs of Guillestre; then passing the river Darance, he invested Ambrun, which, after a siege of nine days, surrendered on capitulation, and laid all the neighbouring towns under contribution. Here duke Schomberg, who commanded the auxiliaries in the English pay, published a declaration, in the name of king William, inviting the people to join his standard; assuring them that his master had no other design in ordering his troops to invade France, but that of restoring the noblesse to their ancient splendour, their parliaments to their former authority, and the people to their just privileges. He even offered his protection to the clergy, and to use his endeavours for reviving the edict of Nantes, which had been guaranteed by the kings of England. These offers, however, produced little effect; and the Germans ravaged the whole country, in revenge for the cruelties which the French had committed in the Palatinate. The allied army advanced from Ambrun to Gap, on the frontiers of Provence; and this place submitted without opposition. The inhabitants of Grenoble, the capital of Dauphiné, and even of Lyons, were overwhelmed with consternation; and a fairer opportunity of humbling France could never occur, as that part of the kingdom had been left almost quite defenceless: but this was fatally neglected, either from the spirit of dissension, which began to prevail in the allied army, or from the indisposition of the duke

of Savoy, who was seized with the small-pox in the midst of this expedition; or, lastly, to his want of sincerity, which was shrewdly suspected. He is said to have maintained a constant correspondence with the court of Versailles, in complaisance to which he retarded the operations of the confederates. Certain it is he evacuated all his conquests, and about the middle of September quitted the French territories, after having pillaged and laid waste the country through which he had penetrated *. In Catalonia the French attempted nothing of importance during this campaign, and the Spaniards were wholly inactive in that province.

§ XXXVII. The protestant interest in Germany acquired an accession of strength, by the creation of a ninth electorate in favour of Ernest Augustus duke of Hanover. He had, by this time, renounced all his connexions with France, and engaged to enter heartily into the interest of the allies, in consideration of his obtaining the electoral dignity. King William exerted himself so vigorously in his behalf at the court of Vienna, that the emperor agreed to the proposal, in case the consent of the other electors could be procured. This assent, however, was thwarted by the importunities of the king of England, whom he durst not disoblige. He was blindly bigotted to the religion of Rome, and consequently averse to a new creation that would weaken the catholic interest in the electoral college. He therefore employed his emissaries to thwart the duke's measures. Some protestant princes opposed him from motives of jealousy; and the French king used all his artifices and influence to prevent the elevation of the house of Hanover. When the duke had surmounted all this opposition, so far as to gain over a majority of the electors, new objections were started. The emperor suggested that another popish electorate should be created, to balance the advantage which the Lutherans would reap from that of Hanover; and he proposed that Austria should be raised to the same dignity: but violent opposition was made to this expedient, which would have vested the emperor with a double vote in the electoral college. At length, after a tedious negotiation, the duke of Hanover, on the nineteenth day of December, was honoured with the investiture as elector of Brunswick; created great marshal of the empire, and did homage to the emperor: nevertheless, he was not yet admitted into the college, because he had not been able to procure the unanimous consent of all the electors †.

* At this period, queen Mary, understanding that the protestant Vaudois were destitute of ministers to preach or teach the gospel, established a fund from her own privy purse, to maintain ten preachers and as many schoolmasters in the vallies of Piedmont.

† In the beginning of September, the shock of an earthquake was felt in London and many other

parts of England, as well as in France, Germany, and the Netherlands. Violent agitations of the same kind had happened about two months before in Sicily and Malta; and the town of Port-royal in Jamaica was almost totally ruined by an earthquake: the place was so suddenly overflowed, that about fifteen hundred persons perished.

CHAP. IV.

§ I. False information against the earl of Marlborough, the bishop of Rochester, and others. § II. Sources of national discontent. § III. Diffension between the queen and the princess Anne of Denmark. § IV. The house of lords vindicate their privileges in behalf of their imprisoned members. § V. The commons present addresses to the king and queen. § VI. They acquit admiral Russel, and resolve to advise his majesty. § VII. They comply with all the demands of the ministry. § VIII. The lords present an address of advice to the king. IX. Dispute between the lords and commons concerning admiral Russel. § X. The commons address the king. They establish the land-tax and other impositions. § XI. Burnet's Pastoral letter burned by the hangman. § XII. Proceedings of the lower-house against the practice of kidnapping men for the service. § XIII. The two houses address the king on the grievances of Ireland. § XIV. An account of the place-bill, and that for triennial parliaments. § XV. The commons petition his majesty that he would dissolve the East-India company. § XVI. Trial of lord Mobun for murder. Alterations in the ministry. § XVII. The king repairs to the continent, and assembles the confederate army in Flanders. § XVIII. The French reduce Huy. § XIX. Luxembourg resolves to attack the allies. § XX. Who are defeated at Landen. § XXI. Charleroy is besieged and taken by the enemy. § XXII. Campaign on the Rhine. The duke of Savoy is defeated by Catinat in the plain of Marsaglia. § XXIII. Transactions in Hungary and Catalonia. § XXIV. Naval affairs. § XXV. A fleet of merchant ships, under convoy of Sir George Rooke, attacked, and partly destroyed by the French squadrons. § XXVI. Wheeler's expedition to the West-Indies. § XXVII. Bemhow bombards St. Malo. § XXVIII. The French king has recourse to the mediation of Denmark. § XXIX. Severity of the government against the Jacobites. § XXX. Complaisance of the Scottish parliament. § XXXI. The king returns to England, makes some changes in the ministry, and opens the session of parliament. § XXXII. Both houses inquire into the miscarriages by sea. § XXXIII. The commons grant a vast sum for the services of the ensuing year. § XXXIV. The king rejects the bill against free and impartial proceedings in parliament; and the lower house remonstrates on this subject. § XXXV. Establishment of the bank of England. § XXXVI. The East-India company obtain a new charter. § XXXVII. Bill for a general naturalization dropped. § XXXVIII. Sir Francis Wheeler perishes in a storm. § XXXIX. The English attempt to make a descent in Camaret bay, but are repulsed with loss. § XL. They bombard Dieppe, Havre de Grace, Dunkirk, and Calais. § XLI. Admiral Russel sails for the Mediterranean, relieves Barcelona, and winters at Cadix. § XLII. Campaign in Flanders. § XLIII. The allies reduce Huy. § XLIV. The prince of Baden passes the Rhine, but is obliged to repass that river. Operations in Hungary. § XLV. Progress of the French in Catalonia. State of the war in Piedmont. § XLVI. The king returns to England. The parliament meets. The bill for triennial parliaments receives the royal assent. § XLVII. Death of archbishop Tillotson and of queen Mary. § XLVIII. Reconciliation between the king and the princess of Denmark.

§ I. **W**HILE king William seemed wholly engrossed by the affairs of the continent, England was distracted by domestic dissension, and overspread with vice, corruption, and profanity. Over and above the Jacobites, there was a set of malecontents, whose number daily increased. They not only murmured at the grievances of the nation, but composed and published elaborate dissertations upon the same subject. These made such impressions upon the people, already irritated by heavy burdens, distressed in their trade, and disappointed in their sanguine expectations, that the queen thought it necessary to check the progress of those writers, by issuing out a proclamation offering a reward to such as would discover seditious libellers. The earl of Marlborough had been committed to the Tower, on the information of one Robert Young, a prisoner in Newgate, who had forged that nobleman's hand-writing, and contrived the scheme of an association in favour of king James, to which he affixed the names of the earls of Marlborough and Salisbury, Sprat, bishop of Rochester, the lord Cornbury, and Sir Basil Firebrace. One of his emissaries had found means to conceal this paper in a certain part of the bishop's house at Bromley in Kent, where it was found by the king's messengers, who secured the prelate in consequence of Young's information. But he vindicated himself to the satisfaction of the whole council, and the forgery of the informer was detected by the confession of his accomplice. The bishop obtained his release immediately, and the earl of Marlborough was admitted to bail in the court of king's bench.

§ II. So many persons of character and distinction had been imprisoned during this reign, upon the slightest suspicion, that the discontented part of the nation had some reason to insinuate, they had only exchanged one tyrant for another. They affirmed, that the Habeas Corpus act was either insufficient to protect the subject from false imprisonment, or had been shamefully misused. They expatiated upon the loss of ships, which had lately fallen a prey to the enemy; the consumption of seamen; the neglect of the fisheries; the interruption of commerce, in which the nation was supplanted by her allies, as well as invaded by her enemies; the low ebb of the kingdom's treasure exhausted in hiring foreign bottoms, and paying foreign troops to fight foreign quarrels; the slaughter of the best and bravest of their countrymen, whose blood had been lavishly spilt in support of connexions with which they ought to have had no concern. They demonstrated the mischiefs that necessarily arose from the unsettled state of the nation. They observed that the government could not be duly established, until a solemn declaration should confirm the legality of that tenure by which their majesties possessed the throne; that the structure of parliaments was deficient in point of solidity, as they existed intirely at the pleasure of the crown, which would use them no longer than they should be found necessary in raising supplies for the use of the government. They exclaimed against the practice of quartering soldiers in private houses, contrary to the ancient laws of the land, the petition of rights, and the subsequent act passed in the reign of the second Charles. They enumerated among their grievances the violation of property, by pressing transport ships into the service, without settling any fund of payment for the owners; the condition of the militia, which was equally burthensome and useless; the flagrant partiality in favour of allies, who

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carried on an open commerce with France, and supplied the enemy with necessities, while the English laboured under the severest prohibitions, and were in effect the dupes of those very powers whom they protected. They dwelt upon the ministry's want of conduct, foresight, and intelligence, and inveighed against their ignorance, insolence, and neglect, which were as pernicious to the nation as if they had formed a design of reducing it to the lowest ebb of disgrace and destruction. By this time indeed, public virtue was become the object of ridicule, and the whole kingdom was overspread with immorality and corruption; towards the increase of which many concurring circumstances happened to contribute. The people were divided into three parties, namely, the Williamites, the Jacobites, and the discontented revolutioners; and these factions took all opportunities to thwart, to expose, and to ridicule the measures and principles of each other: so that patriotism was laughed out of doors, as an hypocritical pretence. This contention established a belief, that every man consulted his own private interest at the expence of the public: a belief that soon grew into a maxim almost universally adopted. The practice of bribing a majority in parliament had a pernicious influence upon the morals of all ranks of people from the candidate to the lowest borough-electors. The expedient of establishing funds of credit for raising supplies to defray the expence of government, threw large premiums and sums of money into the hands of low, sordid usurers, brokers, and jobbers, who distinguished themselves by the name of the Monied-interest. Intoxicated by this flow of wealth, they affected to rival the luxury and magnificence of their superiors; but, being destitute of sentiment and taste, to conduct them in their new career, they ran into the most absurd and illiberal extravagancies. They layed aside all decorum; became lewd, insolent, intemperate, and riotous. Their example was caught by the vulgar. All principle, and even decency was gradually banished; talent lay uncultivated, and the land was deluged with a tide of ignorance and profligacy.

§ III. King William having ascertained the winter-quarters of the army, and concerted the operations of the ensuing campaign with the states-general, and the ministers of the allies, set sail for England on the fifteenth day of October, on the eighteenth landed at Yarmouth, was met by the queen at Newhall, and passed through the city of London to Kensington, amidst the acclamations of the populace. He received a congratulatory address from the lord-mayor and aldermen, with whom he dined in public by invitation. A day of thanksgiving was appointed for the victory obtained at sea. The lutestring company was established by patent, and the parliament met on the fourth day of November. The house of lords was deeply infected with discontent, which in some measure proceeded from the dissension between the queen and her sister the princess of Denmark, who underwent every mortification that the court could inflict. Her guards were taken away; all honours which had been payed to her rank by the magistrates of Bath, where she sometimes resided; and even by the ministers of the church, where she attended at divine service, were discontinued, by the express order of her majesty. Her cause was naturally espoused by those noblemen who had adhered to her in her former contest with the king, about an independent settlement; and these were now reinforced by all the friends of the earl of Marlborough, united by a double tie; for, they resented the disgrace and confinement of that lord; and thought it their duty to support the princess Anne under a persecution.

persecution incurred by an attachment to his countess. The earl of Shrewsbury lived in friendship with Marlborough, and thought he had been ungratefully treated by the king; the marquis of Halifax befriended him, from opposition to the ministry; the earl of Mulgrave, for an opportunity to display his talents, and acquire that consideration which he thought due to his merit. Devonshire, Montague, and Bradford joined in the same cause, from principle; and the same pretence was used by the earls of Stamford, Monmouth, Warrington, and other Whigs; though in effect they were actuated by jealousy and resentment against those by whom they had been supplanted. As for the Jacobites, they gladly contributed their assistance to promote any scheme that had a tendency to embroil the administration.

§ IV. The king, in his speech to parliament, thanked them for their last supplies, congratulated them upon the victory obtained at sea, consoled them on the bad success of the campaign by land, magnified the power of France, represented the necessity of maintaining a great force to oppose it; and demanded subsidies equal to the occasion. He expressed his reluctance to load them with additional burthens, which, he said, could not be avoided without exposing his kingdom to inevitable destruction. He desired their advice towards lessening the inconvenience of exporting money for the payment of the forces. He intimated a design of making a descent upon France; declared he had no aim but to make them a happy people; and that he would again cheerfully expose his life for the welfare of the nation. The lords, after an adjournment of three days, began with great warmth to assert their privileges, which they conceived had been violated in the cases of the earl of Marlborough, and the other noblemen, who had been apprehended, committed to prison, and afterwards admitted to bail by the court of king's-bench. These circumstances being fully discussed in a violent debate, the house ordered lord Lucas constable of the Tower, to produce the warrants of commitment, and the clerk of the king's-bench to deliver the affidavit of Aaron Smith, the court-solicitor, upon which the lords had been remanded to prison. At the same time, the whole affair was referred to a committee, empowered to send for persons, papers, and records. The judges were ordered to attend: Aaron Smith was examined touching the evidence against the committed lords. The committee reported their general resolution, which produced a vehement dispute. The opinion of the judges was unsatisfactory to both parties: the debate was referred to a committee of the whole house, in which it was resolved, and declared, as the sense of that assembly, that in pursuance of the Habeas-corpus act, it was the duty of the judges and goal-delivery, to discharge the prisoner on bail, if committed for high-treason, unless it be made appear, upon oath, that there are two witnesses against the said prisoner, who cannot be produced in that term, sessions, or general goal-delivery. They likewise resolved, it was the intention of the said statute, that in case there should be more than one prisoner to be bailed or remanded, there must be oath made, that there are two witnesses against each prisoner, otherwise he cannot be remanded to prison. These resolutions were entered in the books, as standing directions to all future judges, yet not without great opposition from the court-members. The next debate turned upon the manner in which the imprisoned lords should be set at liberty. The contest became so warm, that the courtiers began to be afraid, and proposed an expedient, which was put in practice.

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The house adjourned to the seventeenth day of the month, and at its next meeting was given to understand, that the king had discharged the imprisoned noblemen. After another warm debate, a formal entry was made in the journals, importing, That the house being informed of his majesty's having given directions for discharging the lords under bail in the king's-bench, the debate about that matter ceased. The resentment of the peers being thus allayed, they proceeded to take his majesty's speech into consideration.

§ V. The commons having voted an address of thanks, and another, praying that his majesty's foreign alliances should be layed before them, voted a bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason: They passed a vote of thanks to admiral Russel, his officers and seamen, for the victory they had obtained; then proceeded to an inquiry, Why that victory had not been pursued? Why the descent had not been made? And why the trade had not been better protected from the enemy's cruizers? The admiral having justified his own conduct, they commanded the lords of the admiralty to produce copies of all the letters and orders which had been sent to the admiral: they ordered Russel to lay before them his answers; and the commissioners of the transports, victuallers, and office of ordnance, to deliver in an account of their proceedings. Then they presented addresses to the king and queen, acknowledging the favour of God in restoring him to his people; congratulating him upon his deliverance from the snares of his open and secret enemies; and assuring him they would, according to his majesty's desire in his most gracious speech, be always ready to advise and assist him in the support of his government. The queen was thanked for her gracious and prudent administration during his majesty's absence: they congratulated her on their signal deliverance from a bold and cruel design formed for their destruction, as well as on the glorious victory which her fleet had gained; and they assured her that the grateful sense they had of their happiness under her government, should always be manifested in constant returns of duty and obedience.

§ VI. After this formal compliment, the house, instead of proceeding to the supplies, insisted upon perusing the treaties, public accounts, and estimates, that they might be in a condition to advise, as well as to assist his majesty. Being indulged with those papers, they passed a previous vote, that a supply should be given; then they began to concert their articles of advice. Some of the members loudly complained of partiality to foreign generals; and particularly reflected upon the insolence of count Solmes, and his misconduct at Steenkirk. After some warm altercation, the house resolved one article of their advice should be, That his majesty would be pleased to fill up such vacancies as should happen among the general officers, with such only as were natives of his dominions; and that the commander in chief of the English should be an Englishman. Their next resolution implied, That many of the great affairs of the government having been for some time past unsuccessfully managed, the house should advise his majesty to prevent such mischiefs for the future, by employing men of knowledge, ability, and integrity. Individual members inveighed bitterly against cabinet councils, as a novelty in the British system of government, by which the privy council was justled out of its province. They complained that all the grievances of the nation proceeded from the vitious principles of the ministry: they observed, that he who opposed the establish-

establishment, could not be expected to support it with zeal. The earl of Nottingham was mentioned by name; and the house resolved that his majesty should be advised, to employ in his councils such persons only whose principles obliged them to support his rights against the late king, and all other pretenders. Marlborough's interest still predominated among the commons. His friend Russel acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the house, and shifted the blame of the miscarriage upon his enemy the earl of Nottingham, by declaring that twenty days elapsed between his first letter to that nobleman and his lordship's answer. The earl's friends, of whom there was a great number in the house, espoused his cause with great vigour, and even recriminated upon Russel; so that a very violent debate ensued. Both parties agreed that there had been mismanagement in the scheme of a descent. It was moved, that one cause of the miscarriage was the want of giving timely and necessary orders, by those to whom the management of the affair was committed. The house divided, and it was carried in the affirmative by one voice only. At the next sitting of the committee, Sir Richard Temple proposed they should consider how to pay the forces abroad, by means of English manufactures, without exporting money. They resolved that the house should be moved to appoint a committee to take this expedient into consideration. Sir Francis Winnington was immediately called upon to leave the chair; and the speaker refused his place. All that had been done was now void, as no report had been made; and the committee was dissolved. The house, however, revived it, and appointed a day for its sitting; but, before it could resume its deliberations, admiral Russel moved for its being adjourned, and all its purposes were defeated.

§ VII. The court agents had by this time interposed, and secured a majority by the infamous arts of corruption. The commons no longer insisted upon their points of advice. Their whole attention was now centered in the article of assistance. They granted about two millions for the maintenance of three and thirty thousand seamen, the building of some additional ships of war, and the finishing of Plymouth-dock; and seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds to supply the deficiency of the quarterly poll. The estimates of the land-service were not discussed without tedious debates, and warm disputes. The ministry demanded fifty-four thousand men, twenty thousand of whom should be kept at home for the defence of the nation, while the rest should serve abroad in the allied army. Many members declared their aversion to a foreign war, in which the nation had no immediate concern, and so little prospect of success. Others agreed that the allies should be assisted on the continent with a proportion of British forces; but that the nation should act as auxiliary, not as a principal, and pay no more than what the people would cheerfully contribute to the general expence. These reflections, however, produced no other effect than that of prolonging the debate. Ministerial influence had surmounted all opposition. The house voted the number of men demanded. Such was their servile complaisance, that when they examined the treaties by which the English and Dutch contracted equally with the German princes, and found that, notwithstanding these treaties, Britain bore two-thirds of the expence, they overlooked this flagrant instance of partiality, and enabled the king to pay the proportion. Nay, their maxims were

were so much altered, that, instead of prosecuting their resentment against foreign generals, they assented to a motion that the prince of Wirtemberg, the major generals Tetteau and La Forest, who commanded the Danish troops in the pay of the states-general, should be indulged with such an addition to their appointments as would make up the difference between the pay of England and that of Holland. Finally, they voted above two millions for the subsistence of the land-forces, and for defraying extraordinary expences attending the war upon the continent, including subsidies to the electors of Saxony and Hanover.

§ VIII. The house of lords, mean while, was not free from animosity and contention. The Marlborough faction exerted themselves with great vivacity. They affirmed it was the province of their house to advise the sovereign: like the commons, they insisted upon the king's having asked their advice, because he had mentioned that word in his speech, though he never dreamed they would catch at it with such eagerness. They moved, that the task of digesting the articles of advice, should be undertaken by a joint committee of both houses: but all the dependents of the court, including the whole bench of bishops, except Watson of St. David's, were marshalled to oppose this motion, which was rejected by a majority of twelve; and this victory was followed with a protest of the vanquished. Notwithstanding this defeat, they prosecuted their scheme of giving advice; and, after much wrangling and declamation, the house agreed in an address or remonstrance, advising and beseeching his majesty, That the commanding officer of the British forces should be an Englishman: That English officers might take rank of those in the confederate armies, who did not belong to crowned heads: That the twenty thousand men to be left for the defence of the kingdom, should be all English, and commanded by an English general: That the practice of pressing men for the fleet should be remedied; and such officers as were guilty of that practice should be cashiered and punished: And, lastly, That no foreigners should sit at the board of ordnance. This address was presented to the king, who received it coldly, and said he would take it into consideration.

§ IX. Then the lords resolved to inquire into the miscarriage of the purposed descent, and called for all the papers relating to that affair: but the aim of the majority was not so much to rectify the errors of the government, as to skreen Nottingham, and censure Russel. That nobleman produced his own book of entries, together with the whole correspondence between him and the admiral, whom he verbally charged with having contributed to the miscarriage of the expedition. This affair was referred to a committee. Sir John Ashby was examined. The house directed the earl to draw up the substance of his charge; and these papers were afterwards delivered to a committee of the commons, at a conference, by the lord president and the rest of the committee above. They were offered for the inspection of the commons, as they concerned some members of that house, by whom they might be informed more fully of the particulars they contained. At another conference, which the commons demanded, their committee declared, in the name of the house, That they had read and well considered the papers which their lordships had sent them, and which they now returned: That, finding Mr. Russel one of their members, often mentioned in the said papers, they

had unanimously resolved, That admiral Russel, in his command of the fleets, during the last summer's expedition, had behaved with fidelity, courage, and conduct. The lords, irritated at this declaration, and disappointed in their resentment against Russel, desired a free conference between the committees of both houses, in which the earl of Rochester told the commons, he was commanded by the house of lords to inform them, that their lordships looked upon the late vote and proceedings of the lower house, in returning their papers, to be irregular and unparliamentary, as they had not communicated to their lordships the lights they had received, and the reasons upon which their vote was founded. A paper to the same purport was delivered to colonel Granville, who promised to present it to the commons, and make a faithful report of what his lordship had said. Thus the conference ended, and the inquiry was discontinued.

§ X. The lower house seemed to be as much exasperated against the earl of Nottingham as the lords were incensed at Russel. A motion was made, that his majesty should be advised to appoint such commissioners of the board of admiralty as were of known experience in maritime affairs. Although this was over-ruled, they voted an address to the king, praying, that for the future, all orders for the management of the fleet, might pass through the hands of the said commissioners; a protest by implication against the conduct of the secretary. The consideration of ways and means was the next object that engrossed the attention of the lower house. They resolved that a rate of four shillings in the pound, for one year, should be charged upon all lands, according to their yearly value; as also upon all personal estates, and upon all offices and employments of profit, other than military offices in the army or navy. The act founded on this resolution empowered the king to borrow money on the credit of it, at seven per cent. They further enabled him to raise one million on the general credit of the exchequer, by granting annuities. They laid several new duties on a variety of imports. They renewed the last quarterly poll, providing, that in case it did not produce three hundred thousand pounds, the deficiencies might be made up by borrowing on the general credit of the exchequer. They continued the impositions on wine, vinegar, tobacco, and sugar, for five years; and those on East India goods for four years. They laid a new imposition of eight per cent. on the capital stock of the East India company, estimated at seven hundred and forty-four thousand pounds; of one per cent. on the African; of five pounds on every share of the stock belonging to the Hudson's bay company; and they empowered his majesty to borrow five hundred thousand pounds on these funds, which were expressly established for maintaining the war with vigour *.

§ XI. The money-bills were retarded in the upper-house, by the arts of Halifax, Mulgrave, and other malecontents. They grafted a clause on the land-tax bill, importing, that the lords should tax themselves. It was adopted by the majority, and the bill sent with this amendment to the commons, by whom it was unanimously rejected, as a flagrant attempt upon their privileges. They demanded a conference, in which they declared, that the clause in question was

* The French king hearing how liberally fixed in the saddle—but, no matter, the last William was supplied, exclaimed with some emotion, "My little cousin the prince of Orange is Louis d'or must carry it."

a notorious encroachment upon the right the commons possessed, of regulating all matters relating to supplies granted by parliament. When this report was debated in the house of lords, the earl of Mulgrave displayed uncommon powers of eloquence and argument, in persuading the house, that by yielding to this claim of the commons, they would divest themselves of their true greatness, and nothing would remain but the name and shadow of a peer, which was but a pageant. Notwithstanding all his oratory, the lords relinquished their clause, declaring, at the same time, that they had agreed to pass the bill without alteration, merely in regard to the present urgent state of affairs, as being otherwise of opinion, that they had a right to insist upon their clause. A formal complaint being made in the house of commons against the pamphlet intitled, King William and Queen Mary Conquerors, as containing assertions of dangerous consequence to their majesties, to the liberty of the subject, and the peace of the kingdom; the licenser and printer were taken into custody. The book being examined, they resolved that it should be burned by the hands of the common hangman; and, that the king should be moved to dismiss the licenser from his employment. The same sentence they pronounced upon a pastoral letter of bishop Burnet, in which this notion of conquest had been at first asserted. The lords, in order to manifest their sentiments on the same subject, resolved, That such an assertion was highly injurious to their majesties, inconsistent with the principles on which the government was founded, and tending to the subversion of the rights of the people. Bohun the licenser was brought to the bar of the house, and discharged upon his own petition, after having been reprimanded on his knees by the speaker.

§ XII. Several members having complained that their servants had been kidnapped, and sent to serve as soldiers in Flanders, the house appointed a committee to enquire into the abuses committed by press-masters; and a suitable remonstrance was presented to the king, who expressed his indignation at this practice, and assured the house that the delinquents should be brought to exemplary punishment. Understanding, however, in the sequel, that the methods taken by his majesty for preventing this abuse had not proved effectual, they resumed their inquiry, and proceeded with uncommon vigour on the information they received. A great number of persons who had been pressed, were discharged by order of the house; and captain Winter, the chief undertaker for this method of recruiting the army, was carried by the serjeant before the lord chief justice, that he might be prosecuted according to law.

§ XIII. Before the heats occasioned by this unpopular expedient were allayed, the discontent of the nation was further inflamed by complaints from Ireland, where lord Sidney was said to rule with despotic authority. These complaints were exhibited by Sir Francis Brewster, Sir William Gore, Sir John Macgill, lieutenant Stafford, Mr. Stone, and Mr. Kerne. They were examined at the bar of the house, and delivered an account of their grievances in writing. Both houses concurred in this inquiry, which being finished, they severally presented addresses to the king. The lords observed, That there had been great abuses in disposing of the forfeited estates: That protections had been granted to the Irish not included in the articles of Limerick; so that protestants were deprived of the benefit of the law against them: That the quarters of the army had not been payed according to the provision made by

parliament: That a mayor had been imposed upon the city of Dublin for two years successively, contrary to the antient privileges and charter: That several persons accused of murder had been executed without proof; and one Sweetman, the most guilty, discharged without prosecution. The commons spoke more freely in their address; they roundly explained the abuses and mismanagement of that government, by exposing the protestant subjects to the free quarter and violence of a licentious army; by recruiting the troops with Irish papists, who had been in open rebellion against his majesty; by granting protections to Irish roman catholics, whereby the course of the law was stopped; by reversing outlawries for high treason, not comprehended in the articles of Limerick; by letting the forfeited estates at under value, to the prejudice of his majesty's revenue; by embezzling the stores left in the towns and garrisons by the late king James, as well as the effects belonging to forfeited estates, which might have been employed for the better preservation of the kingdom; and, finally, by making additions to the articles of Limerick, after the capitulation was signed, and the place surrendered. They most humbly besought his majesty to redress these abuses, which had greatly encouraged the papists, and weakened the protestant interest in Ireland. The king graciously received both addresses, and promised to pay a particular regard to all remonstrances that should come from either house of parliament: but no material step was taken against the lords Sidney, Athlone, and Coningsby, who appeared to have engrossed great part of the forfeitures by grants from the crown; and even commissioner Culliford, who had been guilty of the most grievous acts of oppression, escaped with impunity.

§ XIV. The old Whig principle was not yet wholly expelled from the lower-house. The undue influence of the court was exerted in such an open scandalous manner, as gave offence to the majority of the commons. In the midst of all their condescension, Sir Edward Hussey, member for Lincoln, brought in a bill touching free and impartial proceedings in parliament. It was intended to disable all members of parliament from enjoying places of trust and profit, and particularly levelled against the officers of the army and navy, who had insinuated themselves into the house in such numbers, that this was commonly called the officers parliament. The bill passed the house of commons, and was sent up to the lords, by whom it was read a second time, and committed; but the ministry employing their whole strength against it, on the report it was thrown out by a majority of two voices. The earl of Mulgrave again distinguished himself by his elocution, in a speech that was held in great veneration by the people; and, among those who entered a protest in the journals of the house, when the majority rejected the bill, was prince George of Denmark, duke of Cumberland. The court had not recollected themselves from the consternation produced by such a vigorous opposition, when the earl of Shrewsbury produced another bill for triennial parliaments, providing that there should be an annual session; that if, at the expiration of the three years, the crown should not order the writs to be issued, the lord chancellor, or keeper, or commissioner of the great seal, should issue them *ex officio*, and by authority of this act, under severe penalties. The immediate object of this bill was the dissolution of the present parliament, which had already sat three sessions, and began to be formidable to the people, from

from its concessions to the ministry. The benefits that would accrue to the constitution from the establishment of triennial parliaments were very well understood, as these points had been frequently discussed in former reigns. The courtiers now objected, that frequent elections would render the freeholders proud and insolent; encourage faction among the electors, and intail a continual expence upon the member, as he would find himself obliged, during the whole time of his sitting, to behave like a candidate, conscious how soon the time of election would revolve. In spite of the ministerial interest in the upper-house, the bill passed, and contained a proviso, that the present parliament should not continue any longer than the month of January next ensuing. The court renewed its efforts against it in the house of commons, where, nevertheless, it was carried, with some little alterations, which the lords approved. But all these endeavours were frustrated by the prerogative of the king, who, by refusing his assent, prevented its being enacted into a law.

§ XV. It was at the instigation of the ministry, that the commons brought in a bill for continuing and explaining certain temporary laws then expiring or expired. Among these was an act for restraining the liberty of the press, which owed its origin to the reign of Charles II. and had been revived in the first year of the succeeding reign. The bill passed the lower house without difficulty, but met with warm opposition in the house of lords, a good number of whom protested against it, as a law that subjected all learning and true information to the arbitrary will of a mercenary, and perhaps ignorant licenser, destroyed the properties of authors, and extended the evil of monopolies. The bill for regulating trials was dropped, and, in lieu of it, another produced for the preservation of their majesties sacred persons and government; but this too was rejected by the majority, in consequence of the ministry's secret management. The East India company narrowly escaped dissolution. Petitions and counter-petitions were delivered into the house of commons: the pretensions on both sides were carefully examined: a committee of the whole house resolved, that there should be a new subscription of a joint-stock, not exceeding two millions five hundred thousand pounds, to continue for one and twenty years. The report was made and received, and the public expected to see the affair brought to a speedy issue: but the company had recourse to the same expedients, which had lately proved so successful in the hands of the ministry. Those who had been the most warm in detecting their abuses, suddenly cooled; and the prosecution of the affair began to languish. Not but that the house presented an address to his majesty, praying that he would dissolve the company upon three years warning, according to the condition of their charter. He told them he would consider their address; and they did not further urge their remonstrance. The bill for ascertaining the commissions and salaries of the judges, to which the king had refused the royal assent in the last session, was revived, twice read, and rejected; and another, for preventing the exportation and melting of the coin, they suffered to lie neglected on the table. On the fourteenth day of March, the king put an end to the session, after having thanked the parliament for so great testimonies of their affection, and promised the supplies should not be misapplied. He observed, that the posture of affairs called him abroad; but that he would leave a sufficient number of troops for the security of the kingdom: he assured them

them he would expose his person upon all occasions for the advantage of these kingdoms; and use his utmost endeavours to make them a flourishing nation*.

§ XVI. During the course of this session, lord Mohun was indicted and tried by his peers, in Westminster-hall, as an accomplice in the murder of one Montford, a celebrated comedian, the marquis of Carmarthen acting as lord-steward upon this occasion. The judges having been consulted, the peers proceeded to give their judgments seriatim, and Mohun was acquitted by a great majority. The king, who, from his first accession to the throne, had endeavoured to trim the balance between the Whigs and Tories, by mingling them together in his ministry, made some alterations at this period, that favoured of the same policy. The great-seal, with the title of lord-keeper, was bestowed upon Sir John Somers, who was well skilled in the law, as in many other branches of polite and useful literature. He possessed a remarkable talent for business, in which he exerted great patience and assiduity; was gentle, candid, and equitable; a Whig in principles, yet moderate, pacific, and conciliating. Of the same temper was Sir John Trenchard, now appointed secretary of state. He had been concerned with the duke of Monmouth, and escaped to the continent, where he lived some years; was calm, sedate, well acquainted with foreign affairs, and considered as a leading man in his party. These two are said to have been promoted at the recommendation of the earl of Sunderland, who had by this time insinuated himself into the king's favour and confidence; though his success confirmed the opinion which many entertained, of his having betrayed his old master. The leaders of the opposition, were Sir Edward Seymour, again become a malcontent, and Sir Christopher Musgrave, a gentleman of Cumberland, who, though an extravagant Tory from principle, had refused to concur with all the designs of the late king. He was a person of a grave and regular deportment, who had rejected many offers of the ministry, which he opposed with great violence; yet on some critical occasions, his patriotism gave way to his avarice, and he yielded up some important points, in consideration of large sums which he received from the court in secret. Others declared war against the administration, because they thought their own talents were not sufficiently considered. Of these, the chiefs were Paul Foley and Robert Harley. The first was a lawyer of good capacity, extensive learning, and virtuous principles; but peevish, obstinate, and morose. He entertained a very despicable opinion of the court; and this he propagated with equal assiduity and success. Harley possessed a good fund of learning; was capable of uncommon application, particularly turned to politics. He knew the forms of parliament, had a peculiar dexterity at protracting and perplexing debates; and cherished the most aspiring

Burnet.
Hist. of K.W.
Burchet.
Lives of the
Admirals.
Slone's Nar.
Feuquieres.
Voltaire.
Ralph.
Tindal.
State Tracts.

* The other laws made in this session were these that follow. An act for preventing suits against such as had acted for their majesties service in defence of this kingdom. An act for raising the militia in the year 1693. An act, authorising the judges to empower such persons, other than common attorneys and solicitors, as they should think fit, to take special bail, except in London, Westminster, and ten miles round. An act to encourage the apprehending of highwaymen. An act to prevent clandestine marriages. An act for the regaining, encouraging, and settling the

Greenland trade. An act to prevent malicious informations in the court of king's-bench, and for the more easy reversal of outlawries in that court. An act for the better discovery of judgments in the courts of law. An act for delivering declarations to prisoners for debt. An act for regulating proceedings in the crown-office. An act for the more easy discovery and conviction of such as should destroy the game of this kingdom. And an act for continuing the acts for prohibiting all trade and commerce with France, and for the encouragement of privateers.

ambition.

ambition. Admiral Ruffel was created treasurer of the household; but the command of the fleet was vested in the hands of Killigrew, Delaval, and Shovel. Sir George Rooke was declared vice admiral of the red, and John lord Berkeley, of the blue division; their rear-admirals were Matthew Aylmer and David Mitchel.

§ XVII. The king having visited the fleet and fortifications of Portsmouth, An. Ch. 1693: given instructions for annoying the enemy by sea, and left the administration in the hands of the queen, embarked on the last day of March, near Gravesend, and arrived in Holland on the third of April. The troops of the confederates were forthwith ordered to assemble; but while he was employed in making preparations for the campaign, the French king actually took the field, attended by madame de Maintenon, and all the court ladies. His design was supposed to be upon some town in Brabant: his army amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand men, completely armed, and abundantly supplied with all necessaries for every sort of military operation. King William immediately took possession of the strong camp at Parke near Louvain, a situation which enabled him to cover the places that were most exposed. Understanding that the French emissaries had sown the seeds of dissension between the bishop and chapter of Liege, he sent the duke of Wirtemberg thither, to reconcile the different parties, and concert measures for the further security of the place. He reinforced the garrison with nine battalions; and the elector palatine lay with his troops in readiness to march to its relief. William likewise threw reinforcements into Maestricht, Huy, and Charleroy; and he himself resolved to remain on the defensive, at the head of sixty thousand men, with a numerous train of artillery.

§ XVIII. Lewis having reviewed his army at Gemblours, and seen his designs upon Brabant defeated by the diligence of his antagonist, detached Boufflers with twenty thousand men to the Upper Rhine, to join the dauphin, who commanded in that quarter; then leaving the conduct of his forces in the Netherlands to the duke de Luxembourg, he returned with his court to Versailles. Immediately after his departure, Luxembourg fixed his head-quarters at Milledert; and king William strengthened his camp on that side with ten battalions, and eight and twenty pieces of cannon. The enemy's convoys were frequently surprised by detachments from the garrison of Charleroy; and a large body of horse, foot, and dragoons, being draughted out of Liege and Maestricht, took post at Huy, under the command of the count de Tilly, so as to straiten the French in their quarters. These, however, were dislodged by Luxembourg in person, who obliged the count to pass the Jaar with precipitation, leaving behind three squadrons and all his baggage, which fell into the hands of the enemy. This check, however, was ballanced by the success of the duke of Wirtemberg, who, at the head of thirteen battalions of infantry, and twenty squadrons of horse, forced the French lines between the Schelde and the Lys; and layed the whole country as far as Lisse under contribution. On that very day, which was the eighteenth of July, Luxembourg marched towards Huy, which was next morning invested by M. de Villeroy. The other covered the siege, and secured himself from the allies by lines of contravallation. Before their batteries began to play, the town capitulated. On the twenty-third day of the month, the garrison mutinied; the castles were surrendered; the governor

nor remained a prisoner; and his men were conducted to Liège. The confederate army advanced in order to relieve the town; but the king being apprized of its fate, detached ten battalions to reinforce the garrison of Liège, and next day returned to Neer-Helfen.

§ XIX. Luxembourg made a motion towards Liège, as if he had intended to besiege the place; and encamped at Hellechem, about seven leagues from the confederates. Knowing how much they were weakened by the different detachments which had been made from their army, he resolved to attack them in their camp, or at least fall upon their rear, should they retreat at his approach. On the twenty-eight day of July, he began his march in four columns, and passed the Jaar near its source, with an army superior to the allies by five and thirty thousand men. The king of England, at first, looked upon this motion as a feint to cover the design upon Liège; but receiving intelligence that their whole army was in full march to attack him in his camp, he resolved to keep his ground; and immediately drew up his forces in order of battle. His general-officers advised him to repass the Geet; but he chose to risque a battle, rather than expose the rear of his army in repassing that river. His right wing extended as far as Neer-Winden, along the Geet, covered with hedges, hollow-ways, and a small rivulet: the left reached to Neer-Landen; and these two villages were joined by a slight intrenchment, which the king ordered to be thrown up in the evening. Brigadier Ramsey, with the regiments of Ofarrel, Mackay, Lauder, Leven, and Monroe, were ordered to the right of the whole army, to line some hedges and hollow-ways, on the farther side of the village of Lare. Six battalions of Brandenburg were posted to the left of this village; and general Dumont with the Hanoverian infantry, possessed the village of Neer-Winden, which covered part of the camp, between the main body and the right wing of the cavalry. Neer-Landen on the left, was secured by six battalions of English, Danes, and Dutch. The remaining infantry was drawn up in one line behind the intrenchment. The dragoons upon the left guarded the village of Dormal upon the brook of Beck; and from thence the left wing of horse extended to Neer-Landen, where it was covered by this rivulet.

§ XX. The king having visited all the posts on horseback, and given the necessary orders, reposed himself about two hours in his coach; and early in the morning sent for his chaplain, whom he joined in prayer with great devotion. At sun-rising the enemy appeared drawn up in order of battle; and the allies began to play their cannon with good success. About eight in the morning they attacked the villages of Lare and Neer-Winden with great fury; and twice made themselves masters of these posts, from whence they were as often repulsed. At length, the allies kept their ground; and, the duke of Berwick was taken by his uncle brigadier Churchill. Then the French made an attack upon the left wing of the confederates at Neer-Landen; and after a very obstinate dispute, were obliged to give way, though they still kept possession of the avenues. The prince of Conti, however, renewed the charge with the flower of the French infantry; and the confederates being overpowered, retreated from the village, leaving the camp in that part exposed. Villeroy marching this way with a body of horse, was encountered and repulsed by the count D'Arco, general of the Bavarian cuirassiers; and the duke de Chartres narrowly escaped being taken. Mean while, Luxembourg, the prince of Conti, the count de Marfin,
and

and the marechal de Joyeuse, charged on the right, and in different parts of the line, with such impetuosity as surmounted all resistance. The camp of the confederates was immediately filled with French troops: the villages of Lare and Neer-Winden were taken, after a long and desperate dispute. The Hanoverian and Dutch horse being broken, the king in person brought the English cavalry to their assistance. They fought with great gallantry; and for some time retarded the fate of the day. The infantry was rallied, and stood firm until all their ammunition was expended. In a word, they were scarce able to sustain the weight of such a superiority in point of number, when the marquis D'Harcourt joined the enemy from Huy, with two and twenty fresh squadrons, which immediately turned the scale in their favour. The elector of Bavaria, after having made extraordinary efforts, retreated with great difficulty over the bridge to the other side of the river, where he rallied the troops, in order to favour the retreat of those who had not passed. The king seeing the battle lost, and the whole army in confusion, retired with the infantry to Dormal on the brook of Beck, where the dragoons of the left wing were posted. Then he ordered the regiments of Wyndham, Lumley, and Galway, to cover his retreat over the bridge at Neer-Hespen, which he effected with great difficulty. Now all was tumult, rout, and consternation; and a great number of the fugitives threw themselves into the river, where they were drowned. This had like to have been the fate of the brave earl of Athlone; the duke of Ormond was wounded in several places, and taken prisoner by the enemy; and the count de Solmes was mortally wounded. Talmash brought off the greater part of the English infantry with great gallantry and conduct: as for the baggage, it had been sent to Liege before the engagement: but, the confederates lost sixty pieces of cannon, and nine mortars, a great number of standards and colours*, with about seven thousand men killed and wounded in the action. It must be owned that the allies fought with great valour and perseverance; and that king William made prodigious efforts of courage and activity to retrieve the fortune of the day. He was present in all parts of the battle; he charged in person both on horseback and a-foot, where the danger was most imminent. His peruke, the sleeve of his coat, and the knot of his scarf were penetrated by three different musket-bullets; and he saw a great number of soldiers fall on every side of him. The enemy bore witness to his extraordinary valour. The prince of Conti, in a letter to his princess, which was intercepted, declared, that he saw the prince of Orange exposing himself to the greatest dangers; and that such valour richly deserved the peaceable possession of the crown he wore. Yet here, as in every other battle he fought, his conduct and disposition were severely censured. Luxembourg having observed the nature of his situation immediately before the engagement, is said to have exclaimed, "Now I believe Waldeck is really dead;" alluding to that general's known sagacity in choosing ground for an encampment. Be that as it will, he payed dear for his victory. His loss in officers and men exceeded that of the allies; and he reaped no solid advantage from the battle. He remained fifteen days inactive at Waren, while king William recalling the duke of Wirtemberg, and draughting troops from Liege and other garrisons, was in a few days able to hazard another engagement.

* The duke of Luxembourg sent such a number of standards and ensigns to Paris, during the course of this war, that the prince of Conti called him the Upholsterer of Notre-Dame, a church in which those trophies were displayed.

§ XXI. Nothing remarkable happened during the remaining part of the campaign, until Luxembourg being rejoined by Boufflers with a strong reinforcement from the Rhine, invested Charleroy. He had taken his measures with such caution and dexterity, that the allies could not frustrate his operations, without attacking his lines at a great disadvantage. The king detached the elector of Bavaria and the duke of Wirtemberg, with thirty battalions and forty squadrons, to make a diversion in Flanders; but, they returned in a few days, without having attempted any thing of consequence. The garrison of Charleroy defended the place with surprising valour, from the tenth of September to the eleventh of October, during which period they had repulsed the assailants in several attacks: but, at length, despairing of relief, the governor capitulated on the most honourable conditions; and the reduction of the place was celebrated with a Te Deum, and other rejoicings at Paris. Lewis, however, in the midst of all his glory, was extremely mortified when he reflected upon the little advantage he had reaped from all his late victories. The allies had been defeated successively at Fleurus, Steenkirk, and Landen; but in a fortnight after each of those battles, William was always in a condition to risque another engagement. Formerly Lewis had conquered half of Holland, Flanders, and Franche-Comte, without a battle; whereas now he could not with his utmost efforts, and after the most signal victories, pass the frontiers of the United-Provinces. The conquest of Charleroy concluded the campaign in the Netherlands; and both armies went into winter-quarters.

§ XXII. The French army on the Rhine, under De Lorges, passed that river in the month of May, at Philipsburg, and invested the city of Heidelberg, which they took, plundered, and reduced to ashes. This general committed numberless barbarities in the Palatinate, which he ravaged without even sparing the tombs of the dead. The French soldiers, on this occasion, seem to have been actuated by the most brutal inhumanity. They butchered the inhabitants, violated the women, plundered the houses, rifled the churches, and murdered priests at the altar. They broke open the electoral vault, and scattered the ashes of that illustrious family about the streets. They set fire to different quarters of the city; they stripped about fifteen thousand of the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, and drove them naked into the castle, that the garrison might be the sooner induced to capitulate. There they remained like cattle in the open air, without food or covering, tortured between the horrors of their fate and the terrors of a bombardment. When they were set at liberty, in consequence of the fort's being surrendered, a great number of them died along the banks of the Neckar, from cold, hunger, anguish, and despair. These enormous cruelties, which would have disgraced the arms of a Tartarian freebooter, were acted by the express command of Lewis XIV. of France, who has been celebrated by so many venal pens, not only as the greatest monarch, but also as the most polished prince of Christendom. De Lorges advanced towards the Neckar against the prince of Baden, who lay encamped on the other side of that river: but in attempting to pass, he was twice repulsed with considerable damage. The dauphin joining the army, which now amounted to seventy thousand men, crossed without opposition; but, found the Germans so advantageously posted, that he would not hazard an attack: having therefore repassed the river, he secured Stutgard with a garrison, sent detachments into Flanders

Flanders and Piedmont, and returned in August to Versailles. In Piedmont the allies were still more unfortunate. The duke of Savoy and his confederates seemed bent upon driving the French from Casal and Pignerol. The first of these places was blocked up, and the other actually invested. The fort of St. Bridget that covered the place, was taken, and the town bombarded. Mean while Catinat being reinforced, descended into the plains. The duke was so apprehensive of Turin, that he abandoned the siege of Pignerol, after having blown up the fort, and marched in quest of the enemy to the plain of Marfaglia, in the neighbourhood of his capital. On the fourth day of October, the French advanced upon them from the hills, between Orbasson and Profasque; and a desperate engagement ensued. The enemy charged the left wing of the confederates sword in hand, with incredible fury; and though they were once repulsed, they renewed the attack with such impetuosity, that the Neapolitan and Milanese horse were obliged to give way, and disordered the German cavalry. These falling upon the foot, threw the whole wing into confusion. Mean while, the main body and the other wing sustained the charge without flinching, until they were exposed in flank by the defeat of the cavalry: then the whole front gave way. In vain the second line was brought up to sustain them: the horse turned their backs, and the infantry was totally routed. In a word, the confederates were obliged to retire with precipitation, leaving their cannon, and about eight thousand men killed or wounded on the field of battle. The duke of Schomberg having been denied the post which was his due, insisted upon fighting at the head of the troops maintained by the king of Great Britain, who were posted in the center; and behaved with great gallantry under the eye of their commander. When the left wing was defeated, the count de los Torres desired he would take upon him the command, and retreat with the infantry and right wing; but, he refused to act without the order of his highness, and said, things were come to such a pass, that they must either conquer or die. He continued to animate his men with his voice and example, until he received a shot in the thigh. His valet seeing him fall, ran to his assistance, and called for quarter; but was killed by the enemy before he could be understood. The duke being taken at the same instant, was afterwards dismissed upon his parole; and in a few days died at Turin, universally lamented on account of his great and amiable qualities. The earl of Warwick and Holland, who accompanied him as a volunteer, shared his fate in being wounded and taken prisoner; but, he soon recovered his health and liberty. This victory was as unsubstantial as that of Landen, and almost as dear in the purchase; for the confederates made an obstinate defence, and yielded solely to superior number. The duke of Savoy retreated to Moncalier, and threw a reinforcement into Coni, which Catinat would not venture to besiege; so severely had he been handled in the battle. He therefore contented himself with laying the country under contribution, reinforcing the garrisons of Casal, Pignerol, and Susa, and making preparations for repassing the mountains. The news of the victory no sooner reached Paris, than Lewis dispatched Mr. de Chanlais to Turin, with proposals for detaching the duke of Savoy from the interest of the allies; and the pope, who was now become a partisan of France, supported the negotiation with his whole influence: but the French king had not yet touched upon the right string. The duke continued deaf to all his addresses.

§ XXIII. France had been alike successful in her intrigues at the courts of Rome and Constantinople. The vizir at the Porte had been converted into a pensionary and creature of Lewis; but, the war in which the Turks had been so long and unsuccessfully engaged, rendered him so odious to the people, that the grand signor deposed him, in order to appease their clamours. The English and Dutch ambassadors at Constantinople forthwith renewed their mediation for a peace with the emperor; but the terms they proposed were still rejected with disdain. In the mean time, general Heusler, who commanded the Imperialists in Transylvania, reduced the fortresses of Jeno and Villagufwar. In the beginning of July, the duke de Croy assumed the chief command of the German army, passed the Danube and the Saave, and invested Belgrade. The siege was carried on for some time with great vigour; but, at length abandoned at the approach of the vizir, who obliged the Imperialists to repass the Saave, and sent out parties which made incursions into Upper-Hungary. The power of France had never been so conspicuous as at this juncture, when she maintained a formidable navy at sea, and four great armies in different parts of Europe. Exclusive of the operations in Flanders, Germany, and Piedmont, the count de Noailles invested Roses in Catalonia, about the latter end of May, while at the same time it was blocked up by the French fleet, under the command of the count D'Etrees. In a few days the place was surrendered by capitulation; and the castle of Ampurias met with the same fate. The Spanish power was reduced to such a degree, that Noailles might have proceeded in his conquests without interruption, had not he been obliged to detach part of his army to reinforce Catinat in Piedmont.

§ XXIV. Nothing could be more inglorious for the English than their operations by sea in the course of this summer. The king had ordered the admirals to use all possible dispatch in equipping the fleets, that they might block up the enemy in their own ports, and protect the commerce, which had suffered severely from the French privateers. They were, however, so dilatory in their proceedings, that the squadrons of the enemy sailed from their harbours before the English fleet could put to sea. About the middle of May it was assembled at St. Helen's, and took on board five regiments, intended for a descent on Brest; but this enterprize was never attempted. When the English and Dutch squadrons joined, so as to form a very numerous fleet, the public expected they would undertake some expedition of importance; but the admirals were divided in opinion, nor did their orders warrant their executing any scheme of consequence. Killigrew and Delaval did not escape the suspicion of being disaffected to the service; and France was said to have maintained a secret correspondence with the malcontents in England. Lewis had made surprising efforts to repair the damage which his navy had sustained. He had purchased several large vessels, and converted them into ships of war; he had layed an embargo on all the shipping of his kingdom, until his squadrons were manned: he had made a grand naval promotion, to encourage the officers and seamen; and this expedient produced a wonderful spirit of activity and emulation. In the month of May his fleet sailed to the Mediterranean, in three squadrons, consisting of seventy-one capital ships, besides bomb-ketches, fireships, and tenders.

§ XXV. In the beginning of June, the English and Dutch fleets sailed down the channel. On the sixth, Sir George Rooke was detached to the Straights, with

with a squadron of three and twenty ships, as convoy to the Mediterranean trade. The great fleet returned to Torbay, while he pursued his voyage, having under his protection about four hundred merchants ships belonging to England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Hamburgh, and Flanders. On the sixteenth, his scouts discovered part of the French fleet under Cape St. Vincent: next day their whole navy appeared to the amount of eighty sail. Sixteen of these plied up to the English squadron, while the vice-admiral of the white stood off to sea, to intercept the ships under convoy. Sir George Rooke, by the advice of the Dutch vice-admiral Vaudergoes, resolved, if possible, to avoid an engagement, which could only tend to their absolute ruin. He forthwith sent orders to the small ships that were near the land, to put into the neighbouring ports of Faro, St. Lucar, and Cadiz, while he himself stood off with an easy sail for the protection of the rest. About six in the evening, ten sail of the enemy came up with two Dutch ships of war, commanded by the captains Schrijver and Vander-Poel, who seeing no possibility of escaping, tacked in shore; and thus drawing the French after them, helped to save the rest of the fleet. When attacked they made a most desperate defence; but at last were overpowered by numbers, and taken. An English ship of war, and a rich pin-nace were burned; nine and twenty merchant-vessels were taken, and about fifty destroyed by the counts de Tourville and D'Estrees. Seven of the largest Smyrna ships fell into the hands of M. de Coetlogon, and four he sunk in the bay of Gibraltar. The value of the loss sustained on this occasion, amounted to one million sterling. Mean while Rooke stood off with a fresh gale, and on the nineteenth sent home the Lark ship of war, with the news of his misfortune; then he bore away for the Maderas, where having taken in wood and water, he set sail for Ireland; and on the third day of August arrived at Cork, with fifty sail, including ships of war and trading vessels. He detached captain Fairborne to Kinsale, with all his squadron, except six ships of the line, with which, in pursuance of orders, he joined the great fleet then cruising in the chops of the channel. On the twenty-fifth day of August, they returned to St. Helen's, and the four regiments were landed. On the nineteenth day of September, fifteen Dutch ships of the line, and two frigates, set sail for Holland; and twenty-six sail, with seven fireships, were assigned as guard-ships during the winter.

§ XXVI. The French admirals, instead of pursuing Rooke to Madera, made an unsuccessful attempt upon Cadiz, and bombarded Gibraltar, where the merchants sunk their ships, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. Then they sailed along the coast of Spain, destroyed some English and Dutch vessels at Malaga, Alicante, and other places; and returned in triumph to Toulon. About this period, Sir Francis Wheeler returned to England with his squadron, from an unfortunate expedition in the West-Indies. In conjunction with colonel Codrington, governor of the Leeward islands, he made unsuccessful attempts upon the islands of Martinique and Dominque. Then he sailed to Boston in New-England, with a view to concert an expedition against Quebec, which was judged impracticable. He afterwards steered for Placentia in Newfoundland, which he would have attacked without hesitation; but the design was rejected by a majority of voices in the council of war. Thus disappointed he set sail for England; and arrived at Portsmouth in a very shattered

tered condition, the greater part of his men having died in the course of this voyage.

§ XXVII. In November another effort was made to annoy the enemy. Commodore Benbow sailed with a squadron of twelve capital ships, four bomb-ketches, and ten brigantines, to the coast of St. Malo, and anchoring within half a mile of the town, cannonaded and bombarded it for three days successively. Then they landed on an island, where they burned a convent. On the nineteenth, they took the advantage of a dark night, a fresh gale, and a strong tide, to send in a fireship of a particular contrivance, stiled the *Infernal*, in order to burn the town; but, she struck upon a rock before she arrived at the place, and the engineer was obliged to set her on fire, and retreat. She continued burning for some time, and at last blew up, with such an explosion as shook the whole town like an earthquake, unroofed three hundred houses, and broke all the glass and earthen ware for three leagues around. A capstan that weighed two hundred pounds was transported into the place, and falling upon a house, levelled it to the ground; the greatest part of the wall towards the sea tumbled down; and the inhabitants were overwhelmed with consternation: so that a small number of troops might have taken possession without resistance; but there was not a soldier on board. Nevertheless, the sailors took and demolished Quince-fort, and did considerable damage to the town of St. Malo, which had been a nest of privateers that infested the English commerce. Though this attempt was executed with great spirit, and some success, the clamours of the people became louder and louder. They scrupled not to say, that the councils of the nation were betrayed; and their suspicions rose even to the secretary's office. They observed, that the French were previously acquainted with all the motions of the English, and took their measures accordingly for their destruction. They collected and compared a good number of particulars, that seemed to justify their suspicion of treachery. But the misfortunes of the nation, in all probability, arose from a motley ministry, divided among themselves, who, instead of acting in concert for the public good, employed all their influence to thwart the views, and blacken the reputations of each other. The people in general exclaimed against the marquis of Caermarthen, the earls of Nottingham and Rochester, who had acquired great credit with the queen; and, from their hatred to the Whigs, betrayed the interests of the nation.

§ XXVIII. But if the English were discontented, the French were miserable, in spite of all their victories. That kingdom laboured under a dreadful famine, occasioned partly from unfavourable seasons, and partly from the war, which had not left hands sufficient to cultivate the ground. Notwithstanding all the diligence and providence of their ministry, in bringing supplies of corn from Sweden and Denmark, their care in regulating the price, and furnishing the markets, their liberal contributions for the relief of the indigent; multitudes perished of want, and the whole kingdom was reduced to poverty and distress. Lewis pined in the midst of his success. He saw his subjects exhausted by a ruinous war, in which they had been involved by his ambition. He tampered with the allies apart, in hope of dividing and detaching them from the grand confederacy: he solicited the northern crowns to engage as mediators for a general peace. A memorial was actually presented by the Danish minister to king William, by which it appears, that the French king would have been contented to pur-

purchase a peace with some considerable concessions. But the terms were rejected by the king of England, whose ambition and revenge were not yet gratified; and whose subjects, though heavy laden, could still bear additional burthens.

§ XXIX. The Jacobites had been very attentive to the progress of dissatisfaction in England, which they fomented with their usual assiduity. The late declaration of king James had been couched in such imperious terms as gave offence even to some of those who favoured his interest. The earl of Middleton therefore, in the beginning of the year repaired to St. Germain's, and obtained another, which contained the promise of a general pardon without exceptions; and every other concession that a British subject could demand of his sovereign. About the latter end of May, two men, named Canning and Dormer, were apprehended for dispersing copies of this paper, tried at the Old Bailey, found guilty of not only dispersing, but also of composing a false and seditious libel, sentenced to pay five hundred marks a-piece, to stand three times in the pillory, and find sureties for their good behaviour. But, no circumstance reflected more disgrace on this reign, than the fate of Anderton, the supposed printer of some tracts against the government. He was brought to trial for high-treason; he made a vigorous defence, in spite of the insults and discouragements he sustained from a partial bench. As nothing but presumptions appeared against him, the jury scrupled to bring in a verdict that would affect his life, until they were reviled and reprimanded by judge Treby; then they found him guilty. In vain recourse was had to the queen's mercy: he suffered death at Tyburn; and left a paper, protesting solemnly against the proceedings of the court, which he affirmed, was appointed, not to try, but to convict him; and petitioning heaven to forgive his penitent jury. The severity of the government was likewise exemplified in the case of some adventurers, who having equipped privateers to cruise upon the English, under joint-commissions from the late king James and Lewis XIV. happened to be taken by the English ships of war. Dr. Oldys, the king's advocate, being commanded to proceed against them as guilty of treason and piracy, refused to commence the prosecution; and gave his opinion in writing, that they were neither traitors nor pyrates. He supported this opinion by arguments before the council, and was answered by Dr. Littleton, who succeeded him in the office, from which he was dismissed; and the prisoners were executed as traitors. The Jacobites did not fail to retort those arts upon the government, which their adversaries had so successfully practised in the late reign. They inveighed against the vindictive spirit of the administration, and taxed it with encouraging informers and false witnesses; a charge for which there was too much foundation.

§ XXX. The friends of James in Scotland still continued to concert designs in his favour; but, their correspondence was detected, and their aims defeated, by the vigilance of the ministry in that kingdom. Secretary Johnston not only kept a watchful eye over all their transactions, but by a dextrous management of court-liberality and favour, appeased the discontents of the presbyterians so effectually, that the king ran no risque in assembling the parliament. Some offices were bestowed upon the leaders of the kirk-party; and the duke of Hamilton being reconciled to the government, was appointed commissioner. On the eighteenth day of April, the session was opened, and the king's letter, replete with the most cajoling expressions,

expressions, being read, the parliament proceeded to exhibit undeniable specimens of their good humour. They drew up a very affectionate answer to his majesty's letter: They voted an addition of six new regiments to the standing forces of the kingdom: They granted a supply of above one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling to his majesty: They enacted a law for levying men to serve on board of the royal navy: They fined all absentees, whether lords or commons; and vacated the seats of all those commissioners who refused to take the oath of assurance, which was equivalent to an abjuration of king James: They set on foot an inquiry about an intended invasion: They published some intercepted letters, supposed to be written to king James by Nevil Payne, whom they committed to prison, and threatened with a trial for high treason; but he eluded the danger, by threatening in his turn to impeach those who had made their peace with the government: They passed an act for the comprehension of such of the episcopal clergy as should condescend to take the oaths by the tenth day of July. All that the general assembly required of them, was an offer to subscribe the confession of faith, and to acknowledge presbytery as the only government of the Scottish church: but they neither submitted to these terms, nor took the oaths within the limited time; so that they forfeited all legal right to their benefices. Nevertheless, they continued in possession, and even received private assurances of the king's protection. It was one of William's political maxims to court his domestic enemies; but it was never attended with any good effect. This indulgence gave offence to the presbyterians, and former distractions began to revive.

§ XXXI. The king having prevailed upon the states-general to augment their land-forces and navy for the service of the ensuing campaign, embarked for England, and arrived at Kensington on the thirtieth day of October. Finding the people clamorous and discontented, the trade of the nation decayed, the affairs of state mismanaged, and the ministers recriminating upon one another, he perceived the necessity of changing hands, and resolved to take his measures accordingly. Sunderland his chief counsellor represented, that the Tories were averse to the continuance of a war, which had been productive of nothing but damage and disgrace; whereas the Whigs were much more practicable, and would bleed freely, partly from the terrors of invasion and popery, partly from the ambition of being courted by the crown, and partly from the prospect of advantage, in advancing money to the government on the funds established by parliament: for that sort of traffic which obtained the appellation of the monied-interest, was altogether a whiggish institution. The king revolved these observations in his own mind; and, in the mean time, the parliament met on the seventh day of November, pursuant to the last prorogation. In his speech he expressed his resentment against those who were authors of the miscarriages at sea; represented the necessity of increasing the land-forces and the navy, and demanded a suitable supply for these purposes. In order to pave the way to their condescension, he had already dismissed from his council the earl of Nottingham, who, of all his ministers, was the most odious to the people. His place would have been immediately filled with the earl of Shrewsbury; but that nobleman suspecting this was a change of men rather than of measures, stood aloof for some time, until he received such assurances from the king as quieted his scruples, and then he accepted the office

office of secretary. The lieutenantcy for the city of London, and all other commissions over England, were altered with a view to favour the Whig interest; and the individuals of that party were indulged with many places of trust and profit: but the Tories were too powerful in the house of commons to be exasperated, and therefore a good number of them were retained in office.

§ XXXII. On the sixth day of the session the commons unanimously resolved to support their majesties and their government; to inquire into miscarriages; and to consider means for preserving the trade of the nation. The Turkey company were summoned to produce the petitions they had delivered to the commissioners of the admiralty for convoy; while lord Falkland, who sat at the head of that board, gave in copies of all the orders and directions sent to Sir George Rooke concerning the Straights fleet, together with a list of all the ships at that time in commission. It appeared, in the course of this inquiry, that the miscarriage of Rooke's fleet was in a great measure owing to the misconduct of the admirals, and neglect of the victualing-office; but they were screened by a majority. Mr. Harley, one of the commissioners for taking and stating the public accounts, delivered a report which contained a charge of peculation against lord Falkland. Rainsford, receiver of the rights and perquisites of the navy, confessed that he had received and payed more money than that which was charged in the accompts; and, in particular, that he had payed four thousand pounds to lord Falkland, by his majesty's order. This lord had acknowledged before the commissioners, that he had payed one half of the sum, by the king's order, to a person who was not a member of either house; and that the remainder was still in his hands. Rainsford owned he had the original letter which he received from Falkland, demanding the money; and this nobleman desiring to see it, detained the voucher; a circumstance that incensed the commons to such a degree, that a motion was made for committing him to the Tower, and debated with great warmth, but at last over-ruled by the majority. Nevertheless, they agreed to make him sensible of their displeasure, and he was reprimanded in his place. The house of lords having also inquired into the causes of the miscarriage at sea, very violent debates arose, and at length the majority resolved, that the admirals had done well in the execution of the orders they had received. This was a triumph over the Whig lords, who had so eagerly prosecuted the affair, and now protested against the resolution, not without great appearance of reason. The next step of the lords, was to exculpate the earl of Nottingham, as the blame seemed to lie with him, on the supposition that the admirals were innocent. With a view therefore to transfer this blame to Trenchard the whiggish secretary, he gave the house to understand, that he had received from Paris intelligence in the beginning of June, containing, a list of the enemy's fleet, and the time of their sailing; that this was communicated to a committee of the council, and particularly imparted to secretary Trenchard, whose province it was to transmit instructions to the admirals. Two conferences passed on this subject between the lords and commons. Trenchard delivered in his defence in writing; and was in his turn screened by the whole efforts of the ministry, in which the Whig influence now predominated. Thus an inquiry of such national consequence, which took its rise from the king's own expression of resentment against the delinquents, was stifled by the arts of the court, because

it was likely to affect one of its creatures : for, though there was no premeditated treachery in the case, the interest of the public was certainly sacrificed to the mutual animosity of the ministers. The charge of lord Falkland being resumed in the house of commons, he appeared to have begged and received of the king, the remaining two thousand pounds of the money which had been payed by Rainsford : he was therefore declared guilty of a high misdemeanor and breach of trust, and committed to the Tower ; from whence, however, he was in two days discharged upon his petition.

§ XXXIII. Harley, Foley, and Harcourt, presented to the house a state of the receipts and issues of the revenue, together with two reports from the commissioners of the accounts, concerning sums issued for secret-services, and to members of parliament. This was a discovery of the most scandalous practices in the mystery of corruption, equally exercised on the individuals of both parties, in occasional bounties, grants, places, pensions, equivalents, and additional salaries. The malcontents therefore justly observed, the house of commons was so managed that the king could baffle any bill, quash all grievances, stifle accounts, and rectify the articles of Limerick. When the commons took into consideration the estimates and supplies of the ensuing year, the king demanded forty thousand men for the navy, and above one hundred thousand for the purposes of the land-service. Before the house considered these enormous demands, they granted four hundred thousand pounds by way of advance, to quiet the clamours of the seamen, who were become mutinous and desperate for want of pay, upwards of one million being due to them for wages. Then the commons voted the number of men required for the navy : but they were so ashamed of that for the army, that they thought it necessary to act in such a manner as should imply that they still retained some regard for their country. They called for all the treaties subsisting between the king and his allies : they examined the different proportions of the troops furnished by the respective powers : they considered the intended augmentations, and fixed the establishment of the year at fourscore and three thousand, one hundred and one and twenty men, including officers. For the maintenance of these they allotted the sum of two millions five hundred and thirty thousand, five hundred and ninety pounds. They granted two millions for the navy, and about five hundred thousand to make good the deficiencies of the annuity and poll-bills ; so that the supplies for the year amounted to about five millions and a half, raised by a land-tax of four shillings in the pound, by two more lives in the annuities, a further excise on beer, a new duty on salt, and a lottery.

§ XXXIV. Though the malcontents in parliament could not withstand this torrent of profusion, they endeavoured to distress the court-interest, by reviving the popular bills of the preceding sessions ; such as that of regulating trials in cases of high-treason, the other for the more frequent calling and meeting of parliaments, and that concerning free and impartial proceedings in parliament. The first was neglected in the house of lords ; the second was rejected ; the third was passed by the commons, on the supposition that it would be defeated in the other house. The lords returned it with certain amendments, to which the commons would not agree : a conference ensued ; the peers receded from their corrections, and passed the bill, to which the king, however, refused his assent. Nothing could be more unpopular and danger-

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ous than such a step at this juncture. The commons, in order to recover some credit with the people, determined to disapprove of his majesty's conduct. The house formed itself into a committee, to take the state of the kingdom into consideration. They resolved, that whoever advised the king to refuse the royal assent to that bill, was an enemy to their majesties and the kingdom. They likewise presented an address, expressing their concern that he had not given his consent to the bill, and beseeching his majesty to hearken for the future to the advice of his parliament, rather than to the counsels of particular persons, who might have private interests of their own, separate from those of his majesty and his people. The king thanked them for their zeal, professed a warm regard for their constitution; and assured them he would look upon all parties as enemies, who should endeavour to lessen the confidence subsisting between the sovereign and people. The members in the opposition were not at all satisfied with this general reply. A day being appointed to take it into consideration, a warm debate was maintained with equal eloquence and acrimony. At length the question being put, that an address should be made for a more explicit answer, it passed in the negative by a great majority.

§ XXXV. The city of London petitioned that a parliamentary provision might be made for the orphans whose fortunes they had scandalously squandered away. Such an application had been made in the preceding session, and rejected with disdain as an imposition on the public: but now those scruples were removed, and they passed a bill for this purpose, consisting of many clauses, extending to different charges on the city lands, aqueducts, personal estates, and imposing duties on binding apprentices, constituting freemen, as also upon wines and coals imported into London. On the twenty-third day of March these bills received the royal assent; and the king took that opportunity of recommending dispatch, as the season of the year was far advanced, and the enemy diligently employed in making preparations for an early campaign. The scheme of a national bank, like those of Amsterdam and Genoa, had been recommended to the ministry, as an excellent institution, as well for the credit and security of the government, as for the increase of trade and circulation. One project was invented by doctor Hugh Chamberlain, proposing the circulation of tickets on land-security: but William Paterfon was author of that which was carried into execution by the interest of Michael Godfrey, and other active projectors. The scheme was founded on the notion of a transferable fund, and a circulation by bill, on the credit of a large capital. Forty merchants subscribed to the amount of five hundred thousand pounds, as a fund of ready money to circulate one million at eight per cent. to be lent to the government; and even this fund of ready money bore the same interest. When it was properly digested in the cabinet, and a majority in parliament secured for its reception, the undertakers for the court introduced it into the house of commons, and expatiated upon the national advantages that would accrue from such a measure. They said it would rescue the nation out of the hands of extortioners and usurers, lower interest, raise the value of land, revive and establish public credit, facilitate the annual supplies, and connect the people the more closely with the government. The project was violently opposed by a strong party, who affirmed that it would become a monopoly, and engross the whole money of the kingdom: that, as it must infallibly be subservient to government views, it might be employed to the worst purposes of arbitrary power: that, instead of

assisting, it would weaken commerce, by tempting people to withdraw their money from trade, and employ it in stock-jobbing: that it would produce a swarm of brokers and jobbers to prey upon their fellow-creatures, encourage fraud and gaming, and further corrupt the morals of the nation. Notwithstanding these objections, the bill made its way through the two houses, establishing the funds for the security and advantage of the subscribers; empowering their majesties to incorporate them by the name of The governor and company of the bank of England, under a proviso, that at any time after the first day of August, in the year one thousand seven hundred and five, upon a year's notice, and the repayment of the twelve hundred thousand pounds, the said corporation should cease and determine. The bill likewise contained clauses of appropriation for the services of the public. The whole subscription was filled in ten days after its being opened; and the court of directors completed the payment before the expiration of the time prescribed by the act, although they did not call in more than seven hundred and twenty thousand pounds of the money subscribed. All these funds proving inadequate to the estimates, the commons brought in a bill to impose stamp-duties upon all velum, parchment, and paper, used in almost every kind of intercourse between man and man; and they crowned the oppressions of the year with another grievous tax upon carriages, under the name of a bill for licensing and regulating hackney and stage-coaches.

§ XXXVI. The commons, in a clause of the bill for taxing several joint-stocks, provided, that in case of a default in the payment of that tax, within the time limited by the act, the charter of the company so failing should be deemed void and forfeited. The East-India company actually neglected their payment; and the public imagined the ministry would seize this opportunity of dissolving a monopoly against which so many complaints had been made: but they understood their own strength; and, instead of being broke, obtained the promise of a new charter. This was no sooner known, than the controversy between them and their adversaries was revived with such animosity, that the council thought proper to indulge both parties with a hearing. As this produced no resolution, the merchants who opposed the company petitioned that, in the mean while, the new charter might be suspended. Addresses of the same kind were presented by a great number of clothiers, linen-drappers, and other dealers. To these a written answer was published by the company: the merchants printed a reply, in which they undertook to prove, that the company had been guilty of unjust and unwarrantable actions, tending to the scandal of religion, the dishonour of the nation, the reproach of our laws, the oppression of the people, and the ruin of the trade. They observed, that two private ships had exported in one year three times as many cloths as the company had exported in three years. They offered to send more cloth and English merchandise to the Indies in one year, than the company had exported in five; to furnish the government with five hundred tons of salt-petre for less than one half of the usual price; and they represented, that the company could neither load the ships they petitioned for in England, nor reload them in the East Indies. In spite of all these remonstrances, the new charter passed the great seal; though the grants contained in it were limited in such a manner, that they did not amount to an exclusive privilege, and subjected the company to such alterations, restrictions, and qualifications, as the king should direct before the twenty-ninth day.

day of September. This indulgence, and other favours granted to the company, were privately purchased of the ministry, and became productive of a loud outcry against the government. The merchants published a journal of the whole transaction: they petitioned the house of commons, that their liberty of trading to the East-Indies might be confirmed by parliament. Another petition was presented by the company, praying that their charter might receive a parliamentary sanction. Both parties employed all their address in making private application to the members. The house having examined the different charters, the book of their new subscriptions, and every particular relating to the company, resolved that all the subjects of England had an equal right to trade to the East Indies, unless prohibited by act of parliament.

§ XXXVII. But nothing engrossed the attention of the public more than a bill which was brought into the house for a general naturalization of all foreign protestants. The advocates for this measure alledged, That great part of the lands of England lay uncultivated: That the strength of a nation consisted in the number of inhabitants: That the people were thinned by the war and foreign voyages, and required an extraordinary supply: That a great number of protestants, persecuted in France and other countries, would gladly remove to a land of freedom, and bring along with them their wealth and manufactures: That the community had been largely repayed for the protection granted to those refugees who had already settled in the kingdom. They had introduced several new branches of manufacture, promoted industry, and lowered the price of labour, a circumstance of the utmost importance to trade, oppressed as it was with taxes, and exposed to uncommon hazard from the enemy. The opponents of the bill urged with great vehemence, That it would cheapen the birthright of Englishmen: That the want of culture was owing to the oppression of the times: That foreigners being admitted into the privileges of the British trade, would grow wealthy at the expence of their benefactors, and transfer the fortunes they had gained into their native country: That the reduction in the price of labour would be a national grievance, while many thousands of English manufacturers were starving for want of employment, and the price of provisions continued so high that even those who were employed could scarce supply their families with bread: That the real design of the bill was to make such an accession to the dissenters as would render them an equal match in the body-politic for those of the church of England; to create a greater dependence on the crown, and, in a word, to supply a foreign head with foreign members. Sir John Knight, a member of the house, in a speech upon this subject, exaggerated the bad consequences that would attend such a bill, with all the wit and virulence of satire: it was printed and dispersed through the kingdom, and raised such a flame among the people as had not appeared since the revolution. They exclaimed, that all offices would be conferred upon Dutchmen, who would become Lord-danes, and prescribe the modes of religion and government; and they extolled Sir John Knight as the saviour of the nation. The courtiers, incensed at the progress of this clamour, complained in the house of the speech, which had been printed; and Sir John was threatened with expulsion and imprisonment. He therefore thought proper to disown the paper, which was burned by the hands of the common hangman. This sacrifice served only to increase the popular disturbance.

Burnet.
Feuquieres.
Life of king
William.

Tindal.
State Tracts.
Ralph.
Voltaire.

An. Ch. 1694.

bance, which rose to such a height of violence, that the court-party began to tremble; and the bill was dropped for the present.

§ XXXVIII. Lord Coningsby and Mr. Porter had committed the most flagrant acts of oppression in Ireland. These had been explained during the last session, by the gentlemen who appealed against the administration of lord Sidney: but they were screened by the ministry; and therefore the earl of Bellamont now impeached them in the house of commons, of which he and they were members. After an examination of the articles exhibited against them, the commons, who were by this time at the devotion of the court, declared, that considering the state of affairs in Ireland, they did not think them fit grounds for an impeachment. In the course of this session, the nation sustained another misfortune in the fate of Sir Francis Wheeler, who had been appointed commander in chief of the Mediterranean squadron. He received instructions to take under his convoy the merchant ships bound to Turkey, Spain, and Italy; to cruise thirty days in a certain latitude, for the protection of the Spanish plate-fleet homeward bound; to leave part of his squadron at Cadiz, as convoy to the trade for England; to proceed with the rest to the Mediterranean; to join the Spanish fleet in his return; and to act in concert with them, until he should be joined by the fleet from Turkey and the Streights, and accompany them back to England. About the latter end of October he set sail from St. Helen's, and in January arrived at Cadiz with the ships under his convoy. There leaving rear-admiral Hopson, he proceeded for the Mediterranean. In the bay of Gibraltar he was overtaken with a dreadful tempest, under a lee-shore, which he could not possibly weather, and where the ground was so foul that no anchor would hold. This expedient, however, was tried. A great number of ships were driven ashore, and many perished. The admiral's ship foundered at sea, and he and all his crew were buried in the deep, except two Moors, who were miraculously preserved. Two other ships of the line, three ketches, and six merchant ships, were lost. The remains of the fleet were so much shattered, that instead of prosecuting their voyage, they returned to Cadiz in order to be refitted, and sheltered from the attempts of the French squadrons, which were still at sea, under the command of Chateau-Renaud and Gabaret. On the twenty-fifth day of April the king closed the session with a speech in the usual stile, and the parliament was prorogued to the eighteenth day of September*.

§ XXXIX.

* Besides the bills already mentioned, the parliament in this session passed an act for taking and stating the public accounts; another to encourage ship-building; a third for the better disciplining the navy; the usual militia act, and an act enabling his majesty to make grants and leases in the dutchy of Cornwall. One was also passed for renewing a clause in an old statute limiting the number of justices of the peace in the principality of Wales. The duke of Norfolk brought an action into the court of king's-bench against Mr. Jermaine, for criminal conversation with his dutchess. The cause was tried, and the jury brought

in their verdict for one hundred marks and costs of suit, in favour of the plaintiff.

Before the king embarked, he gratified a good number of his friends with promotions. Lord Charles Butler, brother to the duke of Ormond, was created lord Butler of Weston in England, and earl of Arran in Ireland. The earl of Shrewsbury was honoured with the title of duke. The earl of Mulgrave being reconciled to the court-measures, was gratified with a pension of three thousand pounds, and the title of marquis of Normanby. Henry Herbert was ennobled by the title of baron Herbert of Chisbury.

§ XXXIX. Lewis of France being tired of the war, which had impoverished his country, continued to tamper with the duke of Savoy, and, by the canal of the pope, made some offers to the king of Spain, which were rejected. Mean while he resolved to stand upon the defensive during the ensuing campaign, in every part but Catalonia, where his whole naval force might co-operate with the count de Noailles, who commanded the land-army. King William having received intelligence of their design upon Barcelona, endeavoured to prevent the junction of the Brest and Toulon squadrons, by sending Ruffel to sea as early as the fleet could be in a condition to sail: but, before he arrived at Portsmouth, the Brest squadron had quitted that harbour. On the third day of May the admiral sailed from St. Helen's, with the combined squadrons of England and Holland, amounting to ninety ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, and tenders. He detached captain Pritchard of the Monmouth with two fire-ships to destroy a fleet of French merchant-ships near Conquet-bay; and this service being performed, he returned to St. Helen's, where he had left Sir Cloudesley Shovel with a squadron, to take on board a body of land-forces, intended for a descent upon the coast of France. These being embarked, under the command of general Talmash, the whole fleet sailed again on the twenty-ninth of May. The land and sea-officers, in a council of war, agreed that part of the fleet designed for this expedition, should separate from the rest, and proceed to Camaret bay, where the forces should be landed. On the fifth day of June, lord Berkeley, who commanded this squadron, parted with the grand fleet, and on the seventh anchored between the bays of Camaret and Bertaume. Next day the marquis of Carmarthen, afterwards duke of Leeds, who served under Berkeley, as rear-admiral of the blue, entered Camaret bay with two large ships and six frigates, to cover the troops in landing. The French had received intelligence of the design, and taken such precautions, under the conduct of the celebrated engineer Vauban, that the English were exposed to a terrible fire from new-erected batteries, as well as from a strong body of troops; and, though the ships cannonaded them with great vigour, the soldiers could not maintain any regularity in landing. A good number were killed in the open boats before they reached the shore; and those who landed were soon repulsed, in spite of all the endeavours of general Talmash, who received a wound in the thigh which proved mortal. Seven hundred soldiers are said to have been lost on this occasion, besides those that were killed on board of the ships. The Monk ship of war was towed off with great difficulty; but a Dutch frigate of thirty guns fell into the hands of the enemy.

§ XL. After this unfortunate attempt, lord Berkeley, with the advice of a council of war, sailed back for England, and at St. Helen's received orders from the queen to call a council, and deliberate in what manner the ships

bury. The earls of Bedford, Devonshire, and Clare, were promoted to the rank of dukes. The marquis of Carmarthen was made duke of Leeds, lord viscount Sidney earl of Rumney, and the viscount Newport earl of Bedford. Ruffel was advanced to the head of the admiralty-board. Sir George Rooke and Sir John Houbton

were appointed joint-commissioners in the room of Killegrew and Delaval. Charles Montague was made chancellor of the exchequer; Sir William Trumbal and John Smith commissioners of the treasury, in the room of Sir Edward Seymour and Mr. Hambden.

and

and forces might be best employed. They agreed to make some attempt upon the coast of Normandy. With this view they set sail on the fifth day of July. They bombarded Dieppe, and reduced the greatest part of the town to ashes. Thence they steered to Havre de Grace, which met with the same fate. They harraßed the French troops, who marched after them along-shore. They alarmed the whole coast, and filled every town with such consternation, that they would have been abandoned by the inhabitants, had not they been detained by military force. On the twenty-sixth day of July, lord Berkeley returned to St. Helen's, where he quitted the fleet, and the command devolved upon Sir Cloudesley Shovel. This officer having received instructions to make an attempt upon Dunkirk, failed round to the Downs, where he was joined by M. Meesters, with six and twenty Dutch pilots. On the twelfth of September he appeared before Dunkirk; and next day sent in the Charles galley, with two bomb-ketches, and as many of the machines called Infernals. These were set on fire without effect; and the design miscarried: then Shovel steered for Calais, which having bombarded with little success, he returned to the coast of England; and the bomb-ketches and machines were sent into the river Thames.

§ XLI. During these transactions, admiral Russel with the grand fleet sailed for the Mediterranean; and being joined by rear-admiral Neville from Cadiz, together with Callembergh and Evertzen, he steered towards Barcelona, which was besieged by the French fleet and army. At his approach Tourville retired with precipitation into the harbour of Toulon; and Noailles abandoned his enterprise. The Spanish affairs were in such a deplorable condition, that without this timely assistance the kingdom must have been undone. While he continued in the Mediterranean, the French admiral durst not venture to appear at sea; and all his projects were disconcerted. After having asserted the honour of the British flag in those seas during the whole summer, he sailed, in the beginning of November to Cadiz, where, by an express order of the king, he passed the winter, during which, he took such precautions for preventing Tourville from passing the Streights, that he did not think proper to risque the passage.

§ XLII. It will now be necessary to describe the operations on the continent. In the middle of May king William arrived in Holland, where he consulted with the states-general. On the third day of June he repaired to Bertherme abbey near Louvain, the place appointed for the rendezvous of the army; and there he was met by the electors of Bavaria and Cologne. In a few days a numerous army was assembled; and every thing seemed to promise an active campaign. On the third day of June the dauphin took the command of the French forces, with which Luxembourg had taken post between Mons and Maubeuge; and passing the Sambre, encamped at Fleurus: but, on the eighteenth, he removed from thence, and took up his quarters between St. Tron and Wanheim; while the confederates lay at Roofbeck. On the eleventh of July, the dauphin marched in four columns to Oerle upon the Jaar, where he pitched his camp. On the twenty-second, the confederates marched to Bomale: then the dauphin took the route to Vignamont, where he secured his army by intrenchments, as his forces were inferior in number to those of the allies; and he had been directed by his father to avoid an engagement. In this situation both armies remained till the fifteenth day of August, when king William sent

the heavy baggage to Louvain; and on the eighteenth made a motion to Sombréf. This was no sooner known to the enemy, than they decamped; and having marched all night, posted themselves between Tempion and Mafy, within a league and an half of the confederates. The king of England resolved to pass the Scheld; and with this view marched by the way of Neville and Soignies, to Chivere: from thence he detached the duke of Wirtemberg, with a strong body of horse and foot, to pass the river at Oudenarde, while the elector of Bavaria advanced with another detachment to pass it at Pont D'Espieres. Notwithstanding all the expedition they could make, their purpose was anticipated by Luxembourg, who being apprized of their route, had detached four thousand horse, with each a foot soldier behind the trooper, to reinforce Mr. de Valette, who commanded that part of the French lines. These were sustained by a choice body of men, who travelled with great expedition, without observing the formalities of a march. The marechal de Villeroy followed the same route, with all the cavalry of the right wing, the household-troops, and twenty field-pieces; and the rest of the army was brought up by the dauphin in person. They marched with such incredible diligence, that the elector of Bavaria could scarce believe his own eyes, when he arrived in sight of the Scheld, and saw them entrenching themselves on the other side of the river. King William having reconnoitred their disposition, thought it impracticable to pass at that place, and therefore marched down the river to Oudenarde, where the passage had been already effected by the duke of Wirtemberg. Here the confederates passed the Scheld on the twenty-seventh day of the month; and the king fixed his head-quarters at Wanneghem. His intention was to have taken possession of Courtray, and establish winter-quarters for a considerable part of his army in that district; but, Luxembourg having posted himself between that place and Menin, extended his lines in such a manner, that the confederates could not attempt to force them, nor even hinder him from subsisting his army at the expence of the castellany of Courtray, during the remainder of the campaign. This surprising march was of such importance to the French king, that he wrote with his own hand a letter of thanks to his army; and ordered that it should be read to every particular squadron and battalion.

§ XLIII. The king of England, though disappointed in his scheme upon Courtray, found means to make some advantage of his superiority in number. He draughted troops from the garrisons of Liege and Maestricht; and on the third day of September reinforced this body with a large detachment from his own camp, conferring the command upon the duke of Holstein-Ploen, with orders to undertake the siege of Huy. Next day, the whole confederate forces passed the Lys, and encamped at Wenterghem. From thence the king, with part of the army, marched to Roselaer; and this division obliged the dauphin to make considerable detachments for the security of Ypres and Menin, on one side, and to cover Furnes and Dunkirk on the other. At this juncture, a Frenchman being seized in the very act of setting fire to one of the ammunition-wagons in the allied army, confessed he had been employed for this purpose by some of the French generals; and suffered death as a traitor. On the sixteenth day of the month, the duke of Holstein-Ploen invested Huy, and carried on the siege with such vigour, that in ten days the garrison capitulated. The king ordered Dixmuyde, Deynse, Ninove, and Tirlemont, to be secured for winter-

quarters to part of the army: the dauphin returned to Versailles, William quitted the camp on the last day of September; and both armies broke up about the middle of October.

§ XLIV. The operations on the Rhine had been preconcerted between king William and the prince of Baden, who visited London in the winter. The dispute between the emperor and the elector of Saxony was compromised; and this young prince dying during the negotiation, the treaty was perfected by his brother and successor, who engaged to furnish twelve thousand men yearly, in consideration of a subsidy from the court of Vienna. In the beginning of June, the marechal de Lorges passed the Rhine at Philipsburg, in order to give battle to the Imperialists, encamped at Hailbron. The prince of Baden, who was not yet joined by the Saxons, Hessians, nor by the troops of Munster and Paderborn, dispatched couriers to quicken the march of these auxiliaries, and advanced to Eppingen, where he proposed to wait until they should come up: but, on the fifteenth, receiving undoubted intelligence, that the enemy were in motion towards him, he advanced to meet them in order of battle. De Lorges concluded, that this was a desperate effort, and immediately halted, to make the necessary preparations for an engagement. This pause enabled prince Lewis to take possession of a strong pass near Sintzheim, from which he could not easily be dislodged. Then the marechal proceeded to Wiseloch, and ravaged the adjacent country, in hope of drawing the Imperialists from their intrenchments. The prince being joined by the Hessians, resolved to beat up the quarters of the enemy; and the French general being apprized of his design, retreated at midnight with the utmost precipitation. Having posted himself at Ruth, he sent his heavy baggage to Philipsburg; then he moved to Gonsbergh in the neighbourhood of Mannheim, repassed the Rhine, and encamped between Spire and Worms. The prince of Baden being joined by the allies, passed the river by a bridge of boats near Hagenbach, in the middle of September; and layed the country of Alsace under contribution. Considering the advanced season of the year, this was a rash undertaking; and the French general resolved to profit by his enemy's temerity. He forthwith advanced against the Imperialists, foreseeing that should they be worsted in battle, their whole army would be ruined. Prince Lewis, informed of his intention, immediately repassed the Rhine; and this retreat was no sooner effected, than the river swelled to such a degree, that the island in the middle, and great part of the camp he had occupied, was overflowed. Soon after this incident both armies retired into winter-quarters. The campaign in Hungary produced no event of importance. It was opened by the new vizir, who arrived at Belgrade in the middle of August; and about the same time Caprara assembled the Imperial army in the neighbourhood of Peterwaradin. The Turks passed the Saave, in order to attack their camp, and carried on their approaches with five hundred pieces of cannon, but made very little progress. The Imperialists received reinforcements; the season wasted away; a feud arose between the vizir and the cham of the Tartars; and the Danube being swelled by heavy rains, so as to interrupt the operations of the Turks, their general decamped in the night on the first day of October. They afterwards made an unsuccessful attempt upon Titul, while the Imperial general made himself master of Giula. In the course of this summer, the Venetians, who were also at war with the Turks, reduced Cyclut, a place of importance

portance on the river Naranta, and made a conquest of the island of Scio in the Archipelago.

§ XLV. We have already observed, that the French king had determined to act vigorously in Catalonia. In the beginning of May, the duke de Noailles advanced at the head of eight and twenty thousand men to the river Ter, on the opposite bank of which the viceroy of Catalonia was encamped with sixteen thousand Spaniards. The French general passed the river in the face of this army, and attacked their intrenchments with such impetuosity, that in less than an hour they were totally defeated. Then he marched to Palamos, and undertook the siege of that place, while at the same time it was blocked up by the combined squadrons of Brest and Toulon. Though the besieged made an obstinate defence, the town was taken by storm, the houses were pillaged, and the people put to the sword, without distinction of age, sex, or condition. Then he invested Gironne, which in a few days capitulated. Ostalric met with the same fate; and Noailles was created viceroy of Catalonia by the French king. In the beginning of August he distributed his forces into quarters of refreshment, along the river Terdore, resolving to undertake the siege of Barcelona, which was saved by the arrival of admiral Ruffel. The war languished in Piedmont, on account of a secret negotiation between the king of France and the duke of Savoy; notwithstanding the remonstrances of Rouvigny, earl of Galway, who had succeeded the duke of Schomberg in the command of the British forces in that country. Casal was closely blocked up by the reduction of Fort St. George, and the Vaudois gained the advantage in some skirmishes in the valley of Ragelas; but no design of importance was executed*.

§ XLVI. England had continued very quiet under the queen's administration, if we except some little commotions occasioned by the practices, or pretended practices of the Jacobites. Prosecutions were revived against certain gentlemen of Lancashire and Cheshire, for having been concerned in the conspiracy formed in favour of the late king's projected invasion from Normandy. These steps were owing to the suggestions of infamous informers, whom the ministry countenanced. Colonel Parker and one Crosby were imprisoned, and bills of treason found against them; but, Parker made his escape from the Tower, and was never retaken, though a reward of four hundred pounds was set upon his head. The king having settled the affairs of the confederacy at the Hague, embarked for England on the eighth of November, and next day landed at Margate. On the twelfth he opened the session of parliament, with a speech, in which he observed that the posture of affairs was improved both by sea and land since they last parted; in particular, that a stop was put to the progress of the French arms. He demanded such supplies as would enable him to prosecute the war with vigour. He desired they would continue the act of tonnage and poundage, which would expire at Christmas: he reminded them of the debt for the transport ships employed in the reduction of Ireland; and exhorted them to prepare some good bill for the encouragement of seamen. A majority in both houses was already secured; and in all probability, he bar-

* In the course of this year, Mr. du Cassé, governor of St. Domingo, made an unsuccessful attempt upon the island of Jamaica; and Mr. St.

Clair, with four men of war, formed a design against St. John's in Newfoundland, but he was repulsed with loss by the valour of the inhabitants.

gained for their condescension, by agreeing to the bill for triennial parliaments. This Mr. Harley brought in, by order of the lower house, immediately after their first adjournment; and it kept pace with the consideration of the supplies. The commons having examined the estimates and accounts, voted four millions, seven hundred sixty-four thousand, seven hundred and twelve pounds for the service of the army and navy. In order to raise this sum, they continued the land-tax. They renewed the subsidy of tonnage and poundage for five years, and imposed new duties on different commodities†. The triennial bill enacted, That a parliament should be held once in three years at least: That within three years at farthest, after the dissolution of the parliament then subsisting, and so from time to time, for ever after, legal writs under the great seal should be issued by the direction of the crown, for calling, assembling, and holding another new parliament: That no parliament should continue longer than three years at the farthest, to be accounted from the first day of the first session: and, That the parliament then subsisting should cease and determine on the first day of the next following November, unless their majesties should think fit to dissolve it sooner. The duke of Devonshire, the marquis of Halifax, the earls of Weymouth and Aylesbury, protested against this bill, because it tended to the continuance of the present parliament longer than, as they apprehended, was agreeable to the constitution of England.

§ XLVII. While this bill was depending, Dr. John Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury, was seized with a fit of the dead palsy, in the chapel of Whitehall, and died on the twenty-second day of November, deeply regretted by the king and queen, who shed tears of sorrow at his decease; and sincerely lamented by the public, as a pattern of elegance, ingenuity, meekness, charity, and moderation. These qualities he must be allowed to have possessed, notwithstanding the invectives of his enemies, who accused him of puritanism, flattery, and ambition; and charge him with having conducted to a dangerous schism in the church, by accepting the archbishopric during the life of the deprived Sancroft. He was succeeded in the metropolitan see by Dr. Tenison, bishop of Lincoln, recommended by the Whig-party, which now predominated in the cabinet. The queen did not long survive her favourite prelate. In about a month after his decease, she was taken ill of the small-pox, and the symptoms proving dangerous, she prepared herself for death with great composure. She spent some time in exercises of devotion, and private conversation with the new archbishop: she received the sacrament with all the bishops who were in attendance; and expired on the twenty-eighth day of December, in the thirty-third year of her age, and in the sixth of her reign, to the inexpressible grief of the king, who for some weeks after her death could neither see company, nor attend to the business of state. Mary was in her person tall and well-proportioned, with an oval visage, lively eyes, agreeable features, a mild aspect, and an air of dignity. Her apprehension was clear, her memory tenacious, and her judgment solid. She was a zealous protestant, scrupulously exact in all the duties of devotion, of an even temper, of a calm and mild conversation. She was ruffled by no pas-

† They imposed certain rates and duties upon marriages, births, and burials, batchelors and widows. They passed an act for laying additional duties upon coffee, tea, and chocolate, towards

paying the debt due for the transport ships; and another, imposing duties on glass-ware, stone, and earthen bottles, coal, and culm.

sion, and seems to have been a stranger to the emotions of natural affection; for she ascended, without compunction, the throne from which her father had been deposed, and treated her sister as an alien to her blood. In a word, Mary seems to have imbibed the cold disposition and apathy of her husband; and to have centered all her ambition in deserving the epithet of an humble and obedient wife.*

XLVIII. The princess Anne being informed of the queen's dangerous indisposition, sent a lady of her bed-chamber, to desire she might be admitted to her majesty; but, this request was not granted. She was thanked for her expression of concern; and given to understand, that the physicians had directed that the queen should be kept as quiet as possible. Before her death, however, she sent a forgiving message to her sister; and, after her decease, the earl of Sunderland effected a reconciliation between the king and the princess, who visited him at Kensington, where she was received with uncommon civility. He appointed the palace of St. James's for her residence; and presented her with the greater part of the queen's jewels. But a mutual jealousy and disgust subsisted under these exteriors of friendship and esteem. The two houses of parliament waited on the king at Kensington, with consolatory addresses on the death of his consort; and their example was followed by the regency of Scotland, the city and clergy of London, the dissenting ministers, and almost all the great corporations in England†.

* Her obsequies were performed with great magnificence. The body was attended from Whitehall to Westminster-abbey, by all the judges, serjeants at law, the lord-mayor, and aldermen of the city of London, and both houses of parliament; and the funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Tenison, archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. Kenn, the deprived bishop of Bath and Wells, reproached him in a letter, for not having called upon her majesty on her death-bed, to repent of the share she had in the revolution. This was answered by another pamphlet. One of the Ja-

cobite clergy insulted the queen's memory, by preaching on the following text, "Go now, see this cursed woman, and bury her, for she is a king's daughter." On the other hand, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, came to a resolution to erect her statue with that of the king in the Royal-Exchange.

† The earls of Rochester and Nottingham are said to have started a doubt, Whether the parliament was not dissolved by the queen's death? but, this dangerous motion met with no countenance.

CHAP. V.

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§ I. **T**HE kingdom now resounded with the complaints of the papists and malcontents, who taxed the ministry with subornation of perjury, in the case of the Lancashire gentlemen who had been prosecuted for the conspiracy. One Lunt, an Irishman, had informed Sir John Trenchard secretary

cretary of state, that he had been sent from Ireland with commissions from king James to divers gentlemen in Lancashire and Cheshire: that he had assisted in buying arms, and enlisting men to serve that king in his projected invasion of England: that he had been twice dispatched by those gentlemen to the court of St. Germain's, assisted many Jacobites in repairing to France, helped to conceal others that came from that kingdom; and that all those persons told him they were furnished with money by Sir John Friend for those expeditions. His testimony was confirmed by other infamous emissaries, who received but too much countenance from the government. Blank warrants were issued, and filled up occasionally with such names as the informers suggested. These were delivered to Aaron Smith, solicitor to the treasury, who, with messengers, accompanied Lunt and his associates to Lancashire, under the protection of a party of Dutch horse-guards, commanded by one captain Baker. They were empowered to break open houses, seize papers, and apprehend persons, according to their pleasure; and they committed many acts of violence and oppression. The persons against whom these measures were taken, being apprised of the impending danger, generally retired from their own habitations. Some, however, were taken and imprisoned: a few arms were secured, and, in the house of Mr. Standish, at Standish-hall, they found the draught of a declaration to be published by king James at his landing. As this prosecution seemed calculated to revive the rumour of a stale conspiracy, and the evidences were persons of abandoned characters, the friends of those who were persecuted found no great difficulty in rendering the scheme odious to the nation. They even employed the pen of Ferguson, who had been concerned in every plot that was hatched since the Rye-house conspiracy. This veteran, though appointed house-keeper to the excise-office, thought himself poorly recompensed for the part he had acted in the revolution, became dissatisfied, and, upon this occasion, published a letter to Sir John Trenchard, on the abuse of power. It was replete with the most bitter invectives against the ministry, and contained a great number of flagrant instances, in which the court had countenanced the vilest corruption, perfidy, and oppression. This production was in every body's hand, and had such an effect upon the people, that when the prisoners were brought to trial at Manchester, the populace would have put the witnesses to death, had not they been prevented by the interposition of those who were friends to the accused persons, and had already taken effectual measures for their safety. Lunt's chief associate in the mystery of information was one Taaffe, a wretch of the most profligate principles, who, finding himself disappointed in his hope of reward from the ministry, was privately gained over by the agents for the prisoners. Lunt, when desired in court to point out the persons whom he had accused, committed such a mistake as greatly invalidated his testimony; and Taaffe declared before the bench, that the pretended plot was no other than a contrivance between himself and Lunt, in order to procure money from the government. The prisoners were immediately acquitted, and the ministry incurred a heavy load of popular odium, as the authors or abettors of knavish contrivances to ensnare the innocent. The government, with a view to evince their abhorrence of such practices, ordered the witnesses to be prosecuted for a conspiracy against the lives and estates of the gentlemen who had been accused; and at last the affair was brought into the

the house of commons. The Jacobites triumphed in their victory. They even turned the battery of corruption upon the evidence for the crown, not without making a considerable impression. But the cause was now debated before judges who were not all propitious to their views. The commons having set on foot an inquiry, and examined all the papers and circumstances relating to the pretended plot, resolved, That there was sufficient ground for the prosecution and trials of the gentlemen at Manchester; and that there was a dangerous conspiracy against the king and government. They issued an order for taking Mr. Standish into custody; and the messenger reporting that he was not to be found, they presented an address to the king, desiring a proclamation might be published, offering a reward for apprehending his person. The peers concurred with the commons in their sentiments of this affair; for complaints having been laid before their house also, by the persons who thought themselves aggrieved, the question was put, Whether the government had cause to prosecute them? and carried in the affirmative; though a protest was entered against this vote by the earls of Rochester and Nottingham. Notwithstanding these decisions, the accused gentlemen prosecuted Lunt and two of his accomplices for perjury, at the Lancaster assizes; and all three were found guilty. They were immediately indicted by the crown, for a conspiracy against the lives and liberties of the persons they had accused. The intention of the ministry, in laying this indictment, was to seize the opportunity of punishing some of the witnesses for the gentlemen, who had prevaricated in giving their testimony: but the design being discovered, the Lancashire-men refused to produce their evidence against the informers: the prosecution dropped of consequence, and the prisoners were discharged.

§ II. When the commons were employed in examining the state of the revenue, and taking measures for raising the necessary supplies, the inhabitants of Royston presented a petition, complaining, that the officers and soldiers of the regiment belonging to colonel Hastings, which was quartered upon them, exacted subsistence-money, even on pain of military execution. The house was immediately kindled into a flame by this information. The officers, and Pauncefort, agent for the regiment, were examined; and it was unanimously resolved, That such a practice was arbitrary, illegal, and a violation of the rights and liberties of the subject. Upon further inquiry, Pauncefort and some other agents were committed to the custody of the serjeants, for having neglected to pay the subsistence-money they had received for the officers and soldiers. He was afterwards sent to the Tower, together with Henry Guy, a member of the house, and secretary to the treasury, the one for giving, and the other for receiving, a bribe to obtain the king's bounty. Pauncefort's brother was likewise committed, for being concerned in the same commerce. Guy, had been employed, together with Trevor the speaker, as the court-agent for securing a majority in the house of commons: for that reason he was obnoxious to the members in the opposition, who took this opportunity to brand him; and the courtiers could not with any decency screen him from their vengeance. The house having proceeded in this inquiry, drew up an address to the king, enumerating the abuses which had crept into the army, and demanding immediate redress. He promised to consider the remonstrance, and redress the grievances of which they complained. Accordingly, he cashiered

colonel Hastings, appointed a council of officers to sit weekly and examine all complaints against any officer and soldier; and published a declaration for the maintenance of strict discipline, and the due payment of quarters. Notwithstanding these concessions, the commons prosecuted their examinations: they committed Mr. James Craggs, one of the contractors for cloathing the army, because he refused to answer upon oath to such questions as might be put to him by the commissioners of accounts. They brought in a bill for obliging him and Mr. Richard Harnage the other contractor, together with the two Paunceforts, to discover how they had disposed of the sums payed into their hands on account of the army; and for punishing them, in case they should persist in their refusal. At this period, they received a petition against the commissioners for licensing hackney-coaches. Three of them, by means of an address to the king, were removed with disgrace, for having acted arbitrarily, corruptly, and contrary to the trust reposed in them by act of parliament.

Burnet.
Boyer.
Oldmixon.
State Tracts.
Tindal.
Ralph.
Lives of the
Admirals.
Daniel.
Voltaire.

§ III. Those who encouraged this spirit of reformation, introduced another inquiry about the orphans bill, which was said to have passed into an act, by virtue of undue influence. A committee being appointed to inspect the chamberlain's books, discovered that bribes had been given to Sir John Trevor speaker of the house, and Mr. Hungerford chairman of the grand committee. The first being voted guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour, abdicated the chair, and Paul Foley was appointed speaker in his room. Then he and Hungerford were expelled the house; while one Nois, a solicitor for the bill, was taken into custody, because he had scandalized the commons, in pretending he was engaged to give great sums to several members, and denying this circumstance on his examination. The reformers in the house naturally concluded that the same arts had been practised in obtaining the new charter of the East India company, which had been granted so much against the sense of the nation. Their books were subjected to the same committee that carried on the former inquiry, and a surprising scene of venality and corruption was soon disclosed. It appeared that the company, in the course of the preceding year, had payed near ninety thousand pounds in secret-services; and that Sir Thomas Cooke, one of the directors, and a member of the house, had been the chief manager of this infamous commerce. Cooke refusing to answer, was committed to the Tower, and a bill of pains and penalties brought in, obliging him to discover how the sum mentioned in the report of the committee had been distributed. The bill was violently opposed in the upper house by the duke of Leeds, as being contrary to law and equity, and furnishing a precedent of a dangerous nature. Cooke being, agreeably to his own petition, brought to the bar of the house of lords, declared that he was ready and willing to make a full discovery, in case he might be favoured with an indemnifying vote, to secure him against all actions and suits, except those of the East India company, which he had never injured. The lords complied with his request, and passed a bill for this purpose, to which the commons added a penal clause; and the former was laid aside.

An. Ch. 1695.

§ IV. When the king went to the house to give the royal assent to the money-bills, he endeavoured to discourage this inquiry, by telling the parliament that the season of the year was far advanced, and the circumstances of affairs extremely pressing: he therefore desired they would dispatch such affairs as they

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should

should think of most importance to the public, as he should put an end to the session in a few days. Notwithstanding this shameful interposition, both houses appointed a joint committee to lay open the complicated scheme of fraud and iniquity. Cooke on his first examination confessed, that he had delivered raffles for ten thousand pounds to Francis Tyssen deputy-governor, for the special service of the company; an equal sum to Richard Acton, for employing his interest in preventing a new settlement, and endeavouring to establish the old company, besides two thousand pounds by way of interest, and as a further gratuity; a thousand guineas to colonel Fitzpatrick, five hundred to Charles Bates, and three hundred and ten to Mr. Molineaux, a merchant, for the same purposes; and he owned that Sir Basil Firebrace had received forty thousand pounds on various pretences. He said, he believed the ten thousand pounds payed to Tyssen had been delivered to the king by Sir Josiah Child, as a customary present which former kings had received: and that the sums payed to Acton were distributed among some members of parliament. Firebrace being examined, affirmed that he had received the whole forty thousand pounds for his own use and benefit; but that Bates had received sums of money, which he understood were offered to some persons of the first quality. Acton declared, that ten thousand pounds of the sum which he had received, was distributed among persons who had interest with members of parliament; and that great part of the money passed through the hands of Craggs, who was acquainted with some colonels in the house, and northern members. Bates owned he had received the money, in consideration of using his interest with the duke of Leeds in favour of the company: that this nobleman knew of the gratuity; and that the sum was reckoned by his grace's domestic, one Robert, a foreigner, who kept it in his possession until this inquiry was talked of, and then it was returned. In a word, it appeared by this man's testimony, as well as by that of Firebrace on his second examination, that the duke of Leeds was not free from corruption; and that Sir John Trevor was a hireling prostitute.

§ V. The report of the committee produced violent altercation, and the most severe strictures upon the conduct of the lord president. At length the house resolved, That there was sufficient matter to impeach Thomas duke of Leeds of high crimes and misdemeanours; and that he should be impeached thereupon. Then it was ordered, That Mr. comptroller Wharton should impeach him before the lords, in the name of the house, and of all the commons in England. The duke was actually in the middle of a speech for his own justification, in which he assured the house, upon his honour, that he was not guilty of the corruptions laid to his charge, when one of his friends gave him intimation of the votes which had passed in the commons. He concluded his speech abruptly, and repairing to the lower house, desired he might be indulged with a hearing. He was accordingly admitted, with the compliment of a chair, and leave to be covered. After having sat a few minutes, he took off his hat, and addressed himself to the commons in very extraordinary terms. Having thanked them for the favour of indulging him with a hearing, he said the house would not have been then sitting but for him. He protested his own innocence, with respect to the crime laid to his charge. He complained that this was the effect of a design which had been long formed against him. He expressed

expressed a deep sense of his being under the displeasure of the parliament and nation, and demanded speedy justice. They forthwith drew up the articles of impeachment, which being exhibited at the bar of the upper house, he pleaded Not guilty, and the commons promised to make good their charge: but, by this time, such arts had been used, as all at once checked the violence of the prosecution. Such a number of considerable persons were involved in this mystery of corruption, that a full discovery was dreaded by both parties. The duke sent his domestic Robert out of the kingdom, and his absence furnished a pretence for postponing the trial. In a word, the inquiry was dropped; but the scandal stuck fast to the duke's character.

§ VI. In the midst of these deliberations, the king went to the house on the third day of May, when he thanked the parliament for the supplies they had granted, signified his intention of going abroad, assured them he would place the administration of affairs in persons of known care and fidelity; and desired that the members of both houses would be more than ordinarily vigilant in preserving the public peace. Then the parliament was prorogued to the eighteenth of June*. The king immediately appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his absence; but neither the princess of Denmark nor her husband was intrusted with any share in the administration; a circumstance that evinced the king's jealousy, and gave offence to a good part of the nation†.

§ VII. A session of parliament was deemed necessary in Scotland, to provide new subsidies for the maintenance of the troops of that kingdom, which had been so serviceable in the prosecution of the war. But, as a great outcry had been raised against the government, on account of the massacre of Glencoe, and the Scots were tired of contributing towards the expence of a war from which they could derive no advantage, the ministry thought proper to cajole them with the promise of some national indulgence. In the mean time, a

* In the course of this session, the lords had enquired into the particulars of the Mediterranean expedition, and presented an address to the king, declaring, that the fleet in those seas had conducted to the honour and advantage of the nation. On the other hand, the commons, in an address, besought his majesty to take care that the kingdom might be put on an equal footing and proportion with the allies, in defraying the expence of the war.

The coin of the kingdom being greatly diminished and adulterated, the earls of Rochester and Nottingham expatiated upon this national evil in the house of lords; and an act was passed, containing severer penalties against clippers: but this produced no good effect. The value of the money sunk in the exchange to such a degree, that a guinea was reckoned adequate to thirty shillings; and this public disgrace lowered the credit of the funds and of the government. The nation was alarmed by the circulation of fictitious wealth, instead of gold and silver, such as bank-bills, exchequer-tallies, and government-securities. The malcontents took this opportu-

nity to exclaim against the bank, and even attempted to shake the credit of it in parliament: but their endeavours proved abortive; the monied-interest preponderated in both houses.

† The regency was composed of the archbishop of Canterbury; Somers, lord-keeper of the great seal; the earl of Pembroke, lord privy-seal; the duke of Devonshire, lord-steward of the household; the duke of Shrewsbury, secretary of state; the earl of Dorset, lord chamberlain; and the lord Godolphin, first commissioner of the treasury. Sir John Trenchard dying, his place of secretary was filled with Sir William Trumbal, an eminent civilian, learned, diligent, and virtuous, who had been envoy at Paris and Constantinople. William Nassau de Zuylestein, son of the king's natural uncle, was created baron of Enfield, viscount Tunbridge, and earl of Rochford. Lord Grey of Werke was made viscount Glendale, and earl of Tankerville. The month of April of this year was distinguished by the death of the famous George Saville, marquis of Halifax, who had survived in a good measure his talents and reputation.

commission passed the great seal, for taking a precognition of the massacre, as a previous step to the trial of the persons concerned in that perfidious transaction. On the ninth of May, the session was opened by the marquis of Tweeddale, appointed commissioner, who, after the king's letter had been read, expatiated on his majesty's care and concern for their safety and welfare; and his firm purpose to maintain the presbyterian discipline in the church of Scotland. Then he promised, in the king's name, that if they should pass an act for establishing a colony in Africa, America, or any other part of the world where a colony might be lawfully planted, his majesty would indulge them with such rights and privileges as he had granted in like cases to the subjects of his other dominions. Finally, he exhorted them to consider ways and means to raise the necessary supplies for maintaining their land-forces, and for providing a competent number of ships of war to protect their commerce. The parliament immediately voted an address of condolance to his majesty on the death of the queen; and they granted one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling for the services of the ensuing year, to be raised by a general poll-tax, a land-tax, and an additional excise.

§ VIII. Their next step was to desire the commissioner would transmit their humble thanks to the king for his care to vindicate the honour of the government and the justice of the nation, in ordering a precognition to be taken with respect to the slaughter of Glencoe. A motion was afterwards made, that the commissioners should exhibit an account of their proceedings in this affair; and accordingly a report, consisting of the king's instructions, Dalrymple's letters, the depositions of witnesses, and the opinion of the committee, was laid before the parliament. The motion is said to have been privately influenced by secretary Johnston, for the disgrace of Dalrymple, who was his rival in power and interest. The written opinion of the commissioners, who were creatures of the court, imported, That Macdonald of Glencoe had been perfidiously murdered; that the king's intentions contained nothing to warrant the massacre; and that the secretary Dalrymple had exceeded his orders. The parliament concurred with this report. They resolved, That Livingston was not to blame, for having given the orders contained in his letters to lieutenant-colonel Hamilton: that this last was liable to prosecution: that the king should be addressed to give orders, either for examining major Duncanson in Flanders, touching his concern in this affair, or for sending him home to be tried in Scotland; as also, that Campbel of Glenlyon, captain Drummond, lieutenant Lindsey, ensign Lundy, and serjeant Barber, should be sent to Scotland, and prosecuted according to law, for the parts they had acted in that execution. In consequence of these resolutions, the parliament drew up an address to the king, in which they laid the whole blame of the massacre upon the excess in the master of Stair's letters concerning that transaction. They begged that his majesty should give such orders about him, as he should think fit for the vindication of his government; that the actors in that barbarous slaughter might be prosecuted by the king's advocate, according to law; and that some reparation might be made to the men of Glencoe who escaped the massacre, for the losses they had sustained in their effects upon that occasion, as their habitations had been plundered and burned, their lands wasted, and their cattle driven away; so that they were reduced to extreme poverty.

poverty. Notwithstanding this address of the Scottish parliament, by which the king was so solemnly exculpated, his memory is still loaded with the suspicion of having concerted, countenanced, and enforced this barbarous execution, especially as the master of Stair escaped with impunity, and the other actors of the tragedy, far from being punished, were preferred in the service. While the commissioners were employed in the inquiry, they made such discoveries concerning the conduct of the earl of Braidalbin as amounted to a charge of high-treason; and he was committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh; but it seems he had dissembled with the Highlanders, by the king's permission, and now sheltered himself under the shadow of a royal pardon.

§ IX. The committee of trade, in pursuance of the powers granted by the king to his commissioner, prepared an act for establishing a company trading to Africa and the Indies, empowering them to plant colonies, hold cities, towns or forts, in places uninhabited, or in others, with the consent of the natives; vesting them with an exclusive right, and an exemption for one and twenty years from all duties or impositions. This act was likewise confirmed by letters-patent under the great seal, directed by the parliament, without any further warrant from the crown. Paterfon the projector had contrived the scheme of a settlement upon the Isthmus of Darien, in such a manner as to carry on a trade in the South-sea, as well as in the Atlantic, nay even to extend it as far as the East Indies; and a great number of London merchants, allured by the prospect of gain, were eager to engage in such a company, exempted from all manner of imposition and restriction. The Scottish parliament likewise passed an act in favour of the episcopal clergy, decreeing, That those who should enter into such engagements to the king as were by law required, might continue in their benefices under his majesty's protection, without being subject to the power of presbytery. Seventy of the most noted ministers of that persuasion took the benefit of this indulgence. Another law was enacted for raising nine thousand men yearly, to recruit the Scottish regiments abroad; and an act for erecting a public bank: then the parliament was adjourned to the seventh day of November.

§ X. Ireland began to be infected with the same factions which had broke out in England since the revolution. Lord Capel, the lord-deputy, governed in a very partial manner, oppressing the Irish papists, without any regard to equity or decorum. He undertook to model a parliament in such a manner, that they should comply with all the demands of the ministry; and he succeeded in his endeavours, by making such arbitrary changes in offices as best suited his purpose. These precautions being taken, he convoked a parliament for the twenty-seventh day of August, when he opened the session with a speech, expatiating upon their obligations to king William, and exhorting them to make suitable returns to such a gracious sovereign. He observed, that the revenue had fallen short of the establishment; so that both the civil and military lists were greatly in debt: that his majesty had sent over a bill for an additional excise, and expected they would find ways and means to answer the demands of the service. They forthwith voted an address of thanks, and resolved to assist his majesty to the utmost of their power, against all his enemies foreign and domestic. They passed the bill for an additional excise, together with an act for taking away the writs "De heretico comburendo;" another annulling all attainders and acts
passed

passed in the late pretended parliament of king James : a third to prevent foreign education : a fourth for disarming papists : and a fifth for settling the estates of intestates. Then they resolved, That a sum not exceeding one hundred and sixty-three thousand, three hundred and twenty-five pounds, should be granted to his majesty, to be raised by a poll-bill, additional customs, and a continuation of the additional excise. Sir Charles Porter, the chancellor, finding his importance diminished, if not intirely destroyed by the assuming disposition and power of the lord-deputy, began to court popularity, by espousing the cause of the Irish, against the severity of the administration ; and actually formed a kind of Tory-interest which thwarted lord Capel in all his measures. A motion was made in parliament to impeach the chancellor, for sowing discord and division among his majesty's subjects ; but, being indulged with a hearing by the house of commons, he justified himself so much to their satisfaction, that he was voted clear of all imputation, by a great majority. Nevertheless, they, at the end of the session, sent over an address, in which they bore testimony to the mild and just administration of their lord-deputy.

§ XI. King William having taken such steps as were deemed necessary for preserving the peace of England in his absence, crossed the sea to Holland in the middle of May, fully determined to make some great effort in the Netherlands, that might aggrandize his military character, and humble the power of France, which was already in the decline. That kingdom was actually exhausted in such a manner, that the haughty Lewis found himself obliged to stand upon the defensive against enemies over whom he had been used to triumph with uninterrupted success. He heard the clamours of his people, which he could not quiet ; he saw his advances to peace rejected ; and to crown his misfortunes, he sustained an irreparable loss in the death of Francis de Montmorency, duke of Luxembourg, to whose military talents he owed the greatest part of his glory and success. That great general died in January at Versailles, in the sixty-seventh year of his age ; and Lewis lamented his death the more deeply, as he had not another general left, in whose understanding he could confide. The conduct of the army in Flanders was intrusted to the marechal Villeroy ; and Boufflers commanded a separate army, though subject to the other's orders. As the French king took it for granted, that the confederates would have a superiority of numbers in the field, and was well acquainted with the enterprising genius of their chief, he ordered a new line to be drawn between the Lys and the Scheld ; a disposition to be made for covering Dunkirk, Ypres, Tournay, and Namur ; and layed injunctions on his general to act solely on the defensive. Mean while, the confederates formed two armies in the Netherlands. The first consisted of seventy battalions of infantry, and eighty-two squadrons of horse and dragoons, chiefly English and Scots, encamped at Aerseele, Canneghem, and Wanterghem, between Theiltd and Deynse, to be commanded by the king in person, assisted by the old prince of Vaudemont. The other army, composed of sixteen battalions of foot, and one hundred and thirty squadrons of horse, encamped at Zellich and Ham, on the road from Brussels to Dendermonde, under the command of the elector of Bavaria, seconded by the duke of Holstein-Ploen. Major-general Ellemberg was posted near Dixmuyde with twenty battalions and ten squadrons ; and another body of Brandenburg and Dutch troops, with a reinforcement from Liege, lay encamped on the Me-haigne,

haighe, under the conduct of the baron de Heyden, lieutenant-general of Brandenburg, and the count de Berlo, general of the Liege cavalry. King William arrived in the camp on the fifth day of July. After having remained eight days at Aerseele, he marched to Becelair, while Villeroy retired behind his lines between Menin and Ypres, after having detached ten thousand men to reinforce Boufflers, who had advanced to Pont-Espiere; but, he too retreated within his lines, when the elector of Bavaria passed the Scheld, and took post at Kirkhoven: at the same time the body under Heyden advanced towards Namur.

§ XII. The king of England having by his motions drawn the forces of the enemy on the side of Flanders, directed the baron de Heyden and the earl of Athlone, who commanded forty squadrons from the camp of the elector of Bavaria, to invest Namur; and this service was performed on the third day of July: but, as the place was not intirely surrounded, marechal Boufflers threw himself into it, with such a reinforcement of dragoons as augmented the garrison to the number of fifteen thousand chosen men. King William and the elector brought up the rest of the forces, which encamped on both sides of the Sambre and the Maeze; and the lines of circumvallation were begun on the sixth day of July, under the direction of the celebrated engineer general Coehorn. The place was formerly very strong both by situation and art; but, the French, since its last reduction, had made such additional works, that both the town and citadel seemed impregnable; and considering the number of the garrison, and the quality of the troops, commanded by a marechal of France, distinguished by his valour and conduct, the enterprize was deemed an undeniable proof of William's temerity. On the eleventh the trenches were opened, and next day the batteries began to play with incredible fury. The king receiving intelligence of a motion made by a body of French troops, with a view to intercept the convoys, detached twenty squadrons of horse and dragoons to observe the enemy.

§ XIII. Prince Vaudemont, who was left at Rouselaer with fifty battalions and the like number of squadrons, understanding that Villeroy had passed the Lys, in order to attack him, took post with his left near Grammen, his right by Aerseele and Caneghem; and began to fortify his camp with a view to expect the enemy. Their vanguard appearing on the evening of the thirteenth at Dentreghem, he changed the disposition of his camp, and intrenched himself on both sides. Next day, however, perceiving Villeroy's design was to surround him, by means of another body of troops commanded by Mr. Montal, who had already passed the Thieldt for that purpose, he resolved to avoid an engagement, and effected a retreat to Ghent, which is celebrated as one of the most capital efforts of military conduct. He forthwith detached twelve battalions and twelve pieces of cannon, to secure Newport, which Villeroy had intended to invest; but, that general now changed his resolution, and undertook the siege of Dixmuyde, garrisoned by eight battalions of foot and a regiment of dragoons, commanded by major-general Ellemberg, who in six and thirty hours after the trenches were opened, surrendered himself and his soldiers prisoners of war. This scandalous example was followed by colonel Ofarrel, who yielded up Deynse on the same shameful conditions, even before a battery was opened by the besiegers. In the sequel they were both tried for their misbehaviour. Ellemberg suffered death, and Ofarrel was broke with infamy. The prince of Vaudemont

Vaudemont sent a message to the French general, demanding the garrisons of those two places, according to a cartel which had been settled between the powers at war; but, no regard was paid to this remonstrance. Villeroy, after several marches and countermarches, appeared before Brussels, on the thirteenth day of August, and sent a letter to the prince of Berghem, governor of that city, importing, that the king his master had ordered him to bombard the town, by way of making reprisals for the damage done by the English fleet to the maritime towns of France: he likewise desired to know, in what part the electress of Bavaria resided, that he might not fire into that quarter. After this declaration, which was no more than an unmeaning compliment, he began to bombard and cannonade the place with red hot bullets, which produced conflagrations in many different parts of the city, and frightened the electress into a miscarriage. On the fifteenth, the French discontinued their firing, and retired to Enghien.

§ XIV. During these transactions, the siege of Namur was prosecuted with great ardour, under the eye of the king of England; while the garrison defended the place with equal spirit and perseverance. On the eighteenth day of July, major-general Ramsay and the lord Cutts, at the head of five battalions, English, Scots, and Dutch, attacked the enemy's advanced works, on the right of the counterscarp. They were sustained by six English battalions, commanded by brigadier-general Fitzpatrick; while eight foreign regiments, with nine thousand pioneers, advanced on the left, under major-general Salisk. The assault was desperate and bloody, the enemy maintaining their ground for two hours with undaunted courage; but at last, they were obliged to give way, and were pursued to the very gates of the town, though not before they had killed or wounded twelve hundred men of the confederate army. The king was so well pleased with the behaviour of the British troops, that during the action he layed his hand upon the shoulder of the elector of Bavaria, and exclaimed with emotion, "See my brave English!" On the twenty-seventh, the English and Scots, under Ramsay and Hamilton, assaulted the counterscarp, where they met with prodigious opposition from the fire of the besieged. Nevertheless, being sustained by the Dutch, they made a lodgment on the foremost covered-way before the gate of St. Nicholas, as also upon part of the counterguard. The valour of the assailants on this occasion was altogether unprecedented, and almost incredible; while, on the other hand, the courage of the besieged was worthy of praise and admiration. Several persons were killed in the trenches at the side of the king, and among these Mr. Godfrey, deputy-governor of the bank of England, who had come to the camp to confer with his majesty about remitting money for the payment of the army. On the thirtieth day of July the elector of Bavaria attacked Vauban's line that surrounded the works of the castle. General Coehorn was present in this action, which was performed with equal valour and success. They not only broke through the line, but even took possession of Coehorn's fort, in which, however, they found it impossible to effect a lodgment. On the second day of August, lord Cutts, with four hundred English and Dutch grenadiers, attacked the saillant-angle of a demi-bastion, and lodged himself on the second counterscarp. The breaches being now practicable, and preparations made for a general assault, count Guiscard, the governor, capitulated for the town on the fourth of August; and the French retired into the

the citadel, against which twelve batteries played, upon the thirteenth. The trenches, mean while, were carried on with great expedition, notwithstanding all the efforts of the besieged, who fired without ceasing, and exerted amazing diligence and intrepidity in defending and repairing the damage they sustained. At length, the annoyance became so dreadful from the unintermitting showers of bombs and red hot bullets, that Boufflers, after having made divers furious sallies, formed a scheme for breaking through the confederate camp with his cavalry. This, however, was prevented by the extreme vigilance of king William.

§ XV. After the bombardment of Brussels, Villeroy being reinforced with all the troops that could be draughted from garrisons, advanced towards Namur, with an army of ninety thousand men; and prince Vaudemont being joined by the prince of Hesse, with a strong body of forces from the Rhine, took possession of the strong camp at Mazy, within five English miles of the besieging army. The king, understanding that the enemy had reached Fleurus, where they discharged ninety pieces of cannon, as a signal to inform the garrison of their approach, left the conduct of the siege to the elector of Bavaria, and took upon himself the command of the covering-army, in order to oppose Villeroy, who being further reinforced by a detachment from Germany, declared, that he would hazard a battle for the relief of Namur. But, when he viewed the posture of the allies near Mazy, he changed his resolution, and retired in the night without noise. On the thirtieth day of August, the besieged were summoned to surrender, by count Horn, who, in a parley with the count de Lamont, general of the French infantry, gave him to understand, that the marechal Villeroy had retired towards the Mehaigne; so that the garrison could not expect to be relieved. No immediate answer being returned to this message, the parley was broke off; and the king resolved to proceed without delay to a general assault, which he had already planned with the elector and his other generals. Between one and two in the afternoon, lord Cutts, who desired the command, though it was not his turn of duty, rushed out of the trenches of the second line, at the head of three hundred grenadiers, to make a lodgment in the breach of Terra-nova, supported by the regiments of Coulthorp, Buchan, Hamilton, and Mackay; while colonel Marselly, with a body of Dutch, the Bavarians, and Brandenburgers, attacked at two other places. The assailants met with such a warm reception, that the English grenadiers were repulsed even after they had mounted the breach, lord Cutts being for some time disabled by a shot in the head. Marselly was defeated, taken, and afterwards killed by a cannon-ball from the batteries of the besiegers. The Bavarians, by mistaking their way, were exposed to a terrible fire, by which their general count Rivera and great number of their officers were slain; nevertheless, they fixed themselves on the outward intrenchment on the point of the Coehorn next to the Sambre, and maintained their ground with amazing fortitude. Lord Cutts, when his wound was dressed, returned to the scene of action; and ordered two hundred chosen men of Mackay's regiment, commanded by lieutenant Cockle, to attack the face of the saillant-angle next to the breach, sword in hand, while the ensigns of the same regiment should advance and plant their colours on the palisadoes. Cockle and his detachment executed the command he had received with admirable intrepidity. They broke through the palisadoes, drove the French from the covered-way, made a lodgment in one of the batteries, and

turned the cannon against the enemy. The Bavarians being thus sustained, made their post good. The majors-general la Cave and Schwerin lodged themselves at the same time on the covered-way; and although the general assault did not succeed in its full extent, the confederates remained masters of a very considerable lodgment, nearly an English mile in length. Yet this was dearly purchased with the lives of two thousand men, including many officers of great rank and reputation. During the action the elector of Bavaria signalized his courage in a very remarkable manner, riding from place to place through the hottest of the fire, giving his directions with notable presence of mind, according to the emergency of circumstances, animating the officers with praise and promise of preferment, and distributing handfuls of gold among the private soldiers.

§ XVI. On the first day of September, the besieged having obtained a cessation of arms that their dead might be buried, the count de Guiscard appearing on the breach, desired to speak with the elector of Bavaria. His highness immediately mounting the breach, the French governor offered to surrender the fort of Coehorn; but was given to understand, that if he intended to capitulate, he must treat for the whole. This reply being communicated to Boufflers, he agreed to the proposal: the cessation was prolonged, and that very evening the capitulation was finished. Villeroi, who lay encamped at Gemblours, was no sooner apprised of this event, by a triple discharge of all the artillery, and a running fire along the lines of the confederate army, than he passed the Sambre near Charleroy, with great precipitation; and having reinforced the garrison of Dinant, retreated towards the lines in the neighbourhood of Mons. On the fifth day of September, the French garrison, which was now reduced from fifteen to five thousand five hundred men, evacuated the citadel of Namur; and Boufflers was arrested in the name of his Britannick majesty, by way of reprisal for the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse, which the French king had detained contrary to the cartel subsisting between the two nations. The marechal was not a little discomposed at this unexpected incident, and expostulated warmly with Mr. Dyckvelt, who assured him the king of Great-Britain entertained a profound respect for his person and character; and offered to set him at liberty, provided he would pass his word, that the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse should be sent back, or that he himself would return in a fortnight. He said, that he could not enter into any such engagement, as he did not know his master's reasons for detaining the garrisons in question. He was therefore re-conveyed to Namur, from whence he was removed to Maestricht, and treated with great reverence and respect, till the return of an officer whom he had dispatched to Versailles with an account of his captivity. Then he engaged his word, that the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse should be sent back to the allied army. He was immediately released, and conducted in safety to Dinant. When he repaired to Versailles, Lewis received him with very extraordinary marks of esteem and affection. He embraced him in public with the warmest expressions of regard; declared himself perfectly well satisfied with his conduct; created him duke and peer of France; and presented him with a very large sum, in acknowledgment of his signal services.

§ XVII. After the reduction of Namur, which greatly enhanced the military character of king William, he retired to his house at Loo, which was his favourite

avourite place of residence, leaving the command to the elector of Bavaria. About the latter end of September both armies began to separate. The French forces retired within their lines. A good number of the allied troops were distributed in different garrisons; and a strong detachment marched towards Newport, under the command of the prince of Wirtemberg, for the security of that place. Thus ended the campaign in the Netherlands. On the Rhine nothing of moment was attempted by either army. The marechal de Loges in the beginning of June passed the Rhine at Philipsburg; and posting himself at Bruckfal, sent out parties to ravage the country. On the eleventh day of the month the prince of Baden joined the German army at Steppach, and on the eighth of July was reinforced by the troops of the other German confederates, in the neighbourhood of Wiselock. On the nineteenth, the French retired without noise, in the night, towards Mannheim, where they repassed the river without any interruption from the Imperial general: then he sent off a large detachment to Flanders. The same step was taken by the prince of Baden; and each army lay inactive in their quarters for the remaining part of the campaign. The command of the Germans in Hungary was conferred upon the elector of Saxony; but the court of Vienna was so dilatory in their preparations, that he was not in a condition to act till the middle of August. Lord Paget had been sent ambassador from England to the Ottoman Porte, with instructions relating to a pacification; but, before he could obtain an audience, the sultan died, and was succeeded by his nephew Mustapha, who resolved to prosecute the war in person. The warlike genius of this new emperor afforded but an uncomfortable prospect to his people, considering that Peter, the czar of Muscovy, had taken the opportunity of the war in Hungary, to invade the Crimea, and besiege Azoph: so that the Tartars were too much employed at home to spare the succours which the sultan demanded. Nevertheless, Mustapha and his vizir took the field before the Imperialists could commence the operations of the campaign, passed the Danube, took Lippa and Titul by assault, stormed the camp of general Veterani, who was posted at Lugos with seven thousand men, and lost his life in the action. The infantry were cut in pieces, after having made a desperate defence; but the horse retreated to Caroufebes, under the conduct of general Trusches. The Turks after this exploit retired to Orsowa. Their navy, mean while, surprised the Venetian fleet at Scio, where several ships of the republic were destroyed, and they recovered that island, which the Venetians thought proper to abandon; but, in order to ballance this misfortune, these last obtained a complete victory over the bashaw of Negropont, in the Morea.

§ XVIII. The French king still maintained a secret negotiation with the duke of Savoy, whose conduct had been for some time mysterious and equivocal. Contrary to the opinion of his allies, he undertook the siege of Casal, which was counted one of the strongest fortifications in Europe, defended by a numerous garrison, abundantly supplied with ammunition and provision. The siege was begun about the middle of May; and the place was surrendered by capitulation in about fourteen days, to the astonishment of the confederates, who did not know that this was a sacrifice by which the French court obtained the duke's forbearance during the remaining part of the campaign. The capitulation imported, That the place should be restored to the duke of Mantua, who was the rightful proprietor: That the fortifications should be demolished at the expence

of the allies : that the garrison should remain in the fort until that work should be completed ; and hostages were exchanged for the performance of these conditions. The duke understood the art of procrastination so well, that September was far advanced before the place was wholly dismantled ; and then he was seized with an ague which obliged him to quit the army.

§ XIX. In Catalonia the French could hardly maintain the footing they had gained. Admiral Russel, who wintered at Cadiz, was created admiral, chief-commander, and captain-general of all his majesty's ships employed, or to be employed in the Narrow seas, and in the Mediterranean. He was reinforced by four thousand five hundred soldiers, under the command of brigadier-general Stewart ; and seven thousand men, Imperialists as well as Spaniards, were draughted from Italy for the defence of Catalonia. These forces were transported to Barcelona, under the convoy of admiral Nevil, detached by Russel for that purpose. The affairs of Catalonia had already changed their aspect. Several French parties had been defeated. The Spaniards had blocked up Ostalic and Castell-Follit : Noailles had been recalled, and the command devolved to the duke de Vendome, who no sooner understood that the forces from Italy were landed, than he dismantled Ostalic and Castell-Follit, and retired to Palamos. The viceroy of Catalonia, and the English admiral having resolved to give battle to the enemy, and reduce Palamos, the English troops were landed on the ninth day of August, and the allied army advanced to Palamos. The French appeared in order of battle ; but the viceroy declined an engagement. Far from attacking the enemy, he withdrew his forces, and the town was bombarded by the admiral. The miscarriage of this expedition was in a great measure owing to a misunderstanding between Russel and the court of Spain. The admiral complained, that his catholic majesty had made no preparations for the campaign : that he had neglected to fulfil his engagements with respect to the Spanish squadron, which ought to have joined the fleets of England and Holland : and, that he had taken no care to provide tents and provision for the British forces. On the twenty-seventh day of August he sailed for the coast of Provence, where his fleet was endangered by a terrible tempest ; then he steered down the Streights, and towards the latter end of September arrived in the bay of Cadiz. Then he left a number of ships under the command of Sir David Mitchel, until he should be joined by Sir George Rooke, who was expected from England, and returned home with the rest of the combined squadrons.

§ XX. While admiral Russel asserted the British dominion in the Mediterranean sea, the French coasts were again insulted in the channel by a separate fleet, under the command of lord Berkely of Stratton, assisted by the Dutch admiral Allemonde. On the fourth day of July they anchored before St. Malo's, which they bombarded from nine ketches covered by some frigates, which sustained more damage than was done to the enemy. On the sixth, Granville underwent the same fate ; and then the fleet returned to Portsmouth. The bomb-vessels being refitted, the fleet sailed round to the Downs, where four hundred soldiers were embarked for an attempt upon Dunkirk, under the direction of Meesters, the famous Dutch engineer, who had prepared his infernals, and other machines for the service. On the first day of August the experiment was tried without success. The bombs did some execution ; but, two smoke-ships miscarried, and the French had secured the Risbank and wooden forts,

forts, with piles, booms, chains, and floating batteries, in such a manner, that the machine-vessels could not approach near enough to produce any effect. Besides, the councils of the assailants were distracted by violent animosities. The English officers hated Meesters, because he was a Dutchman, and had acquired some credit with the king: he, on the other hand, treated them with disrespect. He retired with his machines in the night, and refused to co-operate with lord Berkely in his design upon Calais, which was now put in execution. On the sixteenth he brought his batteries to bear upon this place, and set fire to it in different quarters; but, the enemy had taken such precautions as rendered his scheme abortive.

§ XXI. A squadron had been sent to the West-Indies under the joint-command of captain Robert Wilmot and colonel Lillingston, with twelve hundred land-forces. They had instructions to co-operate with the Spaniards in Hispaniola, against the French settlements on that island, and to destroy their fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, in their return. They were accordingly joined by seventeen hundred Spaniards raised by the president of St. Domingo; but, instead of proceeding against Petit-Guavas, according to the directions they had received, Wilmot took possession of Fort-Francois, and plundered the country for his own private advantage, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Lillingston, who protested against his conduct. In a word, the sea and land-officers lived in a state of perpetual dissension; and both became extremely disagreeable to the Spaniards, who soon renounced all connexion with them and their designs. In the beginning of September the commodore set sail for England, and lost one of his ships in the gulph of Florida. He himself died in the passage, and the greater part of the men being swept off by an epidemical distemper, the squadron returned to Britain in a most miserable condition. Notwithstanding the great efforts the nation had made to maintain such a number of different squadrons for the protection of commerce, as well as to annoy the enemy, the trade suffered severely from the French privateers, which swarmed in both channels; and made prize of many rich vessels. The marquis of Carmaerthen being stationed with a squadron off the Scilly islands, mistook a fleet of merchant-ships for the Brest fleet, and retired with precipitation to Milford-Haven. In consequence of this retreat, the privateers took a good number of ships from Barbadoes, and five from the East-Indies, valued at a million sterling. The merchants renewed their clamour against the commissioners of the admiralty, who produced their orders and instructions in their own defence. The marquis of Carmaerthen had been guilty of flagrant misconduct on this occasion; but, the chief source of those national calamities was the circumstantial intelligence transmitted to France from time to time, by the malcontents of England; for, they were actuated by a scandalous principle which they still retain, namely, that of rejoicing in the distress of their country.

§ XXII. King William, after having conferred with the states of Holland, and the elector of Brandenburg, who met him at the Hague, embarked for England on the nineteenth day of October, and arrived in safety at Margate, from whence he proceeded to London, where he was received as a conqueror, amidst the rejoicings and acclamations of the people. On that same day he summoned a council at Kensington, in which it was determined to convoke a new parliament. While the nation was in good humour, it was supposed that they would

would return such members only as were well affected to the government; whereas the present parliament might proceed in its inquiries into corruption and other grievances, and be the less influenced by the crown, as their dependance was of such short duration. The parliament was therefore dissolved by proclamation, and a new one summoned to meet at Westminster on the twenty-second day of November. While the whole nation was occupied in the elections, William, by the advice of his chief confidants, layed his own disposition under restraint, in another effort to acquire popularity. He honoured the diversions of Newmarket with his presence, and there received a compliment of congratulation from the university of Cambridge. Then he visited the earls of Sunderland, Northampton, and Montague, at their different houses in the country; and proceeded with a splendid retinue to Lincoln, from whence he repaired to Welbeck, a seat belonging to the duke of Newcastle in Nottinghamshire, where he was attended by Dr. Sharp, archbishop of York, and his clergy. He lodged one night with lord Brooke at Warwick-castle, dined with the duke of Shrewsbury at Eyefort, and, by the way of Woodstock, made a solemn entry into Oxford, having been met at some distance from the city by the duke of Ormond, as chancellor of the university, the vice-chancellor, the doctors in their habits, and the magistrates in their formalities. He proceeded directly to the theatre, where he was welcomed in an elegant Latin speech; and received from the chancellor on his knees, the usual presents of a large English Bible, and book of Common-Prayer, the cuts of the university, and a pair of gold-fringe gloves. The conduits ran with wine, and a magnificent banquet was prepared; but, an anonymous letter being found in the street, importing, that there was a design to poison his majesty, William refused to eat or drink in Oxford, and retired immediately to Windsor. Notwithstanding this abrupt departure, which did not favour much of magnanimity, the university chose Sir William Trumbal secretary of state, as one of their representatives in parliament.

§ XXIII. The Whig-interest generally prevailed in the elections, though many even of that party were malcontents; and when the parliament met, Foley was again chosen speaker of the commons. The king in his first speech extolled the valour of the English forces; expressed his concern at being obliged to demand such large supplies from his people; observed, that the funds had proved very deficient, and the civil list was in a precarious condition; recommended to their compassion the miserable situation of the French protestants; took notice of the bad state of the coin; desired they would form a good bill for the encouragement and increase of seamen; and contrive laws for the advancement of commerce. He mentioned the great preparations which the French were making for taking the field early; intreated them to use dispatch; expressed his satisfaction at the choice which his people had made of their representatives in the house of commons; and exhorted them to proceed with temper and unanimity. Though the two houses presented addresses of congratulation to the king, upon his late success, and promised to assist him in prosecuting the war with vigour, the nation loudly exclaimed against the intolerable burthens and losses to which they were subjected, by a foreign scheme of politics, which, like an unfathomable abyss, swallowed up the wealth and blood of the kingdom. All the king's endeavours to cover the disgusting side of his character had proved

proved ineffectual : he was still dry, reserved, and forbidding ; and the malcontents inveighed bitterly against his behaviour to the princess Anne of Denmark. When the news of Namur's being reduced arrived in England, she congratulated him upon his success in a dutiful letter : to which he would not deign to send a reply, either by writing or message ; nor had she or her husband been favoured with the slightest mark of regard since his return to England. The members in the lower-house, who had adopted opposing maxims, either from principle or resentment, relolved, That the crown should purchase the supplies with some concession in favour of the people. They therefore brought in the so long contested bill for regulating trials in cases of high-treason, and misprision of treason ; and, considering the critical juncture of affairs, the courtiers were afraid of obstructing such a popular measure. The lords inserted a clause, enacting, That a peer should be tried by the whole peerage ; and the commons at once assented to this amendment. The bill provided, That persons indicted for high-treason, or misprision of treason, should be furnished with a copy of the indictment five days before the trial ; and indulged with counsel to plead in their defence : That no person should be indicted but upon the oaths of two lawful witnesses swearing to overt-acts : That in two or more distinct treasons of divers kinds, alledged in one bill of indictment, one witness to one, and another witness to another, should not be deemed two witnesses ; That no person should be prosecuted for any such crime, unless the indictment be found within three years after the offence committed, except in case of a design or attempt to assassinate or poison the king, where this limitation should not take place : That persons indicted for treason, or misprision of treason, should be supplied with copies of the panel of the jurors, two days at least before the trial, and have process to compel their witnesses to appear : That no evidence should be admitted of any overt-act not expressly laid in the indictment : That this act should not extend to any impeachment, or other proceedings in parliament ; nor to any indictment for counterfeiting his majesty's coin, his great-seal, privy-seal, sign-manual, or signet.

§ XXIV. This important affair being discussed, the commons proceeded to examine the accompts and estimates, and voted above five millions for the service of the ensuing year. The state of the coin was by this time become such a national grievance as could not escape the attention of parliament. The lords prepared an address to the throne, for a proclamation to put a stop to the currency of diminished coin ; and to this they desired the concurrence of the commons. The lower-house, however, determined to take this affair under their own inspection. They appointed a committee of the whole house, to deliberate on the state of the nation with respect to the currency. Great opposition was made to a recoinage, which was a measure strenuously recommended and supported by Mr. Montague, who acted on this occasion by the advice of the great mathematician Sir Isaac Newton. The enemies of this expedient argued, that should the silver coin be called in, it would be impossible to maintain the war abroad, or prosecute foreign trade, inasmuch as the merchant could not pay his bills of exchange, nor the soldier receive his subsistence : that a stop would be put to all mutual payment ; and this would produce universal confusion and despair. Such a reformation could not be effected without some danger and difficulty ; but it was become absolutely necessary, as the evil daily encreased, and in a little time must have terminated in national

tional anarchy. After long and vehement debates, the majority resolved to proceed with all possible expedition to a new coinage. Another question arose, Whether the new coin, in its different denominations, should retain the original weight and purity of the old; or the established standard be raised in value? The famous Locke engaged in this dispute against Mr. Lowndes, who proposed that the standard should be raised; and his arguments were so convincing, that the committee resolved the established standard should be preserved with respect to weight and fineness. They likewise resolved, That the loss accruing to the revenue from clipped money, should be borne by the public. In order to prevent a total stagnation, they further resolved, That, after an appointed day, no clipped money should pass in payment, except to the collectors of the revenue and taxes, or upon loans or payments into the exchequer: That, after another day to be appointed, no clipped money of any sort should pass in any payment whatsoever; and that a third day should be fixed for all persons to bring in their clipped money to be recoinced, after which they should have no allowance upon what they might offer. They addressed the king to issue a proclamation agreeable to these resolutions; and, on the nineteenth day of December, it was published accordingly. Such were the fears of the people, augmented and inflamed by the enemies of the government, that all payment immediately ceased, and a face of distraction appeared through the whole community. The adversaries of the bill seized this opportunity to aggravate the apprehensions of the public. They inveighed against the ministry, as the authors of this national grievance: they levelled their satire particularly at Montague; and it required uncommon fortitude and address to avert the most dangerous consequences of popular discontent. The house of commons agreed to the following resolutions, That twelve hundred thousand pounds should be raised by a duty on glass-windows, to make up the loss on the clipped money: That the recompence for supplying the deficiency of clipped money should extend to all silver coin, though of a coarser alloy than the standard: That the collectors and receivers of his majesty's aids and revenues should be enjoined to receive all such monies: That a reward of five pounds per cent. should be given to all such persons as should bring in either milled or broad unclipped money, to be applied in exchange of the clipped money throughout the kingdom: That a reward of three pence per ounce should be given to all persons who should bring in wrought plate to the mint to be coined: That persons might pay in their whole next year's land-tax in clipped money, at one convenient time to be appointed for that purpose: That commissioners should be appointed in every county to pay and distribute the milled and broad unclipped money, and the new coined money in lieu of that which was diminished. A bill being prepared agreeable to these determinations, was sent up to the house of lords, who made some amendments, which the commons rejected: but, in order to avoid cavils and conferences, they dropped the bill, and brought in another, without the clauses which the lords had inserted. They were again proposed in the upper-house, and over-ruled by the majority; and, on the twenty-first day of January, the bill received the royal assent, together with another bill, enlarging the time for purchasing annuities, and continuing the duties on low wines. At the same time, the king passed the bill of trials for high-treason, and an act to prevent mercenary elections. Divers merchants and traders petitioned the house of commons, that the losses
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in their trade and payments, occasioned by the rise of guineas, might be taken into consideration. A bill was immediately brought in for taking off the obligation and encouragement for coining guineas, for a certain time: and then the commons proceeded to lower the value of this coin; a task in which they met with great opposition from some members, who alledged that it would foment the popular disturbances. At length, however, the majority agreed, that a guinea should be lowered from thirty to eight and twenty shillings; afterwards to six and twenty; at length a clause was inserted in the bill, for encouraging people to bring plate to the mint, settling the price of a guinea at two and twenty shillings, and it naturally sunk to its original value of twenty shillings and sixpence. Many persons, however, supposing that the price of gold would be raised in the next session, hoarded up their guineas; and, upon the same supposition, encouraged by the malcontents, the new coined silver-money was reserved, to the great detriment of commerce. The king ordered mints to be erected in York, Bristol, Exeter, and Chester, for the purpose of the recoinage, which was executed with unexpected success; so that, in less than a year, the currency of England, which had been the worst, became the best coin in Europe.

§ XXV. At this period, the attention of the commons was diverted to an object of a more private nature. The earl of Portland, who enjoyed the greatest share of the king's favour, had obtained a grant of some lordships in Derbyshire; and, while the warrant was depending, the gentlemen of that county resolved to oppose it with all their power. In consequence of a petition, they were indulged with a hearing by the lords of the treasury. Sir William Williams, in the name of the rest, alledged, that the lordships in question were the antient demesnes of the prince of Wales, absolutely unalienable: that the revenues of those lordships supported the government of Wales in paying the judges and other salaries: that the grant was of too large an extent for any foreign subject: and that the people of the county were too great to be subject to any foreigner. Sundry other substantial reasons were used against the grant, which, notwithstanding all their remonstrances, would have passed through the offices, had not the Welsh gentlemen addressed themselves by petition to the house of commons. Upon this occasion, Mr. Price, a member of the house, harrangued with great severity against the Dutch in general, and did not even abstain from sarcasms upon the king's person, title, and government. The objections started by the petitioners being duly considered, were found so reasonable, that the commons presented an address to the king, representing, That those manours had been usually annexed to the principality of Wales, and settled on the princes of Wales for their support: That many persons in those parts held their estates by royal tenure, under great and valuable compositions, rents, royal payments, and services to the crown and princes of Wales, and enjoyed great privileges and advantages under such tenure. They therefore besought his majesty to recal the grant, which was in diminution of the honour and interest of the crown; and prayed, that the said manours and lands might not be alienated without the consent of parliament. This address met with a cold reception from the king, who promised to recall the grant which had given such offence to the commons; and said he would find some other way of shewing his favour to the earl of Portland.

§ XXVI. The people in general entertained a national aversion to this nobleman; and the malcontents inculcated a notion that he made use of his interest and intelligence to injure the trade of England, that the commerce of his own country might flourish without competition. To his suggestions they imputed the act and patent in favour of the Scottish company, which was supposed to have been thrown in as a bone of contention between the two kingdoms. The subject was first started in the house of lords, who invited the commons to a conference: a committee was appointed to examine into the particulars of the act for erecting the Scottish company; and the two houses presented a joint address against it, as a scheme that would prejudice all the subjects concerned in the wealth and trade of the English nation. They represented, that, in consequence of the exemption from taxes, and other advantages granted to the Scottish company, that kingdom would become a free port for all East and West India commodities; the Scots would be enabled to supply all Europe at a cheaper rate than the English could afford to sell their merchandise for; therefore England would lose the benefit of its foreign trade: besides, the Scots would smuggle their commodities into England, to the great detriment of his majesty and his customs. To this remonstrance the king replied, That he had been ill served in Scotland, but that he hoped some remedies would be found to prevent the inconveniencies of which they were apprehensive. In all probability he had been imposed upon by the ministry of that kingdom; for, in a little time, he discarded the marquis of Tweeddale, and dismissed both the Scottish secretaries of state, in lieu of whom he appointed lord Murray, son to the marquis of Athole. Notwithstanding the king's answer, the committee proceeded on the inquiry, and, in consequence of their report, confirming a petition from the East India company, the house resolved, That the directors of the Scottish company were guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour, in administering and taking an oath de fideli in this kingdom; and that they should be impeached for the same. Mean while, Roderick Mackenzie, from whom they had received their chief information, began to retract his evidence, and was ordered into custody: but he made his escape, and could not be retaken, although the king, at their request, issued a proclamation for that purpose. The Scots were extremely incensed against the king, when they understood he had disowned their company, from which they had promised themselves such wealth and advantage. The settlement of Darien was already planned, and afterwards put in execution; though it miscarried in the sequel, and had like to have produced abundance of mischief.

§ XXVII. The complaints of the English merchants who had suffered by the war, was so loud at this juncture, that the commons resolved to take their case into consideration. The house resolved itself into a committee to consider the state of the nation with regard to commerce, and having duly weighed all circumstances, agreed to the following resolutions, That a council of trade should be established by act of parliament, with powers to take measures for the more effectual preservations of commerce: That the commissioners should be nominated by parliament, but none of them have seats in the house: that they should take an oath, acknowledging the title of king William as rightful and lawful; and abjuring the pretensions of James, or any other person. The king considered these resolutions as an open attack upon

his prerogative, and signified his displeasure to the earl of Sunderland, who patronized this measure; but it was so popular in the house, that in all probability it would have been put in execution, had not the attention of the commons been at this period diverted from it by the detection of a new conspiracy. The friends of king James had, upon the death of queen Mary, renewed their practices for effecting a restoration of that monarch, on the supposition that the interest of William was considerably weakened by the decease of his consort. Certain individuals, whose zeal for James overshot their discretion, formed a design to seize the person of king William and convey him to France, or put him to death, in case of resistance. They had sent emissaries to the court of St. Germain's to demand a commission for this purpose, which was refused. The earl of Aylesbury, lord Montgomery, son to the marquis of Powis, Sir John Fenwick, Sir John Friend, captain Charnock, captain Porter, and one Mr. Goodman, were the first contrivers of this project. Charnock was detached with a proposal to James, that he should procure a body of horse and foot from France, to make a descent in England, and they would engage not only to join him at his landing, but even to replace him on the throne of England. These offers being declined by James, on pretence that the French king could not spare such a number of troops at that juncture, the earl of Aylesbury went over in person, and was admitted to a conference with Lewis, in which the scheme of an invasion was actually concerted. In the beginning of February, the duke of Berwick repaired privately to England, where he conferred with the conspirators, assured them that king James was ready to make a descent with a considerable number of French forces, distributed commissions, and gave directions for providing men, arms, and horses, to join him at his arrival. When he returned to France, he found every thing prepared for the expedition. The troops were drawn down to the sea-side; a great number of transports were assembled at Dunkirk; Monsieur Gabaret had advanced as far as Calais with a squadron of ships, which, when joined by that of Du Bart at Dunkirk, was judged a sufficient convoy; and James had come as far as Calais, in his way to embark. Mean while, the Jacobites in England were assiduously employed in making preparations for a revolt. Sir John Friend had very near completed a regiment of horse. Considerable progress was made in levying another by Sir William Perkins. Sir John Fenwick had enlisted four troops. Colonel Tempest had undertaken for one regiment of dragoons; colonel Parker was preferred to the command of another; Mr. Curzon was commissioned for a third; and the malcontents intended to raise a fourth in Suffolk, where their interest chiefly prevailed.

§ XXVIII. While one part of the Jacobites proceeded against William in the usual way of exciting an insurrection, another, consisting of the most desperate conspirators, had formed a scheme of assassination. Sir George Barclay, a native of Scotland, who had served as an officer in the army of James, a man of undaunted courage, a furious bigot in the religion of Rome, yet close, circumspect, and determined, was landed, with other officers, in Romney-marsh, by one captain Gill, about the beginning of January, and is said to have undertaken the task of seizing or assassinating king William. He imparted his design to Harrison, alias Johnston, a priest, Charnock, Porter, and Sir William Perkins, by whom it was approved; and pretended to have a particular commission for this service. After various consultations, they re-

solved to attack the king on his return from Richmond, where he commonly hunted on Saturdays; and the scene of their ambuscade was a lane between Brentford and Turnham-green. As it would be necessary to charge and disperse the guards that attended the coach, they agreed that their number should be increased to forty horsemen, and each conspirator began to engage proper persons for the enterprise. When their complement was full, they determined to execute their purpose on the fifteenth day of February. They concerted the manner in which they should meet in small parties without suspicion, and waited with impatience for the hour of action. In this interval, some of the underling actors, seized with horror at the reflection of what they had undertaken, or captivated with the prospect of reward, resolved to prevent the execution of the design by a timely discovery. On the eleventh day of February, one Fisher informed the earl of Portland of the scheme, and named some of the conspirators; but his account was imperfect. On the thirteenth, however, he returned with a circumstantial detail of all the particulars. Next day, the earl was accosted by one Pendergrafs, an Irish officer, who told his lordship he had just come from Hampshire, at the request of a particular friend, and understood that he had been called up to town with a view of engaging him in a design to assassinate king William. He said, he had promised to embark in the undertaking, though he detested it in his own mind, and took this first opportunity of revealing the secret, which was of such consequence to his majesty's life. He owned himself a roman catholic, but declared, that he did not think any religion could justify such a treacherous purpose. At the same time he observed, that as he lay under obligations to some of the conspirators, his honour and gratitude would not permit him to accuse them by name; and that he would upon no consideration appear as an evidence. The king had been so much used to fictitious plots, and false discoveries, that he paid little regard to these informations, until they were confirmed by the testimony of another conspirator called La Rue, a Frenchman, who communicated the same particulars to brigadier Levison, without knowing the least circumstance of the other discoveries. Then the king believed there was something real in the conspiracy; and Pendergrafs and La Rue were severally examined in his presence. He thanked Pendergrafs in particular for this instance of his probity, but observed, that it must prove ineffectual, unless he would discover the names of the conspirators; for, without knowing who they were, he should not be able to secure his life against their attempts. At length Pendergrafs was prevailed upon to give a list of those he knew, yet not before the king had solemnly promised that he should not be used as an evidence against them, but with his own consent. As the king did not go to Richmond on the day appointed, the conspirators postponed the execution of their design till the Saturday following. They accordingly met at different houses on the Friday, when every man received his instructions. There they agreed, that after the perpetration of the parricide, they should ride in a body as far as Hammersmith, and then dispersing, enter London by different avenues. But, on the morning, when they understood that the guards were returned to their quarters, and the king's coaches sent back to the Mews, they were seized with a sudden damp, on the supposition that their plot was discovered. Sir George Barclay withdrew himself, and every one began to think of providing for his own safety. Next night, however, a good number of them was apprehended, and then

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he whole discovery was communicated to the privy-council. A proclamation was issued against those that absconded; and great diligence was used to find Sir George Barclay, who was supposed to have a particular commission from James for assassinating the prince of Orange; but, he made good his retreat, and it was never proved that any such commission had been granted.

§ XXIX. This design and the projected invasion proved equally abortive. James had scarce reached Calais, when the duke of Wirtemberg dispatched his aid-de camp from Flanders to king William, with an account of the purposed descent. Expresses with the same tidings arrived from the elector of Bavaria and the prince de Vaudemont. Two considerable squadrons being ready for sea, admiral Russel embarked at Spithead, and stood over to the French coast with above fifty sail of the line. The enemy were confounded at his appearance; they hauled in their vessels under the shore, in such shallow water that he could not follow and destroy them, but he absolutely ruined their design, by cooping them up in their harbours. King James, after having tarried some weeks at Calais, returned to St. Germain. The forces were sent back to the garrisons from which they had been draughted; and the people of France exclaimed, that the malignant star which ruled the destiny of James, had blasted this and every other project formed for his restoration. By means of the reward offered in the proclamation, the greater part of the conspirators were betrayed or taken. George Harris, who had been sent from France, with orders to obey Sir George Barclay, surrendered himself to Sir William Trumball, and confessed the scheme of assassination in which he had been engaged. Porter and Pendergrafs were apprehended together. This last insisted upon the king's promise, that he should not be compelled to give evidence; but, when Porter owned himself guilty, the other observed, he was no longer bound to be silent, as his friend had made a confession; and they were both admitted as evidences for the crown.

§ XXX. After their examination, the king, in a speech to both houses, communicated the nature of the conspiracy against his life, as well as the advices he had received touching the invasion: he explained the steps he had taken to defeat the double design, and professed his confidence in their readiness and zeal to concur with him in every thing that should appear necessary for their common safety. That same evening the two houses waited upon him at Kensington, in a body, with an affectionate address, by which they expressed their abhorrence of the villanous and barbarous design which had been formed against his sacred person, of which they besought him to take more than ordinary care. They assured him, they would to their utmost defend his life, and support his government, against the late king James, and all other enemies; and declared, that in case his majesty should come to a violent death, they would revenge it upon his adversaries and their adherents. He was extremely well pleased with this warm address, and assured them, in his turn, he would take all opportunities of recommending himself to the continuance of their loyalty and affection. The commons forthwith impowered him by bill, to secure all persons suspected of conspiring against his person and government. They brought in another, providing, That in case of his majesty's death, the parliament then in being should continue until dissolved by the next heir in succession to the crown, established by act of parliament: and, That if his majesty should chance to die between two parliaments, that which had been last dissolved

dissolved should immediately reassemble, and sit for the dispatch of national affairs. They voted an address to desire, That his majesty would banish by proclamation, all papists to the distance of ten miles from the cities of London and Westminster; and give instructions to the judges going on the circuits, to put the laws in execution against roman catholics and nonjurors. They drew up an association, binding themselves to assist each other in support of the king and his government, and to revenge any violence that should be committed on his person. This was signed by all the members then present; but, as some had absented themselves on frivolous pretences, the house ordered, That in sixteen days the absentees should either subscribe, or declare their refusal. Several members neglecting to comply with this injunction within the limited time, the speaker was ordered to write to those who were in the country, and demand a peremptory answer, while the clerk of the house attended such as pretended to be ill in town. The absentees finding themselves pressed in this manner, thought proper to sail with the stream, and sign the association, which was presented to the king by the commons in a body, with a request that it might be lodged among the records in the Tower, as a perpetual memorial of their loyalty and affection. The king received them with uncommon complacency; declared, that he heartily entered into the same association; that he should be always ready to venture his life with his good subjects, against all who should endeavour to subvert the religion, laws, and liberties of England; and he promised, that this, and all other associations should be lodged among the records in the Tower of London. Next day the commons resolved, That whoever should affirm an association was illegal, should be deemed a promoter of the designs of the late king James, and an enemy to the laws and liberties of the kingdom. The lords followed the example of the lower house in drawing up an association; but, the earls of Nottingham, Sir Edward Seymour, and Mr. Finch, objected to the words, Rightful, and Lawful, as applied to his majesty. They said, as the crown and its prerogatives were vested in him, they would yield obedience, though they could not acknowledge him as their rightful and lawful king. Nothing could be more absurd than this distinction started by men who had actually constituted part of the administration; unless they supposed that the right of king William expired with queen Mary. The earl of Rochester proposed an expedient in favour of such tender consciences, by altering the words that gave offence; and this was adopted accordingly. Fifteen of the peers, and ninety-two commoners signed the association with reluctance. It was, however, subscribed by all sorts of people in different parts of the kingdom; and the bishops drew up a form for the clergy, which was signed by a great majority. The commons brought in a bill, declaring all men incapable of public trust, or of sitting in parliament, who would not engage in this association. At the same time, the council issued an order for renewing all the commissions in England, that those who had not signed it voluntarily should be dismissed from the service as disaffected persons.

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§ XXXI. After these warm demonstrations of loyalty, the commons proceeded upon ways and means for raising the supplies. A new bank was constituted as a fund, upon which the sum of two millions, five hundred and sixty-four thousand pounds should be raised; and it was called the Land-bank, because established on land securities. This scheme, said to have been projected by

by the famous doctor Chamberlain, was patronized by the earl of Sunderland, An. Ch. 1696. and managed by Foley and Harley: so that it seemed to be a Tory plan, which Sunderland supported, in order to reconcile himself to that party. * The bank of England petitioned against this bill, and were heard by their counsel; but, their representations produced no other effect, and the bill having passed through both houses, received the royal assent. On the twenty-seventh day of April the king closed the session with a short but gracious speech; and the parliament was prorogued to the sixteenth day of June.

§ XXXII. Before this period some of the conspirators had been brought to trial. The first who suffered was Robert Charnock, one of the two fellows of Magdalen-college, who in the reign of James had renounced the protestant religion, lieutenant King, and Thomas Keys, who had been formerly a trumpeter, but of late servant to captain Porter. They were found guilty of high-treason, and executed at Tyburn. They delivered papers to the sheriff, in which they solemnly declared, that they had never seen or heard of any commission from king James for assassinating the prince of Orange: Charnock in particular observed, that he had received frequent assurances of the king's having rejected such proposals when they had been offered; and that there was no other commission but that for levying war in the usual form. Sir John Friend and Sir William Perkins were tried in April. The first from mean beginnings had acquired great wealth and credit, and always firmly adhered to the interests of king James. The other was likewise a man of fortune, violently attached to the same principles, though he had taken the oaths to the present government, as one of the six clerks in chancery. Porter and Blair another evidence, deposed, that Sir John Friend had been concerned in levying men under a commission from king James; and, that he knew of the assassination-

* The commons resolved, That a fund redeemable by parliament be settled in a national land-bank, to be raised by new subscriptions: That no person be concerned in both banks at the same time: That the duties upon coals, culm, and tonnage of ships, be taken off, from the seventeenth day of March: That the sum of two millions, five hundred and sixty-four thousand pounds, be raised on this perpetual fund, redeemable by parliament: That the new bank should be restrained from lending money but upon land-securities, or to the government in the exchequer: That for making up the fund of interest for the capital stock, certain duties upon glass-ware, stone, and earthen bottles, granted before to the king for a term of years, be continued to his majesty, his heirs, and successors: That a further duty be layed upon stone and earthen ware, and another upon tobacco-pipes. This bank was to lend out five hundred thousand pounds a-year upon land securities, at three pounds and ten shillings per cent. per annum, and to cease and determine, unless the subscription should be full by the first day of August next ensuing.

The most remarkable laws enacted in this session were these: An act for voiding all the elections of parliament-men, at which the elected had been at any expence in meat, drink, or mo-

ney, to procure votes. Another against unlawful and double returns. A third, for the more easy recovery of small tythes. A fourth, to prevent marriages, without license or banns. A fifth, for enabling the inhabitants of Wales to dispose of all their personal estates as they should think fit. This law was in bar of a custom that had prevailed in that country. The widows and younger children claimed a share of the effects, called their Reasonable part, although the effects had been otherwise disposed of by will or deed. The parliament likewise passed an act, for preventing the exportation of wool, and encourage the importation thereof from Ireland. An act for encouraging the linen manufactures of Ireland. An act for regulating juries. An act for encouraging the Greenland trade. An act of indulgence to the quakers, that their solemn affirmation should be accepted instead of an oath. and, An Act for continuing certain other acts that were near expiring. Another bill had passed, for the better regulating elections for members of parliament; but, the royal assent was denied. The question was put in the house of commons, That whosoever advised his majesty not to give his assent to that bill, was an enemy to his country; but, it was rejected by a great majority.

plot,

plot, though not engaged in it as a personal actor. He endeavoured to invalidate the testimony of Blair, by proving him guilty of the most shocking ingratitude. He observed, that both the evidences were reputed papists. The curate of Hackney, who officiated as chaplain in the prisoner's house, declared upon oath, that after the revolution he used to pray for king William; and, that he had often heard Sir John Friend say, that though he could not comply with the present government, he would live peaceably under it, and never engage in any conspiracy. Mr. Hoadley, father of the present bishop of Winchester, added, that the prisoner was a good protestant, and frequently expressed his detestation of king-killing principles. Friend himself owned, he had been with some of the conspirators at a meeting in Leadenhall-street, but heard nothing of raising men, or any design against the government. He likewise affirmed, that a consultation to levy war was not treason; and, that his being at a treasonable consult, could amount to no more than a misprision of treason. Lord-chief-justice Holt declared, that although a bare conspiracy or design to levy war, was not treason within the statute of Edward III. yet, if the design or conspiracy be to kill, or depose, or imprison the king, by the means of levying war, then the consultation and conspiracy to levy war becomes high-treason, though no war be actually levied. The same inference might have been drawn against the authors and instruments of the revolution. The judge's explanation influenced the jury, who after some deliberation found the prisoner guilty. Next day Sir William Perkins was brought to the bar, and upon the testimony of Porter, Ewebank his own groom, and Haywood, a notorious informer, convicted of having been concerned, not only in the invasion, but also in the design against the king's life. The evidence was scanty, and the prisoner having been bred to the law, made an artful and vigorous defence; but, the judge acted as counsel for the crown, and the jury, by the hints they received from the bench. He and Sir John Friend underwent the sentence of death, and suffered at Tyburn on the third day of April. Friend protested before God, that he knew of no immediate descent purposed by king James, and therefore had made no preparations: that he was utterly ignorant of the assassination-scheme: that he died in the communion of the church of England, and layed down his life cheerfully in the cause for which he suffered. Perkins declared, upon the word of a dying man, that the tenour of the king's commission which he saw, was general, directed to all his loving subjects, to raise and levy war against the prince of Orange and his adherents, and to seize all forts, castles, &c. but that he neither saw, nor heard of any commission particularly levelled against the person of the prince of Orange. He owned, however, that he was privy to the design; but believed it was known to few or none but the immediate undertakers. These two criminals were in their last moments attended, by Collier, Snatt, and Cook, three nonjuring clergymen, who absolved them in the view of the populace, with an imposition of hands: a public insult on the government which did not pass unnoticed. Those three clergymen were presented by the grand-jury, for having countenanced the treason by absolving the traitors, and thereby encouraged other persons to disturb the peace of the kingdom. An indictment being preferred against them, Cook and Snatt were committed to Newgate; but, Collier absconded, and published a vindication of their conduct, in which he affirmed, that the imposition of hands was the general practice

tice of the primitive church. On the other hand, the two metropolitans, and twelve other bishops, subscribed a declaration, condemning the administration of absolution without a previous confession made, and abhorrence expressed by the prisoners of the heinous crimes for which they suffered. In the course of the same month, Rookwood, Cranborne, and Lowick, were tried as conspirators, by a special commission, in the king's bench; and convicted on the joint-testimony of Porter, Harris, La Rue, Bertram, Fisher, and Pendergrafs. Some favourable circumstances appeared in the case of Lowick. The proof of his having been concerned in the design against the king's life was very defective: many persons of reputation declared, he was an honest good-natured, inoffensive man; and, he himself concluded his defence with the most solemn protestation of his own innocence. Great intercession was made for his pardon by some noblemen; but, all their interest proved ineffectual. Cranborne died in a transport of indignation, leaving a paper, which the government thought proper to suppress. Lowick and Rookwood likewise delivered declarations to the sheriff, the contents of which, as being less inflammatory, were allowed to be published. Both solemnly denied any knowledge of a commission from king James, to assassinate the prince of Orange: the one affirming, that he was incapable of granting such an order; and the other asserting, that he, the best of kings, had often rejected proposals of that nature. Lowick owned that he would have joined the king at his landing; but declared, he had never been concerned in any bloody affair during the whole course of his life. On the contrary, he said, he had endeavoured to prevent bloodshed as much as lay in his power; and that he would not kill the most miserable creature in the world, even though such an act would save his life, restore his sovereign, and make him one of the greatest men in England. Rookwood alledged, he was engaged by his immediate commander, whom he thought it was his duty to obey, though the service was much against his judgment and inclination. He professed his abhorrence of treachery even to an enemy. He forgave all mankind, even the prince of Orange, who, as a soldier, he said, ought to have considered his case before he signed his death-warrant: he prayed God would open his eyes, and render him sensible of the blood that was from all parts crying against him, so as he might avert a heavier execution than that which he now ordered to be inflicted. The next person brought to trial was Mr. Cooke, son of Sir Miles Cooke, one of the six clerks in chancery. Porter and Goodman deposed, that he had been present at two meetings in the King's-head-tavern in Leadenhall-street, with the lords Aylebury and Montgomery, Sir William Perkins, Sir John Fenwick, Sir John Friend, Charnock, and Porter. The evidence of Goodman was invalidated by the testimony of the landlord and two drawers belonging to the tavern, who swore, that Goodman was not there while the noblemen were present. The prisoner himself solemnly protested that he was ever averse to the introduction of foreign forces: that he did not so much as hear of the intended invasion, until it became the common topic of conversation: and, that he had never seen Goodman at the King's-head. He declared his intention of receiving the blessed sacrament, and wished he might perish in the instant, if he now spoke untruth. No respect was paid to these asseverations. The solicitor-general Hawles, and the lord-chief-justice Treby, treated him with great severity in the prosecution and charge to the jury, by whom he was capitally convicted.

convicted. After his condemnation the court-agents tampered with him to make further discoveries; and after his fate had been protracted by divers short reprieves, he was sent into banishment. From the whole tenour of these discoveries and proceedings, it appears, that James had actually meditated an invasion: that his partisans in England had made preparations for joining him at his arrival: that a few desperadoes of that faction had concerted a scheme against the life of king William: that in prosecuting the conspirators the court had countenanced informers, the judges had strained the law, wrested circumstances, and even deviated from the function of their office, to convict the prisoners: in a word, that the administration had used the same arbitrary and unfair practices against those unhappy people, which they themselves had in the late reigns numbered among the grievances of the kingdom.

§ XXIII. The warmth, however, manifested on this occasion, may have been owing to national resentment of the purposed invasion. Certain it is, the two houses of parliament, and the people in general, were animated with extraordinary indignation against France at this juncture. The lords besought his majesty, in a solemn address, to appoint a day of thanksgiving to almighty God, for having defeated the barbarous purpose of his enemies; and this was observed with uncommon zeal and devotion. Admiral Russel leaving a squadron for observation on the French coast, returned to the Downs; but, Sir Cloudesley Shovel being properly prepared for the expedition, subjected Calais to another bombardment, by which the town was set on fire in different parts, and the inhabitants were overwhelmed with consternation. The generals of the allied army in Flanders resolved to make some immediate retaliation upon the French for their unmanly design upon the life of king William, as they took it for granted that Lewis was accessory to the scheme of assassination. That monarch, on the supposition that a powerful diversion would be made by the descent on England, had established a vast magazine at Givet, designing, when the allies should be enfeebled by the absence of the British troops, to strike some stroke of importance early in the campaign. On this the confederates now determined to wreak their vengeance. In the beginning of March the earl of Athlone and monsieur de Coehorn, with the concurrence of the duke of Holstein-Ploen, who commanded the allies, sent a strong detachment of horse, draughted from Brussels and the neighbouring garrisons, to amuse the enemy on the side of Charleroy; while they assembled forty squadrons, thirty battalions, with fifteen pieces of cannon, and six mortars, in the territory of Namur. Athlone with part of this body invested Dinant, while Coehorn with the remainder advanced to Givet. He forthwith began to batter and bombard the place, which in three hours was on fire, and by four in the afternoon wholly destroyed, with the great magazine it contained. Then the two generals joining their forces, returned to Namur without interruption. Hitherto the republic of Venice had deferred acknowledging king William; but now they sent an extraordinary embassy for that purpose, consisting of signiors Soranzo and Venier, who arrived in London, and on the first day of May had a public audience. The king on this occasion knighted Soranzo as the senior ambassador, and presented him with the sword, according to custom. On that day too, William declared in council, that he had appointed the same regency which had governed the kingdom during his last absence; and embarking on the seventh at Margate, arrived at Orange-Polder

Polder in the evening, under convoy of vice-admiral Aylmer, who had been ordered to attend with a squadron, as the famous Du Bart still continued at Dunkirk, and some attempt of importance was apprehended from his enterprising genius *.

§ XXXIV. The French had taken the field before the allied army could be assembled; but no transaction of consequence distinguished this campaign, either upon the Rhine or in Flanders. The scheme of Lewis was still defensive on the side of the Netherlands, while the active plans of king William were defeated by want of money. All the funds for this year proved defective; the land-bank failed, and the national bank sustained a rude shock in its credit. The loss of the nation upon the recoinage amounted to two millions, two hundred thousand pounds: and though the different mints were employed without interruption, they could not for some months supply the circulation, especially as great part of the new money was kept up by those who received it in payment, or disposed of, at an unreasonable advantage. The French king having exhausted the wealth and patience of his subjects, and greatly diminished their number in the course of this war, began to be diffident of his arms, and employed all the arts of private negotiation. While his minister D'Avauux pressed the king of Sweden to offer his mediation, he sent Callieres to Holland with proposals for settling the preliminaries of a treaty. He took it for granted, that as the Dutch were a trading people, whose commerce had greatly suffered in the war, they could not be averse to a pacification; and he instructed his emissaries to tamper with the malcontents of the republic, especially with the remains of the Louvestein faction, which had always opposed the schemes of the stadtholder. Callieres met with a favourable reception from the states, which began to treat with him about the preliminaries, though not without the consent and concurrence of king William and the rest of the allies. Lewis, with a view to quicken the effect of this negotiation, pursued offensive measures in Catalonia, where his general, the duke de Vendome attacked and worsted the Spaniards in their camp near Ostalric, tho' the action was not decisive; for he was obliged to retreat, after having made vigorous efforts against their intrenchments. On the twentieth day of June the marechal de Lorges passed the Rhine at Philipsburgh, and encamped within a league of Eppingen, where the Imperial troops were obliged to intrench themselves, under the command of the prince of Baden, as they were not yet joined by the auxiliary forces. The French general, after having faced him about a month, thought proper to repass the river. Then he detached a body of horse to Flanders, and cantoned the rest of his troops at Spire, Franckendal, Worms, and Ostofen. On the last day of August the prince of Baden retaliated the insult, by passing the Rhine at Mentz and Cocksheim. On the tenth he was joined by general Thungen, who commanded a separate body, together with the militia of Suabia and Franconia, and advanced to the camp of the enemy, who had reassembled, and were posted in such a manner, that he would not hazard an attack. Hav-

* Some promotions were made before the king left England. George Hamilton, third son of the duke of that name, was, for his military services in Ireland and Flanders, created earl of Orkney. Sir John Lowther was ennobled, by

the title of baron Lowther, and viscount Lonsdale; Sir John Thompson made baron of Havesham, and the celebrated John Locke appointed one of the commissioners of the trade and plantations.

ing therefore cannonaded them for some days, scoured the adjacent country by detached parties, and taken the little castle of Wiezengen, he repassed the river at Worms on the seventh day of October: the French likewise crossed at Philipburgh, in hope of surprising general Thungen, who had taken post in the neighbourhood of Strasbourg; but, he retired to Eppingen before their arrival, and in a little time both armies were distributed in winter-quarters. Peter, the czar of Muscovy, carried on the siege of Azoph with such vigour, that the garrison was obliged to capitulate, after the Russians had defeated a great convoy sent to its relief. The court of Vienna forthwith engaged in an alliance with the Muscovite emperor; but, they did not exert themselves in taking advantage of the disaster which the Turks had undergone. The Imperial army, commanded by the elector of Saxony, continued inactive on the river Marosch till the nineteenth day of July, then they made a feint of attacking Temiswaer; but, they marched towards Betzkerch, in their route to Belgrade, on receiving advice that the grand signor intended to besiege Titul. On the twenty-first day of August the two armies were in sight of each other. The Turkish horse attacked the Imperialists in a plain near the river Begue; but were repulsed. The Germans next day made a show of retreating, in hope of drawing the enemy from their intrenchments. The stratagem succeeded. On the twenty-sixth the Turkish army was in motion; a detachment of the Imperialists attacked them in flank as they marched through a wood. A very desperate action ensued, in which the generals Heusler and Poland, with many other gallant officers, lost their lives. At length, the Ottoman horse were routed; but the Germans were so roughly handled, that on the second day after the engagement they retreated at midnight, and the Turks remained quiet in their intrenchments.

§ XXXV. In Piedmont the face of affairs underwent a strange alteration. The duke of Savoy, who had for some time been engaged in a secret negotiation with France, at length embraced the offers of that crown, and privately signed a separate treaty of peace at Loretto, to which place he repaired on a pretended pilgrimage. The French king engaged to present him with four millions of livres, by way of reparation for the damage he had sustained; to assist him with a certain number of auxiliaries against all his enemies, and to effect a marriage between the duke of Burgundy and the princess of Piedmont, as soon as the parties should be marriageable. The treaty was guaranteed by the pope and the Venetians, who were extremely desirous of seeing the Germans driven out of Italy. King William being apprized of this negotiation, communicated the intelligence to the earl of Galway, his ambassador at Turin, who expostulated with the duke upon his defection; but, he persisted in denying any such correspondence, until the advance of the French army enabled him to avow it, without fearing the resentment of the allies whom he had abandoned. Catinat marched into the plains of Turin, at the head of fifty thousand men; an army greatly superior to that of the confederates. Then he imparted to the ministers of the allies the proposals which France had made, represented the superior strength of her army, the danger to which he was exposed, and finally his inclination to embrace her offers. On the twelfth of July a truce was concluded for a month, and afterwards prolonged till the fifteenth of September. He wrote to all the powers engaged in the confederacy, except king William, expatiating

expatiating on the same topics, and soliciting their consent. Tho' each in particular refused to concur, he on the twenty-third day of August signed the treaty in public, which he had before concluded in private. The emperor was no sooner informed of his design, than he took every step which he thought could divert him from his purpose. He sent the count Mansfeldt to Turin, with proposals for a match between the king of the Romans and the prince of Savoy, as well as with offers to augment his forces and his subsidy; but the duke had already settled his terms with France, from which he would not recede. Prince Eugene, though his kinsman, expressed great indignation at his conduct. The young prince de Commercy was so provoked at his defection, that he challenged him to single combat, and the duke accepted of his challenge; but, the quarrel was compromised by the intervention of friends, and they parted in an amicable manner. He had concealed the treaty until he should receive the remaining part of the subsidies due to him from the confederates. A considerable sum had been remitted from England to Genoa for his use; but, lord Galway no sooner received intimation of his new engagement, than he put a stop to the payment of this money, which he employed in the Milaneze for the subsistence of those troops that were in the British service. King William was encamped at Gemblours when the duke's envoy notified the separate peace which his master had concluded with the king of France. Though he was extremely chagrined at the information, he dissembled his anger, and listened to the minister without the least emotion. One of the conditions of this treaty was, That within a limited time the allies should evacuate the duke's dominions, otherwise they should be expelled by the joint-forces of France and Savoy. A neutrality was offered to the confederates; and, this being rejected, the contracting powers resolved to attack the Milaneze. Accordingly, when the truce expired, the duke, as generalissimo of the French king, entered that dutchy, and undertook the siege of Valentia; so that, in one campaign, he commanded two contending armies. The garrison of Valentia consisting of seven thousand men, Germans, Spaniards, and French protestants, made an obstinate defence; and the duke of Savoy prosecuted the siege with uncommon impetuosity. But, after the trenches had been open for thirteen days, a courier arrived from Madrid with an account of his catholic majesty's having agreed to the neutrality for Italy. This agreement imported, That there should be a suspension of arms until a general peace could be effected; and, That the Imperial and French troops should return to their respective countries. Christendom had well nigh been embroiled anew by the death of John Sobieski king of Poland, who died at the age of seventy, in the course of this summer, after having survived his faculties and reputation. As the crown was elective, a competition arose for the succession. The kingdom was divided by factions; and the different powers of Europe interested themselves warmly in the contention.

§ XXXVI. Nothing of consequence had been lately achieved by the naval force of England. When the conspiracy was first discovered, Sir George Rooke had received orders to return from Cadiz; and he arrived in the latter end of April. While he took his place at the board of admiralty, lord Berkeley succeeded to the command of the fleet; and in the month of June set sail towards Ushant, in order to insult the coast of France. He pillaged and burned the villages on the islands Grouais, Houat, and Heydic; made prize of about
twenty

twenty vessels; bombarded St. Martin's on the isle of Rhée, and the town of Olonne, which was set on fire in fifteen different places with the shells and carcasses. Though these appear to have been enterprizes of small import, they certainly kept the whole coast of France in perpetual alarm. The ministry of that kingdom were so much afraid of invasion, that between Brest and Gotlet they ordered above one hundred batteries to be erected; and above sixty thousand men were continually in arms for the defence of the maritime places. In the month of May rear-admiral Benbow sailed with a small squadron, in order to block up Du Bart in the harbour of Dunkirk; but, that famous adventurer found means to escape in a fog, and steering to the eastward, attacked the Dutch fleet in the Baltick, under a convoy of five frigates. These last he took, together with half the number of the trading ships; but, falling in with the outward-bound fleet, convoyed by thirteen ships of the line, he was obliged to burn four of the frigates, turn the fifth adrift, and part with all his prizes but fifteen, which he carried into Dunkirk.

§ XXXVII. The parliament of Scotland met on the eighth day of September; and lord Murray, secretary of state, now earl of Tullibardine, presided as king's commissioner. Though that kingdom was exhausted by the war, and two successive bad harvests, which had driven a great number of the inhabitants into Ireland, there was no opposition to the court-measures. The members of parliament signed an association like that of England. They granted a supply of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds for maintaining their forces by sea and land. They passed an act for securing their religion, lives, and properties, in case his majesty should come to an untimely death. By another, they obliged all persons in public trust to sign the association; and then the parliament was adjourned to the eighth day of December. The disturbances of Ireland seemed now to be intirely appeased. Lord Capel dying in May, the council, by virtue of an act passed in the reign of Henry VIII. elected the chancellor Sir Charles Porter to be lord justice and chief governor of that kingdom, until his majesty's pleasure should be known. The parliament met in June: the commons expelled Mr. Sanderfon, the only member of that house who had refused to sign the association, and adjourned to the fourth day of August. By that time Sir Charles Porter, and the earls of Monrath and Drogheda, were appointed lords-justices, and signified the king's pleasure that they should adjourn. In the beginning of December the chancellor died of an apoplexy.

§ XXXVIII. King William being tired of an inactive campaign, left the army under the command of the elector of Bavaria, and, about the latter end of August, repaired to his palace at Loo, where he enjoyed his favourite exercise of stag-hunting. He visited the court of Brandenburg at Cleves; conferred with the states of Holland at the Hague; and, embarking for England, landed at Margate on the sixth day of October. The domestic oeconomy of the nation was extremely perplexed at this juncture, from the sinking of public credit, and the stagnation that necessarily attended a recoinage; grievances which were with difficulty removed by the clear apprehension, the enterprising genius, the unshaken fortitude, of Mr. Montague, chancellor of the exchequer, operating upon a national spirit of adventure, which the monied-interest had produced. The king opened the session of parliament on the twentieth day

day of October, with a speech, importing, That overtures had been made for a negotiation; but that the best way of treating with France would be sword in hand. He therefore desired they would be expeditious in raising the supplies for the service of the ensuing year, as well as for making good the funds already granted. He declared, that the civil list could not be supported without their assistance. He recommended the miserable condition of the French protestants to their compassion. He desired they would contrive the best expedients for the recovery of the national credit; and observed, that unanimity and dispatch were now more than ever necessary for the honour, safety, and advantage of England. The commons having taken this speech into consideration, resolved, That they would support his majesty and his government, and assist him in the prosecution of the war: that the standard of gold and silver should not be altered: and, That they would make good all parliamentary funds. Then they presented an address, in a very spirited strain, declaring that, notwithstanding the blood and treasure of which the nation had been drained, the commons of England would not be diverted from their firm resolutions of obtaining by war a safe and honourable peace. They therefore renewed their assurances, that they would support his majesty against all his enemies at home and abroad. The house of lords delivered another to the same purpose, declaring, that they would never be wanting or backward on their parts, in what might be necessary to his majesty's honour, the good of his kingdoms, and the quiet of Christendom. The commons, in the first transports of their zeal, ordered two seditious pamphlets to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. They deliberated upon the estimates, and granted above six millions for the service of the ensuing year. They resolved, that a supply should be granted for making good the deficiency of parliamentary funds; and appropriated several duties for this purpose.

§ XXXIX. With respect to the coin, they brought in a bill, repealing an act for taking off the obligation and encouragement of coining guineas for a certain time, and for importing and coining guineas and half-guineas, as the extravagant price of those coins which occasioned this act, was now fallen. They passed a second bill for remedying the ill state of the coin; and a third, explaining an act in the preceding session, for laying duties on low wines and spirits of the first extraction. In order to raise the supplies of the year, they resolved to tax all persons according to the true value of their real and personal estates, their stock upon land and in trade, their income by offices, pensions, and professions. A duty of one penny per week for one year, was layed upon all persons not receiving alms. A further imposition of one farthing in the pound per week, was fixed upon all servants receiving four pounds per annum, as wages, and upwards, to eight pounds a-year inclusive. Those who received from eight to sixteen pounds, were taxed at one half-penny per pound. An aid of three shillings in the pound for one year was layed upon all lands, tenements, and hereditaments, according to their true value. Without specifying the particulars of those impositions, we shall only observe, that in the general charge, the commons did not exempt one member of the commonwealth that could be supposed able to bear any part of the burthen. Provision was made, that hammered money should be received in payment of these duties, at the rate of five shillings and eight pence per ounce. All the deficiencies on annuities and monies

nies borrowed on the credit of the exchequer, were transferred to this aid. The treasury was enabled to borrow a million and half at eight per cent. and to circulate exchequer-bills to the amount of as much more. To cancel these debts, the surplus of all the supplies, except the three-shilling-aid, was appropriated. The commons voted one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds for making good the deficiency in recoinage the hammered money, and the recompence for bringing in plate to the mint. This sum was raised by a tax or duty upon wrought-plate, paper, pasteboard, velum, and parchment, made or imported. Taking into consideration the services, and the present languishing state of the bank, whose notes were at twenty per cent. discount, they resolved, That it should be enlarged by new subscriptions, made by four-fifths in tallies struck on parliamentary funds, and one-fifth in bank-bills or notes: That effectual provision should be made by parliament, for paying the principal of all such tallies as should be subscribed into the bank, out of the funds agreed to be continued: That an interest of eight per cent. should be allowed on all such tallies: and, That the continuance of the bank should be prolonged to the first day of August, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ten: That all assignments of orders on tallies subscribed into the bank, should be registered in the exchequer: That, before the day should be fixed for the beginning of the new subscriptions, the old should be made one hundred per cent. and what might exceed that value should be divided among the old members: That all the interest due on those tallies which might be subscribed into the bank-stock, at the time appointed for subscriptions, to the end of the last preceding quarter on each tally, should be allowed as principal: That liberty should be given by parliament to enlarge the number of bank-bills, to the value of the sum that should be so subscribed, over and above the twelve hundred thousand pounds; provided they should be obliged to answer such bills and demands, and in default thereof, be answered by the exchequer out of the first money due to them: That no other bank should be erected or allowed by act of parliament, during the continuance of the bank of England: That this should be exempted from all tax or imposition: That no act of the corporation should forfeit the particular interest of any person concerned therein: That provision should be made to prevent the officers of the exchequer, and all other officers and receivers of the revenue, from diverting, delaying, or obstructing the course of payments to the bank: That care should be taken to prevent the altering, counterfeiting, or forging any bank-bills or notes: That the estate and interest of each member in the stock of the corporation should be made a personal estate: That no contract made for any bank-stock to be bought or sold, should be valued in law or equity, unless actually registered in the bank-books within seven days, and actually transferred within fourteen days after the contract should be made. A bill upon these resolutions was brought in, under the direction of the chancellor of the exchequer: it related to the continuation of tonnage and poundage, upon wine, vinegar, and tobacco: and it comprehended a clause for laying an additional duty upon salt, for two years and three quarters. All the several branches constituted a general fund, since known by the name of the General mortgage, without prejudice to their former appropriations. The bill also provided, That the tallies should bear eight per cent. interest: That from the tenth of June for five years, they should bear no more than six per cent. interest: and, That no premium or discount upon them should be taken,

taken. In case of the general fund's proving insufficient to pay the whole interest, it was provided, That every proprietor should receive his proportion of the product, and the deficiency be made good from the next aid; but, should the fund produce more than the interest, the surplus was destined to operate as a sinking fund for the discharge of the principal. In order to make up a deficiency of above eight hundred thousand pounds, occasioned by the failure of the land-bank, additional duties were layed upon leather: the time was enlarged for persons to come in and purchase the annuities payable by several former acts, and to obtain more certain interest in such annuities.

§ XL. Never were more vigorous measures taken to support the credit of the government; and never was the government served by such a set of enterprising undertakers. The commons having received a message from the king touching the condition of the civil list, resolved, That a sum not exceeding five hundred and fifteen thousand pounds should be granted for the support of the civil list for the ensuing year, to be raised by a malt tax and additional duties upon mum, sweets, cyder, and perry. They likewise resolved, That an additional aid of one shilling in the pound should be layed on land, as an equivalent for the duty of ten per cent. upon mixed goods. Provision was made for raising one million four hundred thousand pounds by a lottery. The treasury was impowered to issue an additional number of exchequer-bills to the amount of twelve hundred thousand pounds, every hundred pounds bearing interest at the rate of five pence a day, and ten per cent. for circulation; and finally, in order to liquidate the transport-debt, which the funds established for that purpose had not been sufficient to defray, a money-bill was brought in to oblige pedlars and hawkers to take out licences, and pay for them at certain stated prices. One cannot without astonishment reflect upon the prodigious efforts that were made upon this occasion, or consider without indignation the enormous fortunes that were raised up by usurers and extortioners from these distresses of their country. The nation did not seem to know its own strength, until it was put to this extraordinary trial; and the experiment of mortgaging funds succeeded so well, that later ministers have proceeded in the same system, imposing burthen upon burthen, as if they thought the sinews of the nation could never be overstrained.

§ XLI. The public credit being thus bolstered up by the singular address of Mr. Montague, and the bills passed for the supplies of the ensuing year, the attention of the commons was transferred to the case of Sir John Fenwick, who had been apprehended in the month of June at New-Romney, in his way to France. He had, when taken, written a letter to his lady by one Webber, who accompanied him; but, this man being seized, the letter was found, containing such a confession as plainly evinced him guilty. He then entered into a treaty with the court for turning evidence, and delivered a long information in writing, which was sent abroad to his majesty. He made no discoveries that could injure any of the Jacobites, who, by his account and other concurring testimonies, appeared to be divided into two parties, known by the names of Compounders and Noncompounders. The first, headed by the earl of Middleton, insisted upon receiving security from king James, that the religion and liberties of England should be preserved: whereas, the other party, at the head of which was the earl of Melfort, resolved to bring him in without conditions, relying upon his

own honour and generosity. King William having sent over an order for bringing Fenwick to trial, unless he should make more material discoveries, the prisoner, with a view to amuse the ministry, until he could take other measures for his own safety, accused the earls of Shrewsbury, Marlborough, and Bath, the lord Godolphin, and admiral Russel, of having made their peace with king James, and engaged to act for his interest. Mean while his lady and relations tampered with the two witnesses, Porter and Goodman. The first of these discovered those practices to the government; and one Clancey, who acted as agent for lady Fenwick, was tried, convicted of subornation, fined, and set in the pillory; but, they had succeeded better in their attempts upon Goodman, who disappeared: so that one witness only remained, and Fenwick began to think his life was out of danger. Admiral Russel acquainted the house of commons, that he and several persons of quality had been reflected upon in some informations of Sir John Fenwick; he therefore desired, that he might have an opportunity to justify his own character. Mr. secretary Trumbull produced the papers, which having been read, the commons ordered, That Sir John Fenwick should be brought to the bar of the house. There he was exhorted by the speaker to make an ample discovery; which, however, he declined, without having first received some security that what he might say should not prejudice himself. He was ordered to withdraw, until they should have deliberated on his request. Then he was called in again, and the keeper told him, he might deserve the favour of the house by making a full discovery. He desired he might be indulged with a little time to recollect himself, and promised to obey the command of the house. This favour being denied, he again insisted upon having security; which they refusing to grant, he chose to be silent, and was dismissed from the bar. The house voted, That his informations reflecting upon the fidelity of several noblemen, members of the house, and others, upon hearsay, were false and scandalous, contrived to undermine the government, and create jealousies between the king and his subjects, in order to stifle the conspiracy.

§ XLII. A motion being made, for leave to bring in a bill to attain him of high-treason, a warm debate ensued, and the question being put, was carried in the affirmative by a great majority. He was furnished with a copy of the bill, and allowed the use of pen, ink, paper, and counsel. When he presented a petition, praying, that his counsel might be heard against passing the bill, they made an order, that his counsel should be allowed to make his defence at the bar of the house: so that he was surprised into an irregular trial, instead of being indulged with an opportunity of offering objections to their passing the bill of attainder. He was accordingly brought to the bar of the house; and the bill being read in his hearing, the speaker called upon the king's counsel to open the evidence. The prisoner's counsel objected to their proceeding to trial, alledging, that their client had not received the least notice of their purpose, and therefore could not be prepared for his defence; but, that they came to offer their reasons against the bill. The house, after a long debate resolved, That he should be allowed further time to produce witnesses in his defence: that the counsel for the king should likewise be allowed to produce evidence to prove the treasons of which he stood indicted: and, an order was made for his being brought to the bar again in three days. In pursuance of this order he appeared, when the indictment which had been found against him by the grand jury, was produced;

and Porter was examined as evidence. Then the record of Clancey's conviction was read; and one Roe testified, that Dighton, the prisoner's solicitor, had offered him an annuity of one hundred pounds, to discredit the testimony of Goodman. The king's counsel moved, that Goodman's examination, as taken by Mr. Vernon, clerk of the council, might be read. Sir J. Powis and Sir Bartholemew Shower, the prisoner's counsel, warmly opposed this proposal; they affirmed, that a deposition taken when the party affected by it was not present to cross-examine the deposer, could not be admitted in a case of five shillings value: that though the house was not bound by the rules of inferior courts, it was nevertheless bound by the eternal and unalterable rules of justice: that no evidence, according to the rules of law, could be admitted in such a case, but that of living witnesses: and, that the examination of a person who is absent, was never read to supply his testimony. The dispute between the lawyers on this subject, gave rise to a very violent debate among the members of the house. Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Richard Temple, Mr. Harley, Mr. Harcourt, Mr. Manley, Sir Christopher Musgrave, and all the leaders of the Tory-party, argued against the hardship and injustice of admitting this information as an evidence. They demonstrated, that it would be a step contrary to the practice of all courts of judicature, repugnant to the common notions of justice and humanity, diametrically opposite to the last act for regulating trials in cases of high-treason, and of dangerous consequences to the lives and liberties of the people. On the other hand, Lord Cutts, Sir Thomas Littleton, Mr. Montague, Mr. Smith of the treasury, and Trevor the attorney-general, affirmed, that the house was not bound by any form of law whatsoever: that this was an extraordinary case, in which the safety of the government was deeply concerned: that tho' the common law might require two evidences in cases of treason, the house had a power of deviating from those rules in extraordinary cases: that there was no reason to doubt of Sir John Fenwick's being concerned in the conspiracy: that he or his friends had tampered with Porter: and, that there were strong presumptions to believe, the same practices had induced Goodman to abscond. In a word, the Tories, either from party or patriotism, strenuously asserted the cause of liberty and humanity, by those very arguments which had been used against them in the former reigns; while the Whigs, with equal violence and more success, espoused the dictates of arbitrary power and oppression, in the face of their former principles, with which they were now upbraided. At length, the question was put, Whether or not the information of Goodman should be read? and was carried in the affirmative by a majority of seventy-three voices. Then two of the grand-jury who had found the indictment, recited the evidence which had been given to them by Porter and Goodman; lastly, the king's counsel insisted upon producing the record of Cooke's conviction, as he had been tried for the same conspiracy. The prisoner's counsel objected, That if such evidence was admitted, the trial of one person in the same company would be the trial of all; and, it could not be expected that they who came to defend Sir John Fenwick only, should be prepared to answer the charge against Cooke. This article produced another vehement debate among the members; and the Whigs obtained a second victory. The record was read, and the king's counsel proceeded to call on some of the jury who served on Cooke's trial, to affirm, that he had been convicted on Goodman's evidence. Sir Bartholemew Shower said,

he would submit it to the consideration of the house, Whether it was just that the evidence against one person should conclude against another standing at a different bar, in defence of his life? The parties were again ordered to withdraw; and from this point arose a third debate, which ended as the two former, to the disadvantage of the prisoner. The jury being examined, Mr. serjeant Gould moved, that Mr. Vernon might be desired to produce the intercepted letter from Sir John Fenwick to his lady. The prisoner's counsel warmly opposed this motion, insisting upon their proving it to be his hand-writing before it could be used against him; and no further stress was layed on this evidence. When they were called upon to enter on his defence, they pleaded incapacity to deliver matters of such importance after they had been fatigued with twelve hours attendance.

§ XLIII. The house resolved to hear such evidence as the prisoner had to produce that night. His counsel declared, that they had nothing then to produce but the copy of a record; and the second resolution was, That he should be brought up again next day at noon. He accordingly appeared at the bar, and Sir J. Powis proceeded on his defence. He observed, that the bill under consideration affected the lives of the subjects; and such precedents were dangerous: that Sir John Fenwick was forthcoming, in order to be tried by the ordinary methods of justice: that he was actually under process, had pleaded, and was ready to stand trial: that if there was sufficient clear evidence against him, as the king's serjeant had declared, there was no reason for his being deprived of the benefit of such a trial as was the birth-right of every British subject; and if there was a deficiency of legal evidence, he thought this was a very odd reason for the bill. He took notice that even the regicides had the benefit of such a trial: that the last act for regulating trials in cases of treason, proved the great tenderness of the laws which affected the life of the subject: and he expressed his surprize that the very parliament which had passed that law, should enact another for putting a person to death without any trial at all. He admitted that there had been many bills of attainder, but they were generally levelled at outlaws and fugitives; and some of them had been reversed in the sequel, as arbitrary and unjust. He urged, that this bill of attainder did not alledge or say, that Sir John Fenwick was guilty of the treason for which he had been indicted; a circumstance which prevented him from producing witnesses to that and several matters upon which the king's counsel had expatiated. He said, they had introduced evidence to prove circumstances not alledged in the bill, and defective evidence of those that were: that Porter was not examined upon oath: that nothing could be more severe than to pass sentence of death upon a man, corrupt his blood, and confiscate his estate, upon parole evidence; especially of such a wretch, who, by his own confession, had been engaged in a crime of the blackest nature, not a convert to the dictates of conscience, but a coward, shrinking from the danger by which he had been environed, and even now drudging for a pardon. He invalidated the evidence of Goodman's examination. He observed, that the indictment mentioned a conspiracy to call in a foreign power; but, as this conspiracy had not been put in practice, such an agreement was not a sufficient overt-act of treason, according to the opinion of Hawles the solicitor-general, concerned in this very prosecution. So saying, he produced a book of remarks, which that lawyer had published on the cases of

of lord Russel, colonel Sidney, and others who had suffered death in the reign of Charles. This author (said he) takes notice, that a conspiracy or agreement to levy war, is not treason without actually levying war; a sentiment in which he concurred with lord Coke, and lord chief-justice Hales: he concluded with saying, "We know at present on what ground we stand; by the statute of Edward III. we know what treason is; by the two statutes of Edward VI. and the late act, we know what is proof; by the magna charta we know we are to be tried *per legem terræ & per judicium parium*, by the law of the land and the judgment of our peers; but, if bills of attainder come into fashion, we shall neither know what is treason, what is evidence, nor how, nor where we are to be tried." He was seconded by Sir Bartholomew Shower, who spoke with equal energy and elocution; and their arguments were answered by the king's counsel. The prisoner was afterwards, at the desire of admiral Russel, questioned with regard to the imputations he had fixed upon that gentleman and others, from hearsay; but, he desired to be excused on account of the risque he ran while under a double prosecution, if any thing which should escape him might be turned to his prejudice.

§ XLIV. After he was removed from the bar, Mr. Vernon, at the desire of the house, recapitulated the arts and practices of Sir John Fenwick and his friends, to procrastinate the trial. The bill was read a second time; and the speaker asking, If the question should be put for its being committed? the house was immediately kindled into a new flame of contention. Hawles the solicitor, affirmed, that the house in the present case, should act both as judge and jury. Mr. Harcourt said, he knew of no trial for treason but what was confirmed by magna charta, by a jury, the birthright and darling privilege of an Englishman, or *per legem terræ*, which includes impeachments in parliament: that it was a strange trial where the person accused had a chance to be hanged, but none to be saved: that he never heard of a jurymen who was not on his oath, nor of a judge who had not power to examine witnesses upon oath, and who was not impowered to save the innocent as well as to condemn the guilty. Sir Thomas Lyttleton was of opinion, that the parliament ought not to stand upon little niceties and forms of other courts, when the government was at stake. Mr. Howe asserted, that to do a thing of this nature, because the parliament had power to do it, was a strange way of reasoning: that what was justice and equity at Westminster-hall, was justice and equity every where: that one bad precedent in parliament was of worse consequence than an hundred in Westminster-hall, because personal or private injuries did not foreclose the claims of original right; whereas the parliament could ruin the nation beyond redemption, because it could establish tyranny by law. Sir Richard Temple, in arguing against the bill, observed, that the power of parliament is to make any law, but the jurisdiction of parliament is to govern itself by the law: to make a law therefore against all the laws of England was the *ultimum remedium & pessimum*, never to be used but in case of absolute necessity. He affirmed, that by this precedent the house overthrew all the laws of England; first, in condemning a man upon one witness; secondly, in passing an act without any trial. The commons never did nor can assume a jurisdiction of trying any person; they may, for their own information, hear what can be offered; but, it is not a trial where witnesses are not upon oath. All bills of attainder have passed against persons that were

dead

dead or fled, or without the compass of the law: some have been brought in after trials in Westminster-hall; but none of those have been called trials, and they were generally reversed. He denied that the parliament had power to declare any thing treason which was not treason before. When inferior courts were dubious, the case might be brought before the parliament, to judge whether it was treason or felony: but, then they must judge by the laws in being; and this judgment was not in the parliament by bill, but, only in the house of lords. Lord Digby, Mr. Harley, and colonel Granville, spoke to the same purpose. But their arguments and remonstrances had no effect upon the majority, by whom the prisoner was devoted to destruction. The bill was committed, passed, and sent up to the house of lords, where it produced the longest and warmest debates which had been known since the restoration. Bishop Burnet signalized his zeal for the government, by a long speech in favour of the bill, contradicting some of the fundamental maxims which he had formerly avowed in behalf of the liberties of the people. At length, it was carried by a majority of seven voices; and one and forty lords, including eight prelates, entered a protest couched in the strongest terms, against the decision.

§ XLV. When the bill received the royal assent, another act of the like nature passed against Barclay, Holmes, and nine other conspirators who had fled from justice, in case they should not surrender themselves on or before the twenty-fifth day of March next ensuing. Sir John Fenwick solicited the mediation of the lords in his behalf, while his friends implored the royal mercy. The peers gave him to understand, that the success of his suit would depend upon the fullness of his discoveries. He would have previously stipulated for a pardon; and they insisted upon his depending on their favour. He hesitated some time between the fears of infamy and the terrors of death, which last he at length chose to undergo, rather than incur the disgraceful character of an informer. He was complimented with the ax, in consideration of his rank and alliance with the house of Howard, and suffered on Tower-hill with great composure. In the paper which he delivered to the sheriff, he took God to witness, that he knew not of the intended invasion, until it was the common subject of discourse; nor was he engaged in any shape for the service of king James. He thanked those noble and worthy persons who had opposed his attainder in parliament; protested before God, that the information he gave to the ministry, he had received in letters and messages from France; and observed, that he might have expected mercy from the prince of Orange, as he had been instrumental in saving his life, by preventing the execution of a design which had been formed against it; a circumstance which in all probability induced the late conspirators to conceal their purpose of assassination from his knowledge. He professed his loyalty to king James, and prayed heaven for his speedy restoration.

§ XLVI. While Fenwick's affair was in agitation, the earl of Monmouth had set on foot some practices against the duke of Shrewsbury. One Matthew Smith, nephew to Sir William Perkins, had been entertained as a spy by this nobleman, who finding his intelligence of very little use or importance, dismissed him as a troublesome dependant. Then he had recourse to the earl of Monmouth, into whom he infused unfavourable sentiments of the duke; insinuating, that he had made great discoveries, which, from sinister motives were
sup-

suppressed. Monmouth communicated those impressions to the earl of Portland, who insisted Smith as one of his intelligencers. Copies of the letters he had sent to the duke of Shrewsbury were delivered to secretary Trumball, sealed up for the perusal of his majesty at his return from Flanders. When Fenwick mentioned the duke of Shrewsbury in his discoveries, the earl of Monmouth resolved to seize the opportunity of ruining that nobleman. He, by the canal of the dutchess of Norfolk, exhorted lady Fenwick to prevail upon her husband to persist in his accusation, and even dictated a paper of directions. Fenwick rejected the proposal with disdain, as a scandalous contrivance; and Monmouth was so incensed at his refusal, that when the bill of attainder appeared in the house of lords, he spoke in favour of it with peculiar vehemence. Lady Fenwick, provoked at this cruel outrage, prevailed upon her nephew the earl of Carlisle, to move the house, that Sir John might be examined touching any advices that had been sent to him with relation to his discoveries. He gave an account of all the particulars of Monmouth's scheme, which was calculated to ruin the duke of Shrewsbury, by bringing Smith's letters on the carpet. The dutchess of Norfolk and a confidant were interrogated, and confirmed the detection. The house called for Smith's letters, which were produced by Sir William Trumball. The earl of Monmouth was committed to the Tower, and dismissed from all his employments. He was released, however, at the end of the session; and the court made up all his losses in private, lest he should be tempted to join the opposition.

§ XLVII. The Whigs, before they were glutted with the sacrifice of Fenwick, had determined to let loose their vengeance upon Sir George Rooke, who was a leader in the opposite interest. Sir Cloudesley Shovel had been sent with a squadron to look into Brest, where, according to the intelligence which the government had received, the French were employed in preparing for a descent upon England; but this information was false. They were busy in equipping an armament for the West-Indies, under the command of Mr. Pointis, who actually sailed to the coast of New-Spain, and took the city of Carthagene. Rooke had been ordered to intercept the Toulon squadron in its way to Brest; but his endeavours miscarried. The commons, in a committee of the whole house, resolved to inquire why this fleet was not intercepted? Rooke underwent a long examination, and was obliged to produce his journal, orders, and letters. Shovel and Mitchel were likewise examined; but, nothing appearing to the prejudice of the admiral, the house thought proper to desist from their prosecution. After they had determined on the fate of Fenwick, they proceeded to enact several laws for regulating the domestic oeconomy of the nation; and among others, passed an act for the more effectual relief of creditors in cases of escape, and for preventing abuses in prisons and pretended privileged places. Ever since the reformation, certain places in and about the city of London, which had been sanctuaries during the prevalence of the popish religion, afforded asylum to debtors, and were become receptacles of desperate persons, who presumed to set the law at defiance. One of these places, called White-Fryers, was filled with a crew of ruffians, who every day committed acts of violence and outrage; but, this law was so vigorously put in execution, that they were obliged to abandon the district, which was soon filled with more creditable inhabitants. On the sixteenth day of April the king closed the session with a short speech,

Burnet.
Kennet.
Oldmixon.
State Trials.
Tindal.
Ralph.
Lives of the Admirals.

An. Ch. 1697. speech, thanking the parliament for the great supplies they had so chearfully granted; and expressing his satisfaction at the measures they had taken for retrieving the public credit. Before he quitted the kingdom, he ventured to produce upon the scene the earl of Sunderland, who had hitherto prompted his councils behind the curtain. He was now sworn of the privy-council, and gratified with the office of lord-chamberlain, which had been resigned by the earl of Dorset, a nobleman of elegant talents, and invincible indolence, severe and poignant in his writings and remarks upon mankind in general, but humane, good-natured, and generous to excess, in his commerce with individuals.

§ XLVIII. William having made some promotions*, and appointed a regency, embarked on the twenty-sixth day of April for Holland, that he might be at hand to manage the negotiation for a general peace. By this time the preliminaries were settled, between Callieres the French minister, and Mr. Dykvelt in behalf of the states-general, who resolved, in consequence of the concessions made by France, that, in concert with their allies, the mediation of Sweden might be accepted. The emperor and the court of Spain, however, were not satisfied with those concessions; yet, his Imperial majesty declared, he would embrace the proffered mediation, provided the treaty of Westphalia should be re-established; and the king of Sweden would engage to join his troops with those of the allies, in case France should break through this stipulation. This proposal being delivered, the ministers of England and Holland at Vienna, presented a joint-memorial, pressing his Imperial majesty to accept the mediation without reserve, and name a place at which the congress might be opened. The emperor complied with reluctance. On the fourteenth day of February, all the ministers of the allies, except the ambassador of Spain, agreed to the proposal; and next day signified their assent in form to Mr. Lillieroot the Swedish plenipotentiary. Spain demanded, as a preliminary, that France would agree to restore all the places mentioned in a long list, which the minister of that crown presented to the assembly. The emperor proposed, that the congress should be held at Aix-la-Chapelle, or Franckfort, or some other town in Germany. The other allies were more disposed to negotiate in Holland. At length, the French king suggested, that no place would be more proper than a palace belonging to king William, called Newbourg-house, situated between the Hague and Delft, close by the village of Ryswick; and to this proposition the ministers agreed. Those of England were, the earl of Pembroke, a virtuous, learned, and popular nobleman, the lord Villiers, and Sir Joseph Williamson; and France sent Harlay and Crecy to the assistance of Callieres. Lewis was not only tired of the war, on account of the misery in which it had involved his kingdom; but, in desiring a peace he was actuated by another motive. The king of Spain had been for some time in a very ill state of health, and the French monarch had an eye to the succession. This aim could not be accomplished while the confederacy subsisted; therefore he eagerly sought a peace, that he might at once turn his whole power against Spain, as soon as Charles should expire. The emperor harboured the same design upon the Spanish

* Somers was created a baron, and appointed lord-chancellor of England: admiral Russel was dignified with the title of earl of Orford. In February the earl of Aylesbury, who had been com-

mitted on account of the conspiracy, was released upon bail; but, this privilege was denied to lord Montgomery, who had been imprisoned in Newgate on the same account.

crown, and for that reason interested himself in the continuance of the grand alliance. Besides, he foresaw he should in a little time be able to act against France with an augmented force. The czar of Muscovy had engaged to find employment for the Turks and Tartars. He intended to raise the elector of Saxony to the throne of Poland; and he had made some progress in a negotiation with the Circles of the Rhine, for a considerable body of auxiliary troops. The Dutch had no other view but that of securing a barrier in the Netherlands. King William insisted upon the French king's acknowledging his title; and the English nation wished for nothing so much as the end of a ruinous war. On the tenth day of February, Callieres, in the name of his master, agreed to the following preliminaries: That the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen should be the basis of this negotiation: That Straßburg should be restored to the Empire, and Luxemburg to the Spaniards, together with Mons, Charleroy, and all places taken by the French in Catalonia since the treaty of Nimeguen: That Dinant should be ceded to the bishop of Liege, and all reunions since the treaty of Nimeguen, be made void: That the French king should make restitution of Lorraine; and, upon conclusion of the peace, acknowledge the prince of Orange as king of Great-Britain, without condition or reserve. The conferences were interrupted by the death of Charles XI, king of Sweden, who was succeeded by his son Charles, then a minor; but, the queen and five senators, whom the late king had by will appointed administrators of the government, resolved to pursue the mediation, and sent a new commission to Lillienroot for that purpose. The ceremonials being regulated with the consent of all parties, the plenipotentiaries of the emperor delivered their master's demands to the mediator, on the twenty-second day of May, and several German ministers gave in the pretensions of the respective princes whom they represented.

§ XLIX. Mean while, the French king, in the hope of procuring more favourable terms, resolved to make his last effort against the Spaniards in Catalonia and in the Netherlands, and to elevate the prince of Conti to the throne of Poland; an event which would greatly improve the interest of France in Europe. Lewis had got the start of the confederates in Flanders, and sent thither a very numerous army, commanded by Catinat, Villeroy, and Boufflers. The campaign was opened with the siege of Aeth, which was no sooner invested, than king William having recovered of an indisposition, took the field, and had an interview with the duke of Bavaria, who commanded a separate body. He did not think proper to interrupt the enemy in their operations before Aeth, which surrendered in a few days after the trenches were opened; but, contented himself with taking possession of an advantageous camp, where he covered Brussels, which Villeroy and Boufflers had determined to besiege. In Catalonia the duke of Vendome invested Barcelona, in which there was a garrison of ten thousand regular soldiers, besides five thousand burghers, who had voluntarily taken arms on this occasion. The governor of the place was the prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, who had served in Ireland, and been vested with the command of the Imperial troops which were sent into Spain. The French general being reinforced from Provence and Languedoc, carried on his approaches with surprising impetuosity; and was repulsed in several attacks by the valour of the defendants. At length, the enemy surprised and routed the viceroy of Catalonia; and, flushed

with this victory, stormed the outworks, which had been long battered with their cannon. The dispute was very bloody and obstinate; but, the French by dint of numbers made themselves masters of the covered-way and two bastions. There they erected batteries of cannon and mortars, and fired furiously on the town, which, however, the prince of Hesse resolved to defend to the last extremity. The court of Madrid, however, unwilling to see the place intirely ruined, as in all probability it would be restored at the peace, dispatched an order to the prince to capitulate; and he obtained very honourable terms, after having made a glorious defence for nine weeks; in consideration of which he was appointed viceroy of the province. France was no sooner in possession of this important place, than the Spaniards became as eager for peace as they had been averse to a negotiation.

§ L. Their impatience was not a little inflamed by the success of Pointis in America, where he took Carthagene, in which he found a booty amounting to eight millions of crowns. Having ruined the fortifications of the place, and received advice, that an English squadron under admiral Nevil had arrived in the West-Indies, with a design to attack him in his return, he bore away for the straits of Bahama. On the twenty-second day of May he fell in with the English fleet, and one of his fly-boats was taken; but, such was his dexterity, or good fortune, that he escaped, after having been pursued five days, during which the English and Dutch rear-admirals sprang their foretopmasts, and received other damage, so as that they could not proceed. Then Nevil steered to Carthagene, which he found quite abandoned by the inhabitants, who, after the departure of Pointis, had been rifled a second time by the buccaneers, on pretence that they had been defrauded of their share of the plunder. This was really the case: they had in a great measure contributed to the success of Pointis, and were very ill rewarded. In a few days the English admiral discovered eight sail of their ships, two of which were forced on shore and destroyed, two taken, and the rest escaped. Then he directed his course to Jamaica, and, by the advice of the governor, Sir William Beeston, detached rear-admiral Meeze with some ships and forces to attack Petit-Guavas, which he accordingly surprised, burned, and reduced to ashes. After this small expedition Nevil proceeded to the Havannah, on purpose to take the galleons under his convoy for Europe, according to the instructions he had received from the king; but, the governor of the place, and the general of the plate-fleet, suspecting such an offer, would neither suffer him to enter the harbour, nor put the galleons under his protection. He now sailed through the gulph of Florida to Virginia, where he died of chagrin; and the command of the fleet devolved to captain Dilkes, who arrived in England on the twenty-fourth day of October, with a shattered squadron half-manned, to the unspeakable mortification of the people, who flattered themselves with the hopes of wealth and glory from this expedition. Pointis steering to the banks of Newfoundland, entered the bay of Conception, at a time when a stout English squadron commanded by commodore Norris lay at anchor in the bay of St. John's. This officer being informed of the arrival of a French fleet, at first concluded, that it was the squadron of Mr. Nesmond come to attack them, and exerted his utmost endeavours to put the place in a posture of defence; but, afterwards understanding, that it was Pointis returning with the spoil of Carthagene, he called a council of war, and proposed to go immediately
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in quest of the enemy. He was, however, over-ruled by a majority, who gave it as their opinion, that they should remain where they were, without running unnecessary hazards. By virtue of this scandalous determination, Pointis was permitted to proceed on his voyage to Europe; but, he had not yet escaped every danger. On the fourteenth day of August he fell in with a squadron under the command of captain Harlow, by whom he was boldly engaged till night parted the combatants. He was pursued next day; but his ships sailing better than those of Harlow, he accomplished his escape, and on the morrow entered the harbour of Brest. That his ships which were foul should outfall the English squadron which had just put to sea, was a mystery which the people of England could not explain. They complained of having been betrayed through the whole course of the West-Indian expedition. The king owned he did not understand marine affairs, the intire conduct of which he abandoned to Russel, who became proud, arbitrary, and unpopular; and was supposed to be betrayed by his dependants. Certain it is, the service was greatly obstructed by faction among the officers, which with respect to the nation had all the effects of treachery and misconduct.

§ LI. The success of the French in Catalonia, Flanders, and the West-Indies, was ballanced by their disappointment in Poland. Lewis, encouraged by the remonstrances of the abbé de Polignac, who managed the affairs of France in that kingdom, resolved to support the prince of Conti as a candidate for the crown, and remitted great sums of money, which were distributed among the Polish nobility. The emperor had at first declared for the son of the late king; but, finding the French party too strong for this competitor, he entered into a negotiation with the elector of Saxony, who agreed to change his religion, to distribute eight millions of florins among the Poles, to confirm their privileges, and advance with his troops to the frontiers of that kingdom. Then he declared himself a candidate, and was publicly espoused by the Imperialists. The duke of Lorraine, the prince of Baden, and Don Livio Odescalchi, nephew to pope Innocent, were likewise competitors; but, finding their interest insufficient, they united their influence with that of the elector, who was proclaimed king of Poland. He forthwith took the oaths required, procured an attestation from the Imperial court of his having changed his religion, and marched with his army to Cracow, where he was crowned with the usual solemnity. Lewis persisted in maintaining the pretensions of the prince of Conti, and equipped a fleet at Dunkirk for his convoy to Dantzick in his way to Poland. But the magistrates of that city, who had declared for the new king, would not suffer his men to land, though they offered to admit himself with a small retinue. He therefore went on shore at Marienburg, where he was met by some chiefs of his own party; but, the new king Augustus acted with such vigilance, that he found it impracticable to form an army: besides, he suspected the fidelity of his own Polish partisans; he therefore refused to part with the treasure he had brought, and in the beginning of winter returned to Dunkirk.

§ LII. The establishment of Augustus on the throne of Poland was in some measure owing to the conduct of Peter the czar of Muscovy, who having formed great designs against the Ottoman-Porte, was very unwilling to see the crown of Poland possessed by a partisan of France, which was in alliance with the grand signor. He therefore interested himself warmly in the dispute, and or-

dered his general to assemble an army on the frontiers of Lithuania, which, by overawing the Poles that were in the interest of the prince of Conti, considerably influenced the election. This extraordinary legislator, who was a strange compound of heroism and barbarity, conscious of the defects in his education, and of the gross ignorance that overspread his dominions, resolved to extend his ideas, and improve his judgment by travelling; and that he might be the less restricted by forms, or interrupted by officious curiosity, he determined to travel in disguise. He was extremely ambitious of becoming a maritime power, and in particular, of maintaining a fleet in the Black-sea; and his immediate aim was to learn the principles of ship-building. He appointed an embassy for Holland, to regulate some points of commerce with the states-general. Having intrusted the care of his dominions to persons in whom he could confide, he disguised himself, and travelled as one of their retinue. He first disclosed himself to the elector of Brandenburg in Prussia, and afterwards to king William, with whom he conferred in private at Utrecht. He engaged himself as a common labourer with a ship-carpenter in Holland, whom he served for some months with wonderful patience and assiduity. He afterwards visited England, where he amused himself chiefly with the same kind of occupation. From thence he set out for Vienna, where receiving advices from his dominions, that his sister was concerned in managing intrigues against his government, he returned suddenly to Moscow, and found the machinations of the conspirators were already baffled by the vigilance and fidelity of the foreigners to whom he had left the care of the administration. His savage nature, however, broke out upon this occasion: he ordered some hundreds to be hanged all round his capital; and a good number were beheaded, he himself with his own hand performing the office of executioner.

§ LIII. The negotiations at Ryfwick proceeded very slowly for some time. The Imperial ministers demanded, that France should make restitution of all the places and dominions she had wrested from the empire since the peace of Munster, whether by force of arms or pretence of right. The Spaniards claimed all that they could demand by virtue of the peace of Nimeguen and the treaty of the Pyrenees. The French affirmed, that if the preliminaries offered by Callieres were accepted, these propositions could not be taken into consideration. The Imperialists persisted in demanding a circumstantial answer, article by article. The Spaniards insisted upon the same manner of proceeding, and called upon the mediator and Dutch ministers to support their pretensions. The plenipotentiaries of France declared, they would not admit any demand or proposition, contrary to the preliminary articles; but, were willing to deliver in a project of peace, in order to shorten the negotiation; and the Spanish ambassadors consented to this expedient. During these transactions, the earl of Portland held a conference with marechal Boufflers near Halle, in sight of the two opposite armies, which was continued in five successive meetings. On the second day of August they retired together to a house in the suburbs of Halle; and mutually signed a paper, in which the principal articles of the peace between France and England were adjusted. Next day king William quitted the camp, and retired to his house at Loo, confident of having taken such measures for a pacification as could not be disappointed. The subject of this field-negotiation is said to have turned upon the interests of king James, which the French monarch promised

promised to abandon; and others suppose, that the first foundation of the partition-treaty was layed in this conference. But, in all probability, William's sole aim was to put an end to an expensive and unsuccessful war, which had rendered him very unpopular in his own dominions, and to obtain from the court of France an acknowledgment of his title, which had since the queen's death become the subject of dispute. He perceived the emperor's backwardness towards a pacification, and foresaw numberless difficulties in discussing such a complication of interests by the common method of treating: he therefore chose such a step as he thought would alarm the jealousy of the allies, and quicken the negotiation at Ryswick. Before the congress was opened, king James had published two manifestos, addressed to the catholic and protestant princes of the confederacy, representing his wrongs, and craving redress; but, his remonstrances being altogether disregarded, he afterwards issued a third declaration, solemnly protesting against all that might or should be negotiated, regulated, or stipulated with the usurper of his realms, as being void of all rightful and lawful authority. On the twentieth day of July the French ambassadors produced their project of a general peace, declaring at the same time, that should it not be accepted before the last day of August, France would not hold herself bound for the conditions she now offered; but Caunitz the emperor's plenipotentiary protested, he would pay no regard to this limitation. On the thirtieth of August, however, he delivered to the mediator an ultimatum, importing, That he adhered to the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen, and accepted of Strasburg with its appurtenances: That he insisted upon the restitution of Lorraine to the prince of that name: and demanded, That the church and chapter of Liege should be re-established in the possession of their incontestable rights. Next day the French plenipotentiaries declared, That the month of August being now expired, all their offers were vacated: That therefore the king of France would reserve Strasburg, and unite it, with its dependencies, to his crown for ever: that in other respects he would adhere to the project, and restore Barcelona to the crown of Spain; but, that these terms must be accepted in twenty days, otherwise he should think himself at liberty to recede. The ministers of the electors and princes of the empire joined in a written remonstrance to the Spanish plenipotentiaries, representing the inconveniencies and dangers that would accrue to the Germanic body from France's being in possession of Luxemburg, and exhorting them in the strongest terms to reject all offers of an equivalent for that province. They likewise presented another to the states-general, requiring them to continue the war according to their engagements, until France should have complied with the preliminaries. No regard, however, was payed to either of these addresses. Then the Imperial ambassadors demanded the good offices of the mediator, on certain articles; but all that he could obtain of France was, that the term for adjusting the peace between her and the emperor should be prolonged till the first day of November, and in the mean time an armistice be punctually observed. Yet even these concessions were made, on condition that the treaty with England, Spain, and Holland, should be signed on that day, even though the emperor and empire should not concur.

§ LIV. Accordingly, on the twentieth day of September, the articles were subscribed by the Dutch, English, Spanish, and French ambassadors, while the Imperial

Imperial ministers protested against the transaction, observing, this was the second time that a separate peace had been concluded with France; and that the states of the empire, who had been imposed upon through their own credulity, would not for the future be so easily persuaded to engage in confederacies. In certain preparatory articles settled between England and France, king William promised to pay a yearly pension to queen Mary D'Este, of fifty thousand pounds, or such sum as should be established for that purpose by act of parliament. The treaty itself consisted of seventeen articles. The French king engaged, that he would not disturb or disquiet the king of Great-Britain in the possession of his realms or government; nor assist his enemies, nor favour conspiracies against his person. This obligation was reciprocal. A free commerce was restored. Commissaries were appointed to meet at London, and settle the pretensions of each crown to Hudson's bay, taken by the French during the late peace, and retaken by the English in the course of the war; and to regulate the limits of places to be restored, as well as the exchanges to be made. It was likewise stipulated, That, in case of a rupture, six months should be allowed to the subjects of each power for removing their effects: That the separate article of the treaty of Nimeguen, relating to the principality of Orange, should be entirely executed: and, That the ratifications should be exchanged in three weeks from the day of signing. The treaty between France and Holland imported a general armistice, a perpetual amity, a mutual restitution, a reciprocal renunciation of all pretensions upon each other, a confirmation of the peace with Savoy, a re-establishment of the treaty concluded between France and Brandenburg, in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-nine, a comprehension of Sweden, and all those powers that should be named before the ratification, or in six months after the conclusion of the treaty. Besides, the Dutch ministers concluded a treaty of commerce with France, which was immediately put in execution. Spain had great reason to be satisfied with the pacification, by which she recovered Gironne, Roses, Barcelona, Luxemburg, Charleroy, Mons, Courtray, and all the towns, fortresses, and territories taken by the French in the province of Luxemburg, Namur, Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault, except eighty-two towns and villages claimed by the French: this dispute was left to the decision of commissaries; or, in case they should not agree, to the determination of the states-general. A remonstrance in favour of the French protestant refugees in England, Holland, and Germany, was delivered by the earl of Pembroke to the mediator, in the name of the protestant allies, on the day that preceded the conclusion of the treaty; but, the French plenipotentiaries declared, in the name of their master, that as he did not pretend to prescribe rules to king William about the English subjects, he expected the same liberty with respect to his own. No other effort was made in behalf of those conscientious exiles: the treaties were ratified, and the peace proclaimed at Paris and London.

§ LV. The emperor still held out, and perhaps was encouraged to persevere in his obstinacy by the success of his arms in Hungary, where his general, prince Eugene of Savoy, obtained a complete victory at Zenta over the forces of the grand signor, who commanded his army in person. In this battle, which was fought on the eleventh day of September, the grand vizir, the aga of the janizaries, seven and twenty bashaws, and about thirty thousand men, were killed

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or drowned in the river. Theyſſe; ſix thouſand were wounded or taken, together with all their artillery, tents, baggage, proviſion, and ammunition, the grand ſignor himſelf eſcaping with difficulty: a victory the more glorious and acceptable, as the Turks had a great ſuperiority in point of number, and as the Imperialiſts did not loſe a thouſand men during the whole action. The emperor perceiving that the event of this battle had no effect in retarding the treaty, thought proper to make uſe of the armiſtice, and continue the negotiation after the forementioned treaties had been ſigned. This was likewiſe the caſe with the princes of the empire; though thoſe of the proteſtant perſuaſion complained, that their intereſt was neglected. In one of the articles of the treaty it was ſtipulated, That in the places to be reſtored by France, the roman catholic religion ſhould continue as it had been re-eſtabliſhed. The ambaffadors of the proteſtant princes joined in a remonſtrance, demanding, That the lutheran religion ſhould be reſtored in thoſe places where it had formerly prevailed; but, this demand was rejected, as being equally diſagreeable to France and the emperor. Then they reſuſed to ſign the treaty, which was now concluded between France, the emperor, and the catholic princes of the empire. By this pacification Treves, the Palatinate, and Lorraine, were reſtored to their reſpective owners. The counties of Spanheim and Veldentz, together with the dutchy of Deux-Ponts, were ceded to the king of Sweden. Francis-Lewis Palatine was confirmed in the electorate of Cologne; and the cardinal of Furſtemberg reſtored to all his rights and benefices. The claims of the dutcheſs of Orleans upon the Palatinate, were referred to the arbitration of France and the emperor; and in the mean time the elector palatine agreed to ſupply her highneſs with an annuity of one hundred thouſand florins. The miniſters of the proteſtant princes publiſhed a formal declaration againſt the clause relating to religion, and afterwards ſolemnly proteſted againſt the manner in which the negotiation had been conducted. Such was the iſſue of a long and bloody war, which had drained England of her wealth and people, almoſt intirely ruined her commerce, debauched her morals, by encouraging venality and corruption, and entailed upon her the curſe of foreign connexions, as well as a national debt, which has gradually increaſed to an intolerable burthen. After all, the blood and treaſure which had been expended, William's ambition and revenge remained unſatisfied. Nevertheleſs, he reaped the ſolid advantage of ſeeing himſelf firmly eſtabliſhed on the Engliſh throne; and the confederacy, though not ſucceſſful in every inſtance, accompliſhed their great aim of putting a ſtop to the encroachments of the French monarch. They mortified his vanity, they humbled his pride and arrogance, and compelled him to diſgorge the acquiſitions which, like a robber he had made, in violation of public faith, juſtice, and humanity. Had the allies been true to one another, had they acted from genuine zeal for the common intereſts of mankind, and proſecuted with vigour the plan which was originally concerted, Lewis would in a few campaigns have been reduced to the moſt abject ſtate of diſgrace, deſpondence, and ſubmiſſion; for he was deſtitute of true courage and magnanimity. King William having finiſhed this important tranſaction, returned to England about the middle of November, and was received in London amidſt the acclamations of the people, who now again hailed him as their deliverer from a war, by the continuance of which they muſt have been infallibly beggared.

CHAP. VI.

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§ I. **W**HEN the king opened the session of parliament on the third day of December, he told them the war was brought to the end they all proposed, namely, an honourable peace. He gave them to understand there was a considerable debt on account of the fleet and army: that the revenues of the crown had been anticipated: and he expressed his hope, that they would provide for him during his life, in such a manner as would conduce to his own honour and that of the government. He recommended the maintenance of a considerable navy; and gave it as his opinion, that for the present England could not be safe without a standing army. He promised to rectify such corruptions and abuses as might have crept into any part of the administration during the war; and effectually to discourage prophaneness and immorality. Finally, he assured them, that as he had rescued their religion, laws, and liberties, when they were in the extremest danger, so he should place the glory of his reign in preserving and leaving them intire to latest posterity. To this speech the commons replied in an address, by a compliment of congratulation upon the peace, and an assurance, that they would be ever ready to assist and support his majesty, who had confirmed them in the quiet possession of their rights and liberties; and by putting an end to the war fully completed the work of their deliverance. Notwithstanding these appearances of good humour, the majority of the house, and indeed of the whole nation, were equally alarmed and exasperated at a project for maintaining a standing army, which was countenanced at court, and even recommended by the king in his speech to the parliament. William's genius was altogether military. He could not bear the thoughts of being a king without power. He could not without reluctance dismiss those officers who had given so many proofs of their courage and fidelity. He did not think himself safe upon the naked throne in a kingdom that swarmed with malcontents, who had so often conspired against his person and government. He dreaded the ambition and known perfidy of the French king, who still retained a powerful army. He foresaw that a reduction of the forces would lessen his importance both at home and abroad, diminish the dependence upon his government, and disperse those foreigners in whose attachment he chiefly confided. He communicated his sentiments on this subject to his confident the earl of Sunderland, who knew by experience the aversion of the people to a standing army; nevertheless encouraged him with hope of success, on the supposition that the commons would see the difference between an army raised by the king's private authority, and a body of veteran troops maintained by consent of parliament for the security of the kingdom. This was a distinction to which the people payed no regard. All the jealousy of former parliaments seemed to be roused by the bare proposal; and this was inflamed by a national prejudice

against the refugees, in whose favour the king had betrayed repeated marks of partial indulgence. They were submissive, tractable, and wholly dependent upon his will and generosity. The Jacobites failed not to cherish the seeds of dissatisfaction, and reproach the Whigs who countenanced this measure. They branded that party with apostacy from their former principles. They observed, that the very persons who in the late reigns endeavoured to abridge the prerogative, and deprive the king of that share of power which was absolutely necessary to actuate the machine of government, were now become advocates for maintaining a standing army in time of peace; nay, and impudently avowed, that their complaisance to the court in this particular, was owing to their desire of excluding from all share in the administration a faction disaffected to his majesty, which might mislead him into more pernicious measures. The majority of those who really entertained revolution principles, opposed the court, from apprehensions that a standing army once established, would take root and grow into an habitual maxim of government: that, should the people be disarmed, and the sword left in the hands of mercenaries, the liberties of the nation must be entirely at the mercy of him by whom those mercenaries should be commanded. They might overawe elections, dictate to parliaments, and establish a tyranny before the people could take any measures for their own protection. They could not help thinking it was possible to form a militia, that with the concurrence of a fleet might effectually protect the kingdom from the dangers of an invasion. They firmly believed, that a militia might be regularly trained to arms, so as to acquire the dexterity of professed soldiers, and they did not doubt they would surpass those hirelings in courage, considering that they would be animated by every concurring motive of interest, sentiment, and affection. Nay, they argued, that Britain, surrounded as it was by a boisterous sea, secured by floating bulwarks, abounding with stout and hardy inhabitants, did not deserve to be free, if her sons could not protect their liberties without the assistance of mercenaries, who were indeed the only slaves of the kingdom. Yet, among the genuine friends of their country, some individuals espoused the opposite maxims. They observed, that the military system of every government in Europe was now altered: that war was become a trade, and discipline a science not to be learned but by those who made it their sole profession: that therefore, while France kept up a large standing army of veterans, ready to embark on the opposite coast, it would be absolutely necessary for the safety of the nation to maintain a small standing force, which should be voted in parliament from year to year. They might have suggested another expedient, which in a few years would have produced a militia of disciplined men. Had the soldiers of this small standing army been enlisted for a term of years, at the expiration of which they might have claimed their discharge, volunteers would have offered themselves from all parts of the kingdom, even from the desire of learning the use and exercise of arms, the ambition of being concerned in scenes of actual service, and the chagrin of little disappointments or temporary disgusts, which yet would not have impelled them to enlist as soldiers on the common terms of perpetual slavery. In consequence of such a succession, the whole kingdom would soon have been stocked with members of a disciplined militia, equal, if not superior to any army of professed soldiers. But, this scheme would have defeated the purpose of the government, which was more

afraid of domestic foes, than of foreign enemies, and industriously avoided every plan of this nature, which could contribute to render the malcontents of the nation more formidable.

§ II. Before we proceed to the transactions of parliament in this session, it may not be amiss to sketch the out-lines of the ministry as it stood at this juncture. The king's affection for the earl of Portland had begun to abate, in proportion as his esteem for Sunderland increased, together with his consideration for Mrs. Villiers, who had been distinguished by some particular marks of his majesty's favour. These two favourites are said to have supplanted Portland, whose place in the king's bosom was now filled by Van Keppel, a gentleman of Guelderland, who had first served his majesty as a page, and afterwards acted as a private secretary. The earl of Portland growing troublesome, from his jealousy of this rival, the king resolved to send him into honourable exile, in quality of ambassador extraordinary to the court of France; and Trumbal, his friend and creature, was dismissed from the office of secretary, which the king conferred upon Vernon, a plodding man of business, who had acted as under-secretary to the duke of Shrewsbury. This nobleman rivalled the earl of Sunderland in his credit at the council board, and was supported by Somers, lord-chancellor of England, Russel, now earl of Orford, first lord of the admiralty, and Montague, chancellor of the exchequer. Somers was an upright judge, a plausible statesman, a consummate courtier, affable, mild, and insinuating. Orford appears to have been rough, turbulent, factious, and shallow. Montague had distinguished himself early by his poetical genius; but, he soon converted his attention to the cultivation of more solid talents. He rendered himself remarkable for his eloquence, discernment, and knowledge of the English constitution. To a delicate taste, he united an eager appetite for political studies. The first catered for the enjoyments of fancy: the other was subservient to his ambition. He, at the same time, was the distinguished encourager of the liberal arts, and the professed patron of projectors. In his private deportment he was liberal, easy, and entertaining: as a statesman, bold, dogmatical, and aspiring.

§ III. The terrors of a standing army had produced such an universal ferment in the nation, that the dependants of the court in the house of commons, durst not openly oppose the reduction of the forces: but, they shifted the battery, and employed all their address in persuading the house to agree, that a very small number should be retained. When the commons voted, That all the forces raised since the year one thousand six hundred and eighty, should be disbanded, the courtiers desired the vote might be recommitted, on pretence that it restrained the king to the old Tory regiments, on whose fidelity he could not rely. This motion, however, was over-ruled by a considerable majority. Then they proposed an amendment, which was rejected, and afterwards moved, That the sum of five hundred thousand pounds per annum should be granted for the maintenance of guards and garrisons. This provision would have maintained a very considerable number; but, they were again disappointed, and fain to embrace a composition with the other party, by which three hundred and fifty thousand pounds were allotted for the maintenance of ten thousand men; and they afterwards obtained an addition of three thousand marines. The king was extremely mortified at these resolutions of the commons; and even declared to his particular friends, that he would never have intermeddled with the affairs of

the nation, had he foreseen they would make such returns of ingratitude and distrust. His displeasure was aggravated by the resentment expressed against Sunderland, who was supposed to have advised the unpopular measure of retaining a standing army. This nobleman, dreading the vengeance of the commons, resolved to avert the vengeance of the impending storm, by resigning his office, and retiring from court, contrary to the intreaties of his friends, and the earnest desire of his majesty.

§ IV. The house of commons, in order to sweeten the unpalatable cup they had presented to the king, voted the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds per annum for the support of the civil list, distinct from all other services. Then they passed an act, prohibiting the currency of silvered hammered coin, including a clause for making out new exchequer bills, in lieu of those which were or might be filled up with indorsements: another to open the correspondence with France, under variety of provisos: a third for continuing the imprisonment of certain persons who had been concerned in the late conspiracy: and a fourth, granting further time for administering oaths with respect to tallies and orders in the exchequer, and bank of England. These bills having received the royal assent, they resolved to grant a supply, which, together with the funds already settled for that purpose, should be sufficient to answer and cancel all exchequer bills, to the amount of two millions seven hundred thousand pounds. Another supply was voted for the payment and reduction of the army, including half-pay to such commission-officers as were natural born subjects of England. They granted one million four hundred thousand pounds, to make good deficiencies. They resolved, That the sum of two millions three hundred and forty-eight thousand one hundred and two pounds, was necessary to pay off arrears, subsistence, contingencies, general-officers, guards, and garrisons, of which sum eight hundred and fifty-five thousand five hundred and two pounds, remained in the hands of the paymaster. Then they took into consideration the subsidies due to foreign powers, and the sums owing to contractors for bread and forage. Examining further the debts of the nation, they found the general debt of the navy amounted to one million three hundred and ninety-two thousand, seven hundred and forty-two pounds. That of the ordnance was equal to two hundred and four thousand, one hundred and fifty-seven pounds. The transport-debt contracted for the reduction of Ireland and other services, did not fall short of four hundred and sixty-six thousand, four hundred and ninety-three pounds; and they owed nine and forty thousand, nine hundred and twenty-nine pounds, for quartering and cloathing the army, which had been raised by one act of parliament in the year sixteen hundred and seventy-seven, and disbanded by another in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-nine. As this enormous load of debt could not be discharged at once, the commons passed a number of votes for raising sums of money, by which it was considerably lightened; and settled the funds for those purposes by the continuation of the land-tax and other impositions. With respect to the civil list, it was raised by a new subsidy of tonnage and poundage, the hereditary and temporary excise, a weekly portion from the revenue of the post-office, the first-fruits and tenths of the clergy, the fines in the alienation-office, and post-fines; the revenue of the wine-licence, money arising by sheriffs, proffers, and compositions in the exchequer, and seizures, the income of the duchy of Cornwall, the rents of all other crown-lands in

England or Wales, and the duty of four and a half per cent. upon specie from Barbadoes and the Leeward-islands. The bill imported, That the overplus arising from these funds should be accounted for to parliament. Six hundred thousand pounds of this money was allotted for the purposes of the civil list; the rest was granted for the jointure of fifty thousand pounds per annum, to be payed to queen Mary of Este, according to the stipulation at Ryfwick; and to maintain a court for the duke of Gloucester, son of the princess Anne of Denmark, now in the ninth year of his age: but the jointure was never payed; nor would the king allow above fifteen thousand pounds per annum for the use of the duke of Gloucester, to whom Burnet bishop of Salisbury was appointed preceptor.

§ V. The commons having discussed the ways and means for raising the supplies of the ensuing year, that rose almost to five millions, took cognizance of some fraudulent indorsements of exchequer-bills, a species of forgery which had been practised by a confederacy, consisting of Charles Duncomb, receiver-general of the excise; Bartholomew Burton, who possessed a place in that branch of the revenue; John Knight, treasurer of the customs; and Reginald Marriot, a deputy-teller of the exchequer. This last turned evidence, and the proof turning out very strong and full, the house resolved to make examples of the delinquents. Duncomb and Knight, both members of parliament, were ex-

Burnet.
Kennet.
State Tracts.
Burchet.
Lives of the
Admirals.
Tindal.
Ralph.
Voltaire.

pelled and committed to the Tower; Burton was sent to Newgate; and bills of pains and penalties were ordered to be brought against them. The first, levelled at Duncomb, passed the lower-house, though not without great opposition, but was rejected in the house of lords by the majority of one voice. Duncomb, who was extremely rich, is said to have payed dear for his escape. The other two bills met with the same fate. The peers discharged Duncomb from his confinement; but he was re-committed by the commons, and remained in custody till the end of the session. While the commons were employed on ways and means, some of the members in the opposition proposed, that one-fourth part of the money arising from improper grants of the crown, should be appropriated to the service of the public: but this was a very unpalatable expedient, as it affected not only the Whigs of king William's reign, but also the Tories who had been gratified by Charles II. and his brother. A great number of petitions were presented against this measure, and so many difficulties raised, that both parties agreed to lay it aside. In the course of this inquiry, they discovered that one Railton held a grant in trust for Mr. Montague, chancellor of the exchequer. A motion was immediately made, that he should withdraw; but passed in the negative by a great majority. Far from prosecuting this minister, the house voted it was their opinion, That Mr. Montague, for his good services to the government, did deserve his majesty's favour.

§ VI. This extraordinary vote was a sure presage of success in the execution of a scheme which Montague had concerted against the East India company. They had been founded about advancing a sum of money for the public service, by way of loan, in consideration of a parliamentary settlement; and they offered to raise seven hundred thousand pounds on that condition: but, before they formed this resolution, another body of merchants, under the auspices of Montague, offered to lend two millions at eight per cent. provided they might

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be gratified with an exclusive privilege of trading to the East Indies. This proposal was very well received by the majority in the house of commons. A bill for this purpose was brought in with additional clauses of regulation. A petition was presented by the old company, representing their rights and claims under so many royal charters; the regard due to the property of above a thousand families interested in the stock; as also to the company's property in India, amounting to forty-four thousand pounds of yearly revenue. They alledged they had expended a million in fortifications: that during the war they had lost twelve great ships, worth fifteen hundred thousand pounds: that since the last subscription they had contributed two hundred and ninety-five thousand pounds to the customs; with above eighty-five thousand pounds in taxes: that they had furnished six thousand barrels of gunpowder on a very pressing occasion, and eighty thousand pounds for the circulation of exchequer-bills, at a very critical juncture, by desire of the lords of the treasury, who owned that their compliance was a very important service to the government. No regard being paid to their remonstrance, they undertook to raise the loan of two millions, and immediately subscribed two hundred thousand pounds as the first payment. The two proposals being compared and considered by the house, the majority declared for the bill, which was passed and sent up to the house of lords. There the old company delivered another petition, and was heard by council; nevertheless, the bill made its way, though not without opposition, and a formal protestation by one and twenty lords, who thought it was a hardship upon the present company; and doubted whether the separate trade allowed in the bill, concurrent with a joint stock, might not prove such an inconsistency as would discourage the subscription. This act, by which the old company was dissolved, in a great measure blasted the reputation of the Whigs, which had for some time been in the decline with the people. They had stood up as advocates for a standing army: they now unjustly superseded the East India company: they were accused of having robbed the public, by embezzling the national treasure, and amassing wealth by usurious contracts, at the expence of their fellow-subjects, groaning under the most oppressive burthens. Certain it is, they were at this period the most mercenary and corrupt undertakers that ever had been employed by any king or administration since the first establishment of the English monarchy.

§ VII. The commons now transferred their attention to certain objects in which the people of Ireland were interested. Colonel Mitchelborne, who had been joint-governor of Londonderry with doctor Walker, during the siege of that place, petitioned the house in behalf of himself, his officers and soldiers, to whom a considerable sum of money was due for subsistence; and the city itself implored the mediation of the commons with his majesty, that its services and sufferings might be taken into consideration. The house having examined the allegations contained in both petitions, presented an address to the king, recommending the citizens of Londonderry to his majesty's favour, that they might no longer remain a ruinous spectacle to all, a scorn to their enemies, and a discouragement to well-affected subjects: they likewise declared, that the governor and garrison did deserve some special marks of royal favour, for a lasting monument to posterity. To this address the king replied, that he would consider them, according to the desire of the commons. William Molyneux,

neux, a gentleman of Dublin, having published a book to prove that the kingdom of Ireland was independent of the parliament of England, the house appointed a committee to enquire into the cause and nature of this performance. An address was voted to the king, desiring he would give directions for the discovery and punishment of the author. Upon the report of the committee, the commons in a body presented an address to his majesty, representing the dangerous attempts which had been lately made by some of his subjects in Ireland, to shake off their subjection and dependence upon England; attempts which appeared not only from the bold and pernicious assertions contained in a book lately published, but more fully and authentically by some votes and proceedings of the commons in Ireland during their last session, when they transmitted an act for the better security of his majesty's person and government; whereby an English act of parliament was pretended to be re-enacted, with alterations obligatory on the courts of justice and the great seal of England. They therefore besought his majesty to give effectual orders for preventing any such encroachments for the future, and the pernicious consequences of what was past, by punishing those who had been guilty thereof: that he would take care to see the laws which direct and restrain the parliament of Ireland, punctually observed, and discourage every thing which might have a tendency to lessen the dependence of Ireland upon England. This remonstrance was graciously received, and the king promised to comply with their request.

§ VIII. The jealousy which the commons entertained of the government in Ireland, animated them to take other measures, that ascertained the subjection of that kingdom. Understanding that the Irish had established divers woollen manufactures, they, in another address, intreated his majesty to take measures for discouraging the woollen manufactures in Ireland, as they interfered with those of England, and promote the linen manufacture, which would be profitable to both nations. At the same time receiving information that the French had seduced some English manufacturers, and set up a great work for cloth-making in Picardy, they brought in a bill for explaining and better executing former acts for preventing the exportation of wool, fullers-earth, and scouring clay; and this was immediately passed into a law. A petition being presented to the house by the lustring company, against certain merchants who had smuggled alamodes and lustrings from France, even during the war, the committee of trade was directed to inquire into the allegations; and all the secrets of this traffic were detected. Upon the report, the house resolved that the manufacture of alamodes and lustrings set up in England, had been beneficial to the kingdom: that there had been a destructive and illegal trade carried on during the war, for importing these commodities, by which the king had been defrauded of his customs, and the English manufactures greatly discouraged: that, by the smuggling vessels employed in this trade, intelligence had been carried into France during the war, and the enemies of the government conveyed from justice. Stephen Seignoret Rhéné Baudoin, John Goudet, Nicholas Santini, Peter de Hearse, John Pierce, John Dumaitre, and David Barreau, were impeached at the bar of the house of lords; and pleading guilty, the lords imposed fines upon them according to their respective circumstances. They were in the mean time committed to Newgate, until those fines should be payed; and the commons addressed the king, that the money might be appropriated to the main-

maintenance of Greenwich-hospital. The house having taken cognizance of this affair, and made some new regulations in the prosecution of the African trade, presented a solemn address to the king, representing the general degeneracy and corruption of the age, and beseeching his majesty to command all his judges, justices, and magistrates, to put the laws in execution against profaneness and immorality. The king professed himself extremely well pleased with this remonstrance, promised to give immediate directions for a reformation, and expressed his desire that some more effectual provision might be made for suppressing impious books, containing doctrines against the Trinity; doctrines which abounded at this period, and took their origin from the licence and profligacy of the times.

§ IX. In the midst of such immorality, Dr. Thomas Bray, an active divine, formed a plan for propagating the gospel in foreign countries. Missionaries, catechisms, liturgies, and other books for the instruction of ignorant people, were sent to the English colonies in America. This laudable design was supported by voluntary contribution; and the bill having been brought into the house of commons, for the better discovery of estates given to superstitious uses, Dr. Bray presented a petition, praying, that some part of these estates might be set apart for the propagation of the reformed religion in Maryland, Virginia, and the Leeward islands. About this period, a society for the reformation of manners was formed under the king's countenance and encouragement. Considerable collections were made for maintaining clergymen to read prayers at certain hours in places of public worship, and administer the sacrament every Sunday. The members of this society resolved to inform the magistrates of all vice and immorality that should fall under their cognizance; and with that part of the fines, allowed by law to the informer, constitute a fund of charity. The business of the session being terminated, the king, on the third day of July, prorogued the parliament, after having thanked them in a short speech for the many testimonies of their affection he had received; and in two days after the prorogation it was dissolved.

§ X. In the month of January, the earl of Portland had set out on his embassy to France, where he was received with very particular marks of distinction. He made a public entry into Paris with such magnificence as is said to have astonished the French nation. He interceded for the protestants in that kingdom, against whom the persecution had been renewed with redoubled violence: he proposed that king James should be removed to Avignon, in which case his master would supply him with an honourable pension: but his remonstrances on both subjects proved ineffectual. Lewis, however, in a private conference with him at Marli, is supposed to have communicated his project of the partition-treaty. The earl of Portland, at his return to England, finding himself totally eclipsed in the king's favour, by Keppel, now created earl of Albemarle, resigned his employments in disgust; nor could the king's solicitations prevail upon him to resume any office in the household: though he promised to serve his majesty in any other shape, and was soon employed to

* On the fifth day of January, a fire breaking out at Whitehall, through the carelessness of a laundress, the whole body of the palace, together with the new gallery, council-chamber, and se-

veral adjoining apartments, was intirely consumed; but the banquetting-house was not affected.

negotiate the treaty of partition. If this nobleman miscarried in the purposes of his last embassy at the court of Versailles, the agents of France were equally unsuccessful in their endeavours to retrieve their commerce with England, which the war had interrupted. Their commissary sent over to London with powers to regulate the trade between the two nations, met with insuperable difficulties. The parliament had burthened the French commodities with heavy duties, which were already appropriated to different uses; and the channel of trade was in many respects entirely altered. The English merchants supplied the nation with wines from Italy, Spain, and Portugal, with linen from Holland and Silesia; and manufactures of paper, hats, stuffs, and silks, had been set up and successfully carried on in England, by the French refugees.

§ XI. By this time a ferment had been raised in Scotland, by the opposition and discouragements their new company had sustained. They had employed agents in England, Holland, and Hamburgh, to receive subscriptions. The adventurers in England were intimidated by the measures which had been taken in parliament against the Scottish company. The Dutch East India company took the alarm, and exerted all their interest to prevent their countrymen from subscribing; and the king permitted his resident at Hamburgh to present a memorial against the Scottish company, to the senate of that city. The parliament of Scotland being assembled by the earl of Marchmont as king's commissioner, the company presented it with a remonstrance, containing a detail of their grievances, arising from the conduct of the English house of commons, as well as from the memorial presented by the king's minister at Hamburgh, in which he actually disowned the act of parliament and letters-patent which had passed in their favour, and threatened the inhabitants of that city with his majesty's resentment, in case they should join the Scots in their undertaking. They represented, that such instances of interposition had put a stop to the subscriptions in England and Hamburgh, hurt the credit of the company, discouraged the adventurers, and threatened the intire ruin of a design in which all the most considerable families of the nation were deeply engaged. The parliament having taken their case into consideration, sent an address to his majesty, representing the hardships to which the company had been exposed, explaining how far the nation in general was concerned in the design, and intreating that he would take such measures as might effectually vindicate the undoubted rights and privileges of the company. This address was seconded by a petition from the company itself, praying, that his majesty would give some intimation to the senate of Hamburgh, permitting the inhabitants of that city to renew the subscriptions they had withdrawn: that, as a gracious mark of his royal favour to the company, he would bestow upon them two small frigates, then lying useless in the harbour of Burntisland: and that, in consideration of the obstructions they had encountered, he would continue their privileges and immunities, for such longer time as should seem reasonable to his majesty. Though the commissioner was wholly devoted to the king, who had actually resolved to ruin this company, he could not appease the resentment of the nation; and the heats in parliament became so violent, that he was obliged to adjourn to the fifth day of November. In this interval, the directors of the company understanding from their agent at Hamburgh, that the address of the parliament, and their own petition, had produced no effect

in their favour; they wrote a letter of complaint to the lord Seafield secretary of state, observing, that they had received repeated assurances of the king's having given orders to his resident at Hamburgh touching their memorial; and intreating the interposition of his lordship, that justice might be done to the company. The secretary, in his answer, promised to take the first convenient opportunity of representing the affair to his majesty; but he said this could not be immediately expected, as the king was much engaged in the affairs of the English parliament. This declaration the directors considered, as it really was, a mere evasion, which helped to alienate the minds of that people from the king's person and government.

§ XII. King William at this time revolved in his own mind a project of far greater consequence to the interest of Europe; namely, that of settling the succession to the throne of Spain, which in a little time would be vacated by the death of Charles II. whose constitution was already exhausted. He had been lately reduced to extremity, and his situation was no sooner known in France, than Lewis detached a squadron towards Cadiz, with orders to intercept the plate-fleet, in case the king of Spain should die before its arrival. William sent another fleet to protect the galleons; but it arrived too late for that service, and the nation loudly exclaimed against the tardiness of the equipment. His catholic majesty recovered from his disorder, contrary to the expectation of his people; but continued in such an enfeebled and precarious state of health, that a relapse was every moment apprehended. In the latter end of July, king William embarked for Holland, on pretence of enjoying a recess from business, which was necessary to his constitution. He was glad of an opportunity to withdraw himself for some time from a kingdom in which he had been exposed to such opposition and chagrin. But the real motives of his voyage was a design of treating with the French king, remote from the observation of those who might have penetrated into the nature of his negotiation. He had appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his absence, and as one of the number, nominated the earl of Marlborough, who had regained his favour, and been constituted governor to the duke of Gloucester. At his majesty's departure, sealed orders were left with the ministry, directing, that sixteen thousand men should be retained in the service, notwithstanding the vote of the commons, by which the standing army was limited to ten thousand. He alleged, that the apprehension of troubles which might arise at the death of king Charles, induced him to transgress this limitation; and he hoped, that the new parliament would be more favourable. His enemies, however, made a fresh handle of this step, to depreciate his character in the eyes of the people.

§ XIII. Having assisted at the assembly of the states-general, and given audience to divers ambassadors at the Hague, he repaired to his house at Loo, attended by the earls of Essex, Portland, and Selkirk. There he was visited by count Tallard the French minister, who had instructions to negotiate the treaty concerning the Spanish succession. The earl of Portland, by his majesty's order, had communicated to secretary Vernon the principal conditions which the French king proposed: he himself wrote a letter to lord chancellor Somers, desiring his advice with regard to the propositions, and full powers under the great seal, with blanks to be filled up occasionally, that he might immediately begin the treaty with count Tallard. At the same time he

strictly

strictly enjoined secrecy. The purport of Portland's letter was imparted to the duke of Shrewsbury and Mr. Montague, who consulted with the chancellor and Vernon upon the subject; and the chancellor wrote an answer to the king, as the issue of their joint deliberation: but, before it reached his majesty, the first treaty of partition was signed by the earl of Portland and Sir Joseph Williamson. The contracting powers agreed, That in case the king of Spain should die without issue, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, with the places depending on the Spanish monarchy, and situated on the coast of Tuscany, or the adjacent islands, the marquisate of Final, the province of Guipuscoa; all places on the French side of the Pyrenees, or the other mountains of Navarre, Alva, or Biscay, on the other side of the province of Guipuscoa, with all the ships, vessels, and stores, should devolve upon the dauphin, in consideration of his right to the crown of Spain, which, with all its other dependencies, should descend to the electoral prince of Bavaria, under the guardianship of his father: That the dutchy of Milan should be settled on the emperor's second son the archduke Charles: That this treaty should be communicated to the emperor and the elector of Bavaria by the king of England and the states-general: That if either should refuse to agree to this partition, his proportion should remain in sequestration until the dispute could be accommodated: That in case the electoral prince of Bavaria should die before his father, then the elector and his other heirs should succeed him in those dominions; and, should the archduke reject the dutchy of Milan, they agreed that it should be sequestered and governed by the prince of Vaudemont. It may be necessary to observe, that Philip IV. father to the present king of Spain, had settled his crown by will on the emperor's children: that the dauphin was son to Maria-Theresa, daughter of the same monarch, whose right to the succession Lewis had renounced in the most solemn manner: as for the electoral prince of Bavaria, he was grandson to a daughter of Spain. This treaty of partition was one of the most impudent schemes of encroachment that tyranny and injustice ever planned. Lewis, who had made a practice of sacrificing all ties of honour and good faith, to the interest of his pride, vanity, and ambition, foresaw that he should never be able to accomplish his designs upon the crown of Spain, while William was left at liberty to form another confederacy against them. He therefore resolved to amuse him with a treaty, in which he should seem to act as umpire in the concerns of Europe. He knew that William was too much of a politician to be restricted by notions of private justice; and that he would make no scruple to infringe the laws of particular countries, or even the rights of a single nation, when the balance of power was at stake. He judged right in this particular. The king of England lent a willing ear to his proposals, and engaged in a plan for dismembring a kingdom, in despite of the natives, and in violation of every law human or divine.

§ XIV. While the French king cajoled William with this negotiation, the marquis d'Harcourt, his ambassador at Spain, was engaged in a game of a different nature at Madrid. The queen of Spain suspecting the designs of France, exerted all her interest in behalf of the king of the Romans, to whom she was nearly related. She new-modelled the council, bestowed the government of Milan on prince Vaudemont, and established the prince of Hesse d'Armstadt as viceroy of Catalonia. Notwithstanding all her efforts, she could

not prevent the French minister from acquiring some influence in the Spanish councils. He was instructed to procure the succession of the crown for one of the dauphin's sons, or at least to hinder it from devolving upon the emperor's children. With a view to give weight to his negotiations, the French king ordered an army of sixty thousand men to advance towards the frontiers of Catalonia and Navarre, while a great number of ships and gallies cruised along the coast, and entered the harbours of Spain. Harcourt immediately began to form his party: he represented, that Philip IV. had no power to dispose of his crown, against the laws of nature and the constitution of the realm: that, by the order of succession, the crown ought to descend to the children of his daughter, in preference to more distant relations: that, if the Spaniards would declare in favour of the dauphin's second son the duke of Anjou, they might train him up in the manners and customs of their country. When he found them averse to this proposal, he assured them his master would approve of the electoral prince of Bavaria, rather than consent to the succession's devolving upon a son of the emperor. Nay, he hinted, that if they would chuse a sovereign among themselves, they might depend upon the protection of his most christian majesty, who had no other view than that of preventing the house of Austria from becoming too formidable to the liberties of Europe. The queen of Spain having discovered the intrigues of this minister, conveyed the king to Toledo, on pretence that the air of Madrid was prejudicial to his health. Harcourt immediately took the alarm. He supposed her intention was to prevail upon her husband, in his solitude, to confirm the last will of his father; and his doubts were all removed, when he understood that the count de Harrach, the Imperial ambassador, had privately repaired to Toledo. He forthwith took the same road, pretending to have received a memorial from his master, with a positive order to deliver it into the king's own hand. He was given to understand, that the management of foreign affairs had been left to the care of cardinal Corduba at Madrid, and that the king's health would not permit him to attend to business. The purport of the memorial was, an offer of French forces to assist in raising the siege of Ceuta in Barbary, which the Moors had lately undertaken: but this offer was civilly declined. Harcourt, not yet discouraged, redoubled his efforts at Madrid, and found means to engage cardinal Portocarrero in the interests of his master. In the mean time, Lewis concluded an alliance with Sweden, under the pretext of preserving and securing the common peace, by such means as should be judged most proper and convenient. During these transactions, king William was not wanting in his endeavours to terminate the war of Hungary, which had raged fifteen years without intermission. About the middle of August, lord Paget and Mr. Colliers, ambassadors from England and Holland, arrived in the Turkish camp near Belgrade; and a congress being opened under their mediation, the peace of Carlowitz was signed on the twenty-sixth day of January. By this treaty, the emperor remained in possession of all his conquests; Cambric was restored to the Poles; all the Morea, with several fortresses in Dalmatia, were ceded to the Venetians; and the czar of Muscovy retained Azoph during a truce of two years: so that the Turks by this pacification lost great part of their European dominions. The cardinal primate of Poland, who had strenuously adhered to the prince of Conti, was prevailed upon to acknowledge Augustus;

Augustus; and the commotions in Lithuania being appeased, peace was established through all Christendom.

§ XV. In the beginning of December, the king arrived in England, where a new parliament had been chosen, and prorogued on account of his majesty's absence, prolonged by contrary winds, and tempestuous weather. His ministry had been at very little pains to influence the elections, which generally fell upon men of revolution-principles, though they do not seem to have been much devoted to the person of their sovereign; yet their choice of Sir Thomas Lyttleton for speaker, seemed to presage a session favourable to the ministry. The two houses being convened on the sixth day of December, the king, in his speech, observed, That the safety, honour, and happiness of the kingdom, would in a great measure depend upon the strength which they should think proper to maintain by sea and land. He desired they would make some further progress in discharging the national debt, contrive effectual expedients for employing the poor, pass good bills for the advancement of trade, and the discouragement of profanity; and act with unanimity and dispatch. The commons of this new parliament were so irritated at the king's presuming to maintain a greater number of troops than their predecessors had voted, that they resolved he should feel the weight of their displeasure. They omitted the common compliment of an address: they resolved that all the forces of England, in English pay, exceeding seven thousand men, should be forthwith disbanded; as also those in Ireland, exceeding twelve thousand; and that those retained should be his majesty's natural-born subjects. A bill was brought in on these resolutions, and prosecuted with peculiar eagerness, to the unpeakable mortification of king William, who was not only extremely sensible of the affront, but also particularly chagrined to see himself disabled from maintaining his Dutch guards, and the regiments of French refugees, to which he was uncommonly attached. Before the meeting of the parliament, the ministry gave him to understand, that they should be able to procure a vote for ten or twelve thousand; but they would not undertake for a greater number. He professed himself dissatisfied with the proposal, observing, that they might as well disband the whole, as leave so few. The ministers would not run the risque of losing all their credit, by proposing a greater number; and having received no directions on this subject, sat silent when it was debated in the house of commons.

§ XVI. Such was the indignation of William, kindled by this conduct of his ministry and his parliament, that he threatened to abandon the government; and had actually penned a speech to be pronounced to both houses on that occasion: but he was diverted from this purpose by his ministry and confidants, and resolved to pass the bill by which he had been so much offended. Accordingly, when it was ready for the royal assent, he went to the house of peers, where having sent for the commons, he told them, that although he might think himself unkindly used, in being deprived of his guards, which had constantly attended him in all his actions, yet as he believed nothing could be more fatal to the nation, than any distrust or jealousy between him and his parliament, he was come to pass the bill, according to their desire. At the same time, for his own justification, and in discharge of the trust reposed in him, he declared, that in his judgment the nation was left too much exposed; and that

that it was incumbent upon them to provide such a strength as might be necessary for the safety of the kingdom. They thanked him in an address, for this undeniable proof of his readiness to comply with the desires of his parliament. They assured him, he should never have reason to think the commons were undutiful or unkind; for, they would, on all occasions, stand by, and assist him in the preservation of his sacred person, and in the support of his government, against all his enemies whatsoever. The lords presented an address to the same effect; and the king assured both houses, he entertained no doubts of their loyalty and affection. He forthwith issued orders for reducing the army to the number of seven thousand men, to be maintained in England under the name of guards and garrisons; and, hoping the hearts of the commons were now mollified, he made another effort in favour of his Dutch guards, whom he could not dismiss without the most sensible regret. Lord Ranelagh was sent with a written message to the commons, giving them to understand, that the necessary preparations were made for transporting the guards who came with him into England, and that they should embark immediately, unless out of consideration to him, the house should be disposed to find a way for continuing them longer in the service; an expedient which his majesty would take very kindly. The commons, instead of complying with his inclination, presented an address, in which they professed unspeakable grief, that he should propose any thing to which they could not consent with due regard to the constitution, which he had come over to restore, and so often hazarded his royal person to preserve. They reminded him of the declaration, in which he had promised, that all the foreign forces should be sent out of the kingdom. They observed, that nothing conduced more to the happiness and welfare of the nation, than an intire confidence between the king and people, which could no way be so firmly established as by intrusting his sacred person with his own subjects, who had so eminently signalized themselves during the late long and expensive war. They received a soothing answer to this address, but remained firm to their purpose, in which the king was fain to acquiesce; and the Dutch guards were transported to Holland. At a time when they declared themselves so well pleased with their deliverer, such an opposition in an affair of very little consequence, favoured more of clownish obstinacy than of patriotism. In the midst of all their professions of regard, they entertained a national prejudice against himself and all the foreigners in his service. Even in the house of commons his person was treated with great disrespect in virulent insinuations. They suggested, that he neither loved nor trusted the English nation: that he treated the natives with the most disagreeable reserve; and chose his confidants from the number of strangers that surrounded him: that, after every session of parliament, he retired from the kingdom, to enjoy an indolent and inglorious privacy with a few favourites. These suggestions were certainly true. He was extremely disgusted with the English, whom he considered as malicious, ignorant, and ungrateful, and he took no pains to disguise his sentiments.

§ XVII. The commons having effected a dissolution of the army, voted fifteen thousand seamen, and a proportionable fleet for the security of the kingdom, and granted one million four hundred and eighty-four thousand fifteen pounds, for the services of the year, to be raised by a tax of three shillings in the pound upon lands, personal estates, pensions, and offices. A great number

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of priests and roman catholics, who had been frightened away by the revolution, were now encouraged by the treaty of Ryfwick to return, and appeared in all public places of London and Westminster, with remarkable effrontery. The enemies of the government whispered about, that the treaty contained a secret article in favour of those who professed that religion; and, some did not even scruple to insinuate, that William was a papist in his heart. The commons, alarmed at the number and insolence of those religionists, desired the king, in an address, to remove by proclamation all papists and nonjurors, from the city of London and parts adjacent, and put the laws in execution against them, that the wicked designs they were always hatching might be effectually disappointed. The king gratified them in their request with a proclamation, which was not much regarded; but, a remarkable law was enacted against papists in the course of the ensuing session. The old East-India company, about this period, petitioned the lower house, to make some provision that their corporation might subsist for the residue of the term of twenty-one years, granted by his majesty's charter: that the payment of the five pounds per cent. by the late act for settling the trade to the East-Indies, might be settled and adjusted in such a manner, as not to remain a burthen on the petitioners: and, that such further considerations might be had for their relief, and for the preservation of the East-India trade, as should be thought reasonable. A bill was brought in upon the subject of this petition; but rejected at the second reading. Discontents had risen to such a height, that some members began to assert, they were not bound to maintain the votes and credit of the former parliament; and, upon this maxim would have contributed their interest towards a repeal of the act made in favour of the new company: but such a scheme was of too dangerous consequence to the public credit, to be carried into execution.

Burnet.
Kennet.
Lamberty.
State Tracts.
Tindal.
Ralph.

§ XVIII. That spirit of peevishness which could not be gratified with this sacrifice, produced an inquiry into the management of naval affairs, which was aimed at the earl of Orford, a nobleman whose power gave umbrage, and whose wealth excited envy. He officiated both as treasurer of the navy, and lord-commissioner of the admiralty, and seemed to have forgot the sphere from which he had risen to title and office. The commons drew up an address, complaining of some unimportant articles of mismanagement in the conduct of the navy; and the earl was wise enough to avoid further prosecution, by resigning his employments. On the fourth day of May the king closed the session, with a short speech, hinting dissatisfaction at their having neglected to consider some points which he had recommended to their attention; and the parliament was prorogued to the first of June*. In a little time after this prorogation, his majesty appointed a regency†; and, on the second day of June embarked for Holland.

An.Ch.1699.

* About the latter end of March the earl of Warwick and lord Mohun were tried by their peers in Westminster-hall, for the murder of captain Richard Coote, who had been killed in a midnight combat of three on each side. Warwick was found guilty of manslaughter, and Mohun acquitted.

Villiers, earl of Jersey, who had been sent ambassador to France, was appointed secretary of state, in the room of the duke of Shrewsbury.

This nobleman was created lord-chamberlain; the earl of Manchester was sent ambassador extraordinary to France; the earl of Pembroke was declared lord-president of the council; and the lord viscount Lonsdale keeper of the privy-seal.

† Consisting of the lord-chancellor, the lord-president, the lord privy-seal, the lord-steward of the household, the earl of Bridgewater, first commissioner of the admiralty, the earl of Marlborough, the earl of Jersey, and Mr. Montague.

§ XIX.

§ XIX. In Ireland nothing of moment was transacted. The parliament of that kingdom passed an act for raising one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, on lands, tenements, and hereditaments, to defray the expence of maintaining twelve thousand men who had been voted by the commons of England: then the assembly was prorogued. A new commission afterwards arrived at Dublin, constituting the duke of Bolton, the earl of Berkley and Galway, lord-justices of Ireland. The clamour in Scotland increased against the ministry, which had disowned their company, and in a great measure defeated the design from which they had promised themselves such heaps of treasure. Notwithstanding the discouragements to which their company had been exposed, they fitted out two of four large ships which had been built at Hamburgh for their service. They were loaded with a cargo for traffic, with some artillery and military stores; and the adventurers embarking, to the number of twelve hundred, they sailed from the frith of Edinburgh with some tenders, on the seventeenth day of July in the preceding year. At Madera they took in a supply of wine, and then steered to Crab-island in the neighbourhood of St. Thomas, lying between Santa Cruz and Porto Rico. Their design was to take possession of this little island; but, when they entered the road, they saw a large tent pitched upon the strand, and the Danish colours flying. Finding themselves anticipated in this quarter, they directed their course to the coast of Darien, where they treated with the natives for the establishment of their colony, and taking possession of the ground, to which they gave the name of Caledonia, began to execute their plan of erecting a town under the appellation of New Edinburgh, by the direction of their council, consisting of Patterson the projector, and six other directors. They had no sooner completed their settlement, than they wrote a letter to the king, containing a detail of their proceedings. They pretended they had received undoubted intelligence, that the French intended to make a settlement on that coast; and that their colony would be the means of preventing the evil consequences which might arise to his majesty's kingdom and dominions from the execution of such a scheme. They acknowledged his goodness in granting those privileges by which their company was established; and they implored the continuance of his royal favour and protection, as they had punctually adhered to the conditions of the act of parliament and the patent they had obtained.

§ XX. By this time, however, the king was resolved to crush them effectually. He understood that the greater part of their provisions had been consumed before they set sail from Scotland, and foresaw that they must be reduced to a starving condition, if not supplied from the English colonies. That they might be debarred of all such assistance, he sent orders to the governors of Jamaica, and the other English settlements in America, to issue proclamations, prohibiting, under the severest penalties, all his majesty's subjects from holding any correspondence with the Scottish colony, or assisting it in any shape, with arms, ammunition, or provision, on pretence that they had not communicated their design to his majesty, but had peopled Darien, in violation of the peace subsisting between him and his allies. Their colony was, doubtless, a very dangerous incroachment upon the Spaniards, as it would have commanded the passage between Porto Bello and Panama, and divided the Spanish empire in America. The French king complained of the invasion, and offered to supply the court
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of Madrid, with a fleet to dislodge the interlopers. Colonna, marquis de Canales, the Spanish ambassador at the court of London, presented a memorial to king William, remonstrating against the settlement of this colony, as a mark of disregard, and a breach of the alliance between the two crowns; and declaring, that his master would take proper measures against such hostilities. The Scots affirmed, that the natives of Darien were a free people, whom the Spaniards had in vain attempted to subdue: that therefore they had an original and uncontrovertible right to dispose of their own lands, part of which the company had purchased for a valuable consideration. But, there was another cause more powerful than the remonstrances of the Spanish court, to which this colony fell a sacrifice; and, that was the jealousy of the English traders and planters. Darien was said to be a country abounding with gold, which would in a little time enrich the adventurers. The Scots were known to be an enterprising and pertinacious people; and their harbour near Golden-island was already declared a free-port. The English apprehended that their planters would be allured into this new colony, by the double prospect of finding gold and plundering the Spaniards: that the buccaneers in particular would choose it as their chief residence: that the plantations of England would be deserted: that Darien would become another Algiers: and, that the settlement would produce a rupture with Spain, in consequence of which the English effects in that kingdom would be confiscated. The Dutch too, are said to have been jealous of a company, which in time might have proved their competitors in their illicit commerce to the Spanish main, and to have hardened the king's heart against the new settlers, whom he abandoned to their fate, notwithstanding the repeated petitions and remonstrances of their constituents. Famine compelled the first adventurers to quit the coast: a second recruit of men and provisions was sent thither from Scotland; but, one of their ships laden with provision being burned by accident, they likewise deserted the place: another reinforcement arrived, and being better provided than the two former, might have maintained their footing; but, they were soon divided into factions that rendered all their schemes abortive. The Spaniards advanced against them; when finding themselves incapable of withstanding the enemy, they solicited a capitulation, by virtue of which they were permitted to retire. Thus vanished all the golden dreams of the Scottish nation, which had engaged in this design with incredible eagerness, and even embarked a greater sum of money than ever they had advanced upon any other occasion. They were now not only disappointed in their expectations of wealth and affluence, but a great number of families was absolutely ruined by the miscarriage of the design, which they imputed solely to the conduct of king William. The whole kingdom of Scotland seemed to join in the clamour that was raised against their sovereign. They taxed him with double-dealing, inhumanity, and base ingratitude, to a people who had lavished their treasure and best blood in support of his government, and in the gratification of his ambition; and had their power been equal to their animosity, in all probability a rebellion would have ensued.

§ XXI. William, mean while, enjoyed himself at Loo, where he was visited by the duke of Zell, with whom he had long cultivated an intimacy of friendship. During his residence in this place, the earl of Portland and the grand pensionary of Holland, frequently conferred with the French ambassador count Tallard, upon the subject of the Spanish succession. The first plan of the par-

tion being defeated by the death of the young prince of Bavaria, they found it necessary to concert another, and began a private negotiation for that purpose. The court of Spain, apprised of their intention, sent a written remonstrance to Mr. Stanhope, the English minister at Madrid, expressing their resentment at this unprecedented method of proceeding, and desiring that a stop might be put to those intrigues, seeing the king of Spain would of himself take the necessary steps for preserving the public tranquillity, in case he should die without heirs of his body. A representation of the same kind was made to the ministers of France and Holland; and the marquis de Canales, the Spanish ambassador at London, delivered a memorial to the lords-justices, couched in the most virulent terms, against this transaction, and even appealing from the king to the parliament. This Spaniard was pleased with an opportunity to insult king William, who hated his person, and had forbid him the court, on account of his appearing covered in his majesty's presence. The regency had no sooner communicated this paper to the king, than he ordered the ambassador to quit the kingdom in eighteen days, and to remain within his own house till the time of his departure. He was at the same time given to understand, that no writing would be received from him or any of his domestics. Mr. Stanhope was directed to complain at Madrid of the affront offered to his master, which he styled an insolent and saucy attempt to stir up sedition in the kingdom, by appealing to the people and parliament of England against his majesty. The court of Spain justified what their minister had done, and in their turn ordered Mr. Stanhope to leave their dominions. Don Bernardo de Quiros, the Spanish ambassador in Holland, prepared a memorial on the same subject, to the states-general; which, however, they refused to accept. These remonstrances did not interrupt the negotiation, in which Lewis was so eager, that he complained of William, as if he had not employed his whole influence in prevailing upon the Dutch to signify their accession to the articles agreed upon by France and England: but, his Britannic majesty found means to remove this jealousy.

§ XXII. About the middle of October he returned to England, and conferred upon the duke of Shrewsbury the office of chamberlain, vacant since the resignation of Sunderland. Mr. Montague at the same period resigned his seat at the treasury-board, together with the chancellorship of the exchequer, either foreseeing uncommon difficulty in managing a house of commons, after they had been dismissed in ill humour, or dreading the interest of his enemies, who might procure a vote, that his two places were inconsistent. The king opened the session of parliament on the sixteenth day of November, with a long speech, advising a further provision for the safety of the kingdom by sea and land, and the repairs of ships and fortifications; exhorting the commons to make good the deficiencies of the funds, discharge the debts of the nation, and provide the necessary supplies. He recommended some good bill for the more effectual preventing and punishing unlawful and clandestine trading; and expressed a desire, that some method should be taken for employing the poor, which were become a burthen to the kingdom. He assured them, his resolutions were to countenance virtue and discourage vice: and, that he would decline no difficulties and dangers, where the welfare and prosperity of the nation might be concerned. He concluded with these words, "Since then our aims are only for the general
"good,"

"good, let us act with confidence in one another; which will not fail, with God's blessing, to make me a happy king, and you a great and flourishing people." The commons were now become wanton in their disgust. Though they had received no real provocation, they resolved to mortify him with their proceedings. They affected to put odious interpretations on the very harmless expression of, "Let us act with confidence in one another." Instead of an address of thanks, according to the usual custom, they presented a sullen remonstrance, complaining, that a jealousy and disgust had been raised of their duty and affection; and desiring he would shew marks of his high displeasure towards all persons who had presumed to misrepresent their proceedings to his majesty. He declared, in his answer, that no person had ever dared to misrepresent their proceedings; and, that if any should presume to impose upon him by such calumnies, he would treat them as his worst enemies.

§ XXIII. The house was not in an humour to be appeased with soothing promises and protestations: they determined to distress him, by prosecuting his ministers. During the war the colonies of North-America had grown rich by piracy. One Kidd, the master of a sloop, undertook to suppress the pirates, provided the government would furnish him with a ship of thirty guns, well manned. The board of admiralty declaring, that such a number of seamen could not be spared from the public service, Kidd was equipped by the private subscription of the lord-chancellor, the duke of Shrewsbury, the earls of Romney, Orford, and Bellamont, Sir Edward Harrison, and colonel Levingstone of New-York. The king promised to contribute one half of the expence, and reserved to himself one tenth of the profits; but, he never advanced the money. Kidd being thus equipped, and provided with a commission to act against the French, as well as to make war on certain pirates therein mentioned by name, set sail from Plymouth; but, instead of cruizing on the coast of America, directed his course to the East-Indies, where he himself turned pirate, and took a rich ship belonging to the Moors. Having divided his booty with his crew, ninety of whom left him, in order to join other adventurers, he burned his own ship, and sailed with his prize to the West-Indies. There he purchased a sloop, in which he steered for North-America, leaving part of his men in the prize to remain in one of the Leeward-islands, until they should receive further instructions. Arriving on the coast of New-York, he sent one Enimet to make his peace with the earl of Bellamont, the governor of that province, who inveigled him into a negotiation, in the course of which he was apprehended. Then his lordship sent an account of his proceedings to the secretary of state, desiring, that he would send for the prisoners to England, as there was no law in that colony for punishing piracy with death, and the majority of the people favoured that practice. The admiralty, by order of the lords-justices, dispatched the ship Rochester to bring home the prisoners and their effects; but, after having been tossed for some time with tempestuous weather, this vessel was obliged to return to Plymouth in a shattered condition; and the incident furnished the malcontents with a colour to paint the ministry as the authors and abettors of a pyratrical expedition, which they wanted to screen from the cognizance of the public. The old East-India company had complained to the regency of the capture made by Kidd in the East-Indies, apprehending, as the vessel belonged to the Moors, they should be exposed to the resentment of the Mogul. In the

beginning of December this subject was brought abruptly into the house of commons, and a motion made, That the letters patent granted to the earl of Bellamont and others, of pyrates goods, were dishonourable to the king, against the law of nations, contrary to the laws and statutes of the land, invasive of property, and destructive of trade and commerce. A warm debate ensued, in the course of which, some members declaimed with great bitterness against the chancellor and the duke of Shrewsbury, as partners in a pyratel scheme; but these imputations were refuted, and the motion was rejected by a great majority. Not, but that they might have justly stigmatized the expedition as a little mean adventure, in which those noblemen had embarked with a view to their own private advantage.

§ XXIV. While this affair was in agitation among the commons, the attention of the upper house was employed upon the case of Dr. Watson, bishop of St. David's. This prelate was supposed to have payed a valuable consideration for his bishopric; and, after his elevation, had sold the preferments in his gift, with a view of being reimbursed. He was accused of simony; and, after a solemn hearing before the archbishop of Canterbury and six suffragans, convicted and deprived. Then he pleaded his privilege: so that the affair was brought into the house of lords, who refused to own him as a peer after he had ceased to be a bishop. Thus disappointed, he had recourse to the court of delegates, by whom the archbishop's sentence was confirmed. The next effort that the commons made, with a view of mortifying king William, was to raise a clamour against Dr. Burnet, bishop of Sarum. He was represented in the house as a very unfit preceptor for the duke of Gloucester, both as a Scottish man, and author of that pastoral letter which had been burned by order of the parliament, for asserting, that William had a right to the crown from conquest. A motion was made for addressing his majesty, that this prelate might be dismissed from his employment, but rejected by a great majority. Burnet had acted with uncommon integrity in accepting the trust. He had declined the office, which he was in a manner forced to accept. He had offered to resign his bishopric, thinking the employment of a tutor would interfere with the duty of a pastor. He insisted upon the duke's residence all the summer at Windsor, which is in the diocese of Sarum; and added to his private charities the whole income of his new office.

§ XXV. The circumstance on which the anticourtiers built their chief hope of distressing or disgracing the government, was the inquiry into the Irish forfeitures, which the king had distributed among his own dependants. The commissioners appointed by parliament to examine these particulars, were Annesley, Trenchard, Hamilton, Langford, the earl of Drogheda, Sir Francis Brewster, and Sir Richard Leving. The first four were actuated by all the virulence of faction: the other three were secretly guided by ministerial influence. They began their inquiry in Ireland, and proceeded with such severity as seemed to flow rather from resentment to the court, than from a love of justice and abhorrence of corruption. They in particular scrutinized a grant of an estate which the king had made to Mrs. Villiers, now countess of Orkney, so as to expose his majesty's partiality for that favourite, and subject him to an additional load of popular odium. In the course of their examination, the earl of Drogheda, Leving, and Brewster, opposed the rest of the commissioners in divers articles of the

the report, which they refused to sign, and sent over a memorial to the house of commons, explaining their reasons for dissenting from their colleagues. By this time, however, they were considered as hirelings of the court, and no regard was paid to their representations. The others delivered their report, declaring, that a million and an half of money might be raised from the sale of the confiscated estates; and a bill was brought in for applying them to the use of the public. A motion being made to reserve a third part for the king's disposal; it was over-ruled: then the commons passed an extraordinary vote, importing, That they would not receive any petition from any person whatsoever concerning the grants: and, That they would consider the great services performed by the commissioners appointed to inquire into the forfeited estates. They resolved, That the four commissioners who had signed the report, had acquitted themselves with understanding, courage, and integrity: and, That Sir Richard Leving, as author of groundless and scandalous aspersions cast upon his four colleagues, should be committed prisoner to the Tower. They afterwards came to the following resolution, which was presented to the king in form of an address: That the procuring and passing those grants had occasioned great debts upon the nation, and heavy taxes upon the people, and highly reflected upon the king's honour: and, That the officers and instruments concerned in the same, had highly failed in the performance of their trust and duty. The king answered, That he was not only led by inclination, but thought himself obliged in justice, to reward those who had served well in the reduction of Ireland, out of the estates forfeited to him by the rebellion in that kingdom. He observed, that as the long war had left the nation much in debt, their taking just and effectual ways for lessening that debt, and supporting public credit, was what, in his opinion, would best contribute to the honour, interest, and safety of the kingdom. This answer kindled a flame of indignation in the house. They forthwith resolved, That the adviser of it had used his utmost endeavours to create a misunderstanding and jealousy between the king and his people.

§ XXVI. They prepared, finished, and passed a bill of resumption. They ordered the report of the commissioners, together with the king's promise and speeches, and the former resolutions of the house touching the forfeited estates in Ireland, to be printed and published for their justification; and they resolved, That the procuring or passing exorbitant grants by any member, now of the privy-council, or by any other that had been a privy-counsellor, in this, or any former reign, to his use or benefit, was a high crime and misdemeanour. That justice might be done to purchasers and creditors in the act of resumption, thirteen trustees were authorised and empowered to hear and determine all claims relating to those estates, to sell them to the best purchasers; and the money arising from the sale was appropriated to pay the arrears of the army. It passed under the title of a bill for granting an aid to his majesty, by the sale of the forfeited and other estates and interests in Ireland; and, that it might undergo no alteration in the house of lords, it was consolidated with the money-bill for the services of the year. In the house of lords it produced warm debates; and some alterations were made, which the commons unanimously rejected. They seemed to be now more than ever exasperated against the ministry, and ordered a list of the privy-council to be layed before the house. The

The lords demanded conferences, which served only to exasperate the two houses against each other; for, the lords insisted upon their amendments, and the commons were so provoked at their interfering in a money-bill, that they determined to give a loose to their resentment. They ordered all the doors of their house to be shut, that no members should go forth. Then they took into consideration the report of the Irish forfeitures, with the list of the privy-counsellors; and a question was moved, That an address should be made to his majesty, to remove John lord Somers, chancellor of England, from his presence and councils for ever. This, however, was carried in the negative by a great majority. The king was extremely chagrined at the bill, which he considered as an invasion of his prerogative, an insult on his person, and an injury to his friends and servants; and, he at first resolved to hazard all the consequences of refusing to pass it into a law: but, he was diverted from his purpose by the remonstrances of those in whom he chiefly confided. He could not, however, dissemble his resentment. He became sullen, peevish, and morose; and his enemies did not fail to make use of this additional ill humour, as a proof of his aversion to the English people. Though the motion against the chancellor had miscarried, the commons resolved to address his majesty, that no person who was not a native of his dominions, except his royal highness prince George of Denmark, should be admitted into his majesty's councils in England or Ireland. This resolution was levelled against the earls of Portland, Albemarle, and Galway; but, before the address could be presented, the king went to the house of peers, and having passed the bill which had produced such a ferment, with some others, commanded the earl of Bridgewater, speaker of the house in the absence of the chancellor, who was indisposed, to prorogue the parliament to the twenty-third day of May.

Burnet.
Oldmixon.
Cole's Mem.
State Tracts.
Lamberty.
Tindal.
Ralph.

An. Ch. 1700.

§ XXVII. In the course of this session, the commons having prosecuted their inquiry into the conduct of Kidd, brought in a bill for the more effectual suppression of piracy, which passed into a law; and afterwards understanding, that Kidd was brought over to England, presented an address to the king, desiring, that he might not be tried, discharged, or pardoned, till the next session of parliament; and his majesty complied with their request. Boiling still with indignation against the lord-chancellor, who had turned many disaffected persons out of the commission of the peace, the house ordered a bill to be prepared for qualifying justices of the peace; and appointed a committee to inspect the commissions. This reporting, that many dissenters, and men of small fortunes depending on the court, were put into those places, the commons declared, in an address, That it would much conduce to the service of his majesty, and the good of this kingdom, that gentlemen of quality and good estates should be restored, and put into the commissions of the peace and lieutenancy: and, that men of small estates be neither continued, nor put into the said commissions. The king assured them he was of the same opinion: that he would give directions accordingly. They were so mollified by this instance of his condescension, that they thanked him in a body for his gracious answer. They passed a bill to exculpate such as had neglected to sign the association, either through mistake, or want of opportunity. Having received a petition from the Lancashire clergy, complaining of the insolence and attempts of popish priests, they appointed a committee to inquire how far the laws against popish refugees had been put in execution;

execution; and upon the report a bill was brought in, complying with the prayer of the petition. It decreed a further reward to such persons as should discover and convict popish priests and jesuits; and perpetual imprisonment for those convicted on the oath of one or more witnesses. It enacted, That no person born after the twenty-fifth day of March next ensuing, being a papist, should be capable of inheriting any title of honour or estate within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed: and, That no papist should be capable of purchasing any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, either in his own name, or in the name of any other person in trust for him. Several alterations were made in this first draught, before it was finished and sent up to the lords, some of whom proposed amendments: these, however, were not adopted; and the bill obtained the royal assent, contrary to the expectation of those who prosecuted the measure, on the supposition that the king was a favourer of papists. After all, the bill was deficient in necessary clauses to enforce execution; so that the law was very little regarded in the sequel.

§ XXVIII. The court sustained another insult from the old East-India company, who petitioned the house, that they might be continued by parliamentary authority during the remaining part of the time prescribed in their charter. They, at the same time, published a state of their case, in which they expatiated upon the equity of their claims, and magnified the injuries they had undergone. The new company drew up an answer to this remonstrance, exposing the corrupt practices of their adversaries. But, the influence of their great patron, Mr. Montague, was now vanished: the supply was not yet discussed, and the ministry would not venture to provoke the commons, who seemed propitious to the old company; and actually passed a bill in their favour. This meeting with no opposition in the upper house, was enacted into a law, renewing their establishment: so that now there were two rival companies of merchants trading to the East-Indies. The commons, not yet satisfied with the vexations to which they had exposed their sovereign, passed a bill to appoint commissioners for taking and examining the public accounts. Another law was made, to prohibit the use of India silks and stuffs which interfered with the English manufactures: a third, to take off the duties on the exportation of woollen manufactures, corn, grain, meal, bread, and biscuit: and a fourth, in which provision was made for punishing governors, or commanders in chief of plantations and colonies, in case they should commit any crimes or acts of injustice and oppression in the exercise of their administration.

§ XXIX. The people of Scotland still continued in violent agitation. They published a pamphlet, containing a detail of their grievances, which they in a great measure ascribed to his majesty. A complaint being preferred to the house of commons against this performance, it was voted a false, scandalous, and traitorous libel, and ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. The commons addressed his majesty, to issue his royal proclamation for apprehending the author, printer, and publisher, of the said libel; and he complied with their request. The Scottish company had sent up an address to the king, in behalf of some adventurers who were wrongfully detained prisoners in Carthage; but lord Basil Hamilton, who undertook the charge of this petition, was refused admittance to his majesty, on pretence of his being suspected of disaffection to the government. The king,

king, however, wrote to his council for Scotland, that he would demand the enlargement of the prisoners, and countenance any laudable measure that could advance the trade of that kingdom. The directors of the company, not content with this declaration, importuned their lord chancellor, who was in London, to procure access for lord Basil Hamilton; and the ministry took shelter from their solicitations behind a parliamentary inquiry. The subject of the Scottish colony being introduced into the house of lords, where the ministerial influence preponderated, a vehement debate arose, not from any regard to the interest of Scotland, but from mere opposition to the court, which however triumphed in the issue. A motion was made, that the settlement of the Scotch colony at Darien, was inconsistent with the good of the plantation-trade of England; and passed in the affirmative by a small majority. Then they presented an address, declaring their sympathy with the losses of their fellow-subjects, and their opinion, that a prosecution of the design must end, not only in far greater disappointments to themselves, but also prove very inconvenient to the trade and quiet of the kingdom. They reminded him of the address of both houses, touching that settlement; and they expressed their approbation of the orders he had sent to the governors of the plantations on this subject. The king, in his answer to the address, in which the commons refused to concur, took the opportunity of exhorting them to consider of an union between the two kingdoms, as a measure, than which nothing could more contribute to their mutual security and advantage. The lords, in pursuance of this advice, prepared a bill, appointing certain commissioners of the realm of England to treat with commissioners of Scotland for the weal of both kingdoms; but, it was obstructed in the house of commons, who were determined to thwart every step that might tend to lessen the disgust, or appease the animosity of the Scottish nation. The malcontents insinuated, that the king's opposition to the Scottish company, flowed neither from his regard to the interest of England, nor from his punctual observance of treaties with Spain; but, solely from his attachment to the Dutch, who maintained an advantageous trade from the island of Curaçoa to the Spanish plantations in America, and were apprehensive that the Scottish colony would deprive them of this commerce. This interpretation served as fuel to the flame already kindled in Scotland, and industriously blown up by the calumnies of the Jacobites. Their parliament adopted the company as a national concern, by voting, That the colony of Caledonia in Darien was a legal and rightful settlement, which the parliament would maintain and support. On account of this resolution the session was for some time discontinued; but, when the Scots understood their new settlement was totally abandoned, their capital lost, and all their hope intirely vanished, the whole nation was seized with a transport of fury. They loudly exclaimed, that they had been sacrificed and basely betrayed in that quarter where they were intitled to protection. They concerted an address to the king, couched in a very high strain, representing the necessity of an immediate parliament. It was circulated about the kingdom for subscriptions, signed by a great number of those who sat in parliament, and presented to the king by lord Ross, who with some others was deputed for that purpose. The king told them, they should know his intention in Scotland; and in the mean time, adjourned their parliament by proclamation. The people, exasperated at this new provocation, began to form the draught of a

second national address, to be signed by the shires and boroughs of the kingdom: but, before this could be finished, the king wrote a letter to the duke of Queensberry, and the privy council of that nation, which was published for the satisfaction of the people. He professed himself grieved at the nation's loss, and willing to grant what might be needful for the relief and ease of the kingdom. He assured them he had their interest at heart; and that his good subjects should have convincing proofs of his sincere inclination to advance the wealth and prosperity of that his antient kingdom. He said he hoped this declaration would be satisfactory to all good men: that they would not suffer themselves to be misled; nor give advantage to enemies, and ill-designing persons, ready to seize every opportunity of embroiling the government. He gave them to understand, that his necessary absence had occasioned the late adjournment; but as soon as God should bring him back, their parliament should be assembled. Even this explanation, seconded by all the credit and address of his ministers, failed in allaying the national ferment, which rose to the very verge of rebellion.

§ XXX. The king, who, from his first accession to the throne, had veered occasionally from one party to another, according to the circumstances of his affairs, and the opposition he encountered, was at this period so incensed and embarrassed by the caprice and insolence of the commons, that he willingly lent an ear to the leaders of the Tories, who undertook to manage the parliament according to his pleasure, provided he would part with some of his ministers, who were peculiarly odious to the commons. The person against whom their anger was chiefly directed, was the lord chancellor Somers, the most active leader of the Whig-party. They demanded his dismissal, and the king exhorted him to resign his office; but he refusing to take any step that might indicate a fear of his enemies, or a consciousness of guilt, the king sent a peremptory order for the seals by the lord Jersey, to whom Somers delivered them without hesitation. They were successively offered to lord chief-justice Holt, and Trevor the attorney-general, who declined accepting such a precarious office. Mean while the king granted a temporary commission to three judges to sit in the court of chancery; and at length bestowed the seals, with the title of lord-keeper, on Sir Nathan Wright, one of the serjeants at law, a man but indifferently qualified for the office to which he was now preferred. Though the king seemed altogether attached to the Tories, and inclined to a new parliament, no person appeared to take the lead in the affairs of government; and, indeed, for some time ~~time~~ the administration seemed to be under no particular direction.

§ XXXI. During the transactions of the last session, the negotiation for a second partition-treaty was carried on in London by the French minister Tallard, in conjunction with the earls of Portland and Jersey, and soon brought to perfection. On the twenty-first day of February, the treaty was signed in London; and, on the twenty-fifth of the next month, it was subscribed at the Hague by Briord the French envoy, and the plenipotentiaries of the states-general. By this convention the treaty of Ryswick was confirmed. The contracting parties agreed, That in case of his catholic majesty's dying without issue, the dauphin should possess, for himself and his heirs, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the islands of St. Stephano, Porto Hercole, Orbitello, Telamone, Porto Longone, Piombino, the city and marquisate of Final, the province

of Guipuscoa; the dutchies of Lorrain and Bar, in exchange for which the duke of Lorraine should enjoy the dutchy of Milan; but that the county of Biche should remain in sovereignty to the prince of Vaudemont: That the archduke Charles should inherit the kingdom of Spain, and all its dependencies in and out of Europe; but, in case of his dying without issue, it should devolve to some other child of the emperor, excepting him who should succeed as emperor or king of the Romans: That this monarchy should never descend to a king of France or dauphin; and that three months should be allowed to the emperor, to consider whether or not he would accede to this treaty. Whether the French king was really sincere in his professions at this juncture, or proposed this treaty with a view to make a clandestine use of it at the court of Spain for more interested purposes, it is not easy to determine: at first, however, it was concealed from the notice of the public, as if the parties had resolved to take no step in consequence of it, during the life of his catholic majesty.

§ XXXII. In the beginning of July, the king embarked for Holland, after having appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his absence. On the twenty-ninth day of the same month, the young duke of Gloucester, the only remaining child of seventeen whom the princess Anne had borne, died of a malignant fever, in the eleventh year of his age. His death was much lamented by the greater part of the English nation, not only on account of his promising talents and gentle behaviour, but also as it left the succession undetermined, and might create disputes of fatal consequence to the nation. The Jacobites openly exulted in an event which they imagined would remove the chief bar to the interest of the prince of Wales; but the protestants generally turned their eyes upon the princess Sophia, electress dowager of Hanover, and grand-daughter of James I. It was with a view to concert the establishment of her succession, that the court of Brunswick now returned the visit of king William. The present state of affairs in England, however, afforded a very uncomfortable prospect. The people were generally alienated from the person and government of the reigning king, upon whom they seem to have surfeited. The vigour of their minds was destroyed by luxury and sloth: the severity of their morals was relaxed by a long habit of venality and corruption. The king's health began to decline, and even his faculties decayed apace. No person was appointed to ascend the throne when it should become vacant. The Jacobite faction alone was eager, vigilant, enterprising, and elate. They dispatched Mr. Graham, brother of lord Preston, to the court of St. Germain's, immediately after the death of the duke of Gloucester: they began to bestir themselves all over the kingdom. A report was spread, that the princess Anne had privately sent a message to her father; and Britain was once more threatened with civil war, confusion, anarchy, and ruin.

§ XXXIII. In the mean time, king William was not inactive. The kings of Denmark and Poland, with the elector of Brandenburg, had formed a league to crush the young king of Sweden, by invading his dominions on different sides. The Poles actually entered Livonia, and undertook the siege of Riga; while the king of Denmark having demolished some forts in Holstein, the duke of which was connected with Sweden, invested Tonninghen. The Swedish minister in England demanded that assistance of William which had

had been stipulated in a late renewal of the antient treaty between England and Sweden. The states of Holland were solicited to the same purpose. Accordingly, a fleet of thirty sail, English and Dutch, was sent to the Baltic, under the command of Sir George Rooke, who joined the Swedish Squadron and bombarded Copenhagen, to which the Danish fleet had retired. At the same time, the duke of Lunenburg, with the Swedish forces which happened to be at Bremen, passed the Elbe, and marched to the assistance of the duke of Holstein. The Danes immediately abandoned the siege of Tonninghen; and a body of Saxons, who had made an irruption into the territories of the duke of Brunswick, were obliged to retreat in disorder. By the mediation of William, a negotiation was begun for a treaty between Sweden and Denmark, which, in order to quicken, Charles the young king of Sweden made a descent upon the isle of Zealand. This was executed with great success. Charles was the first man who landed; and here he exhibited such marks of courage and conduct, far above his years, as equally astonished and intimidated his adversaries. Then he determined to besiege Copenhagen; a resolution which struck such terror into the Danes, that they proceeded with redoubled diligence in the treaty, which was brought to a conclusion, between Denmark, Sweden, and Holstein, about the middle of August. Then the Swedes retired to Schonen, and the squadrons of the maritime powers returned from the Baltic.

§ XXXIV. When the new partition-treaty was communicated by the ministers of the contracting parties to the other powers of Europe, it generally met with a very unfavourable construction. Saxony and the northern crowns were still embroiled with their own quarrels, consequently could not give much attention to such a remote transaction. The princes of Germany appeared cautious and dilatory in their answers, unwilling to be concerned in any plan that might excite the resentment of the house of Austria. The elector of Brandenburg, in particular, had set his heart upon the regal dignity, which he hoped to obtain from the favour and authority of the emperor. The Italian states were averse to the partition-treaty, from their apprehension of seeing France in possession of Naples, and other districts of their country. The duke of Savoy affected a mysterious neutrality, in hope of being able to barter his consent for some considerable advantage. The Swiss cantons declined acceding as guarantees. The emperor expressed his astonishment that any disposition should be made of the Spanish monarchy, without the consent of the present possessor, and the states of the kingdom. He observed, that neither justice or decorum could warrant the contracting powers to compel him, who was the rightful heir, to accept a part of his inheritance within three months, under penalty of forfeiting even that share to a third person not yet named; and he declared, that he could take no final resolution, until he should know the sentiments of his catholic majesty, on an affair in which their mutual interest was so nearly concerned. Leopold was actually engaged in a negotiation with the king of Spain, who signed a will in favour of his second son Charles; yet he took no measures to support the disposition, either by sending the archduke with a sufficient force into Spain, or by detaching troops into Italy.

§ XXXV. The people of Spain were exasperated at the insolence of the three foreign powers who pretended to parcel out their dominions. Their pride took the alarm, at the prospect of their monarchy's being dismembered; and the

grandees repined at the thought of losing so many lucrative governments, which they now enjoyed. The king's life became every day more and more precarious, from frequent returns of his disorder. The ministry was weak and divided, the nobility factious, and the people discontented. The hearts of the nation had been alienated from the house of Austria, by the insolent carriage and rapacious disposition of the queen Mariana. The French had gained over to their interests the cardinal Portocarrero, the marquis de Monterey, with many other noblemen and persons of distinction. These perceiving the sentiments of the people, employed their emissaries to raise a general cry that France alone could maintain the succession intire; that the house of Austria was feeble and exhausted, and any prince of that line must owe his chief support to detestable heretics. Portocarrero tampered with the weakness of his sovereign. He repeated and exaggerated all these suggestions: he advised him to consult his holiness pope Innocent XII. on this momentous point of regulating the succession. That pontiff, who was a creature of France, having taken the advice of a college of cardinals, determined, that the renunciation of Maria Theresa, was invalid and null, as being founded upon compulsion, and contrary to the fundamental laws of the Spanish monarchy. He therefore exhorted king Charles to contribute to the propagation of the faith, and the repose of Christendom, by making a new will in favour of a grandson of the French monarch. This admonition was seconded by the remonstrances of Portocarrero; and the weak prince complied with the proposal. In the mean time, the king of France seemed to act heartily, as a principal in the treaty of partition. His ministers at foreign courts co-operated with those of the maritime powers, in soliciting the accession of the different powers in Europe. When count Zinzendorf, the Imperial ambassador at Paris, presented a memorial, desiring to know what part France would act, should the king of Spain voluntarily place a grandson of Lewis upon the throne, the marquis de Torcy answered in writing, that his most christian majesty would by no means listen to such a proposal: nay, when the emperor's minister gave them to understand that his master was ready to begin a separate negotiation with the court of Versailles touching the Spanish succession, Lewis declared he could not treat on that subject without the concurrence of his allies.

§ XXXVI. The nature of the partition-treaty was no sooner known in England, than condemned by the most intelligent part of the nation. They first of all complained, that such an important affair should be concluded without the advice of parliament. They observed, that the scheme was unjust, and the execution of it hazardous: that, in concerting the terms, the maritime powers seemed to have acted as partisans of France; for the possession of Naples and the Tuscan ports would subject Italy to her dominion, and interfere with the English trade to the Levant and Mediterranean; while Guipuscoa, on any future rupture, would afford another inlet into the heart of the Spanish dominions: they, for these reasons, pronounced the treaty destructive of the balance of power, and prejudicial to the interest of England. All these arguments were trumpeted by the malcontents, so that the whole kingdom echoed with the clamour of disaffection; while Sir Christopher Musgrave, and others of the Tory faction, began to think in earnest of establishing the succession of the English crown upon the person of the prince of Wales. They
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are said to have sent over Mr. Graham to St. Germain's with overtures to this purpose, and an assurance that a motion would be made in the house of commons, to pass a vote that the crown should not be supported in the execution of the partition-treaty. King William was not ignorant of the censure he had undergone, and not a little alarmed to find himself so unpopular among his own subjects. That he might be the more able to bestow his attention effectually upon the affairs of England, he resolved to take some measures for the satisfaction of the Scottish nation. He permitted the parliament of that kingdom to meet on the twenty-eighth day of October, and wrote a letter to them from his house at Loob, containing an assurance that he would concur in every thing that could be reasonably proposed for maintaining and advancing the peace and welfare of their kingdom. He promised to give his royal assent to such acts as they should frame for the better establishment of the presbyterian discipline, for preventing the growth of popery, suppressing vice and immorality, encouraging piety and virtue, preserving and securing personal liberty, regulating and advancing trade, retrieving the losses, and promoting the interest of their African and Indian companies. He expressed his concern that he could not assert the company's right of establishing a colony at Darien, without disturbing the peace of Christendom, and entailing a ruinous war on that his ancient kingdom. He recommended unanimity and dispatch in raising competent taxes for their own defence; and told them he had thought fit to continue the duke of Queensberry in the office of high-commissioner. Notwithstanding this soothing address, the national resentment continued to rage, and the parliament seemed altogether intractable. By this time the company had received certain tidings of the intire surrender of their settlement; and, on the first day of the session, they represented to parliament, that for want of due protection abroad, some persons had been encouraged to break in upon their privileges even at home. This remonstrance was succeeded by another national address to the king, who told them he could not take any further notice of that affair, since the parliament was now assembled; and he had already made a declaration, with which he hoped all his faithful subjects would be satisfied. Nevertheless, he found it absolutely necessary to practise other expedients for allaying the ferment of that nation. His ministers and their agents bestirred themselves so successfully, that the heats in parliament were entirely cooled, and the outcry of the people subsided into unavailing murmurs. The parliament resolved, That in consideration of their great deliverance by his majesty; and in that, next under God, their safety and happiness wholly depended on his preservation and that of his government, they would support both to the utmost of their power, and maintain such forces as should be requisite for those ends. They passed an act for keeping on foot three thousand men for two years, to be maintained by a land-tax. Then the commissioner produced the king's letter, desiring to have eleven hundred men on his own account to the first day of June following: they forthwith complied with his request, and were prorogued to the sixth of May. The supernumerary troops were sent over to the states-general; and the earl of Argyle was honoured with the title of duke, as a recompence for having concurred with the commissioner in managing this session of parliament.

§ XXXVII. King William had returned to England on the eighteenth day of October, not a little chagrined at the perplexities in which he found himself involved; and, in the beginning of the next month, he received advice that the king of Spain was actually dead. He could not be surpris'd at this event, which had been so long expected; but it was attended with a circumstance which he had not foreseen. Charles, by his last will, had declared the duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin, the sole heir of the Spanish monarchy. In case this prince should die without issue, or inherit the crown of France, he willed that Spain should devolve to the duke of Berry, in default of him and children, to the archduke Charles and his heirs, failing of whom, to the duke of Savoy and his posterity. He likewise recommended a match between the duke of Anjou and one of the archduchesses. When this testament was first notified to the French court, Lewis seem'd to hesitate between his inclination and engagements to William and the states-general. Madam de Maintenon is said to have join'd her influence to that of the dauphin, in persuading the king to accept of the will; and Pontchartrain was engag'd to support the same measure. A cabinet-council was call'd in her apartment. The rest of the ministry declared for the treaty of partition: the king affect'd a kind of neutrality. The dauphin spoke for his son, with an air of resolution he had never assum'd before: Pontchartrain seconded his arguments: Madam de Maintenon ask'd what the duke of Anjou had done to provoke the king, that he should be barr'd of his right to that succession? Then the rest of the members espous'd the dauphin's opinion; and the king own'd himself convinc'd by their reasons. In all probability the decision of this council was previously settled in private. After the will was accepted, Lewis closetted the duke of Anjou, to whom he said, in presence of the marquis des Rios, "Sir, the king of Spain has made you a king. The grantees demand you; the people wish for you, and I give my consent. Remember only, you are a prince of France. I recommend to you to love your people, to gain their affection by the lenity of your government, and render yourself worthy of the throne you are going to ascend." The new monarch was congratulated on his elevation by all the princes of the blood: nevertheless, the duke of Orleans and his son protest'd against the will, because the archduke was plac'd next in succession to the duke of Berry, in bar of their right as descendants of Anne of Austria, whose renunciation could be of no more force than that of Maria-Theresa. On the fourth day of December, the new king set out for Spain, to the frontiers of which he was accompanied by his two brothers.

§ XXXVIII. When the will was accepted, the French minister de Torcy endeavour'd to justify his master's conduct to the earl of Manchester, who resided at Paris in the character of ambassador from the court of London. He observ'd, That the treaty of partition was not likely to answer the ends for which it had been concert'd: That the emperor had refus'd to accede: That it was relish'd by none of the princes to whom it had been communicat'd: That the people of England and Holland had express'd their discontent at the prospect of France's being in possession of Naples and Sicily: That if Lewis had reject'd the will, the archduke would have had a double title, deriv'd from the former will, and that of the late king: That the Spaniards were so averse to the division of their monarchy, there would be a necessity for conquering the

whole kingdom before the treaty could be executed: That the ships to be furnished by Great Britain and Holland would not be sufficient for the purposes of such a war; and it was doubtful whether England and the states-general would engage themselves in a greater expence. He concluded with saying, That the treaty would have been more advantageous to France than the will, which the king accepted purely from a desire of preserving the peace of Europe. His master hoped therefore the good understanding would subsist between him and the king of Great Britain. The same reasons were communicated by Briord the French ambassador at the Hague, to the states-general, who ordered their envoy at Paris to deliver a memorial to the French king, expressing their surprize at his having accepted the will; and their hope, that as the time specified for the emperor's acceding to the treaty was not expired, his most christian majesty would take the affair again into his consideration, and adhere to his engagements in every article. Lewis, in his answer to this memorial, which he dispatched to all the courts of Europe, declared, That what he chiefly considered was the principal design of the contracting parties, namely, the maintenance of peace in Europe; and that, true to this principle, he only departed from the words, that he might the better adhere to the spirit of the treaty.

§ XXXIX. With this answer he sent a letter to the states, giving them to understand, that the peace of Europe was so firmly established by the will of the king of Spain, in favour of his grandson, that he did not doubt their approbation of his succession to the Spanish crown. The states observed, That they could not declare themselves upon an affair of such consequence, without consulting their respective provinces. Lewis admitted the excuse, and assured them of his readiness to concur with whatever they should desire for the security of the Spanish Netherlands. The Spanish ambassador at the Hague presented them with a letter from his new master, who likewise notified his accession to all the powers of Europe, except the king of England. The emperor loudly exclaimed against the will, as being more iniquitous than the treaty of partition; and threatened to do himself justice by force of arms. The Spaniards apprehending that a league would be formed between his Imperial majesty and the maritime powers, for setting aside the succession of the duke of Anjou; and, conscious of their own inability to defend their dominions, resigned themselves intirely to the protection of the French monarch. The towns in the Spanish Netherlands and the dutchy of Milan admitted French garrisons: a French squadron anchored in the port of Cadiz, and another was detached to the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. Part of the Dutch army that was quartered in Luxemburg, Mons, and Namur, were made prisoners of war, because they would not own the king of Spain, whom their masters had not yet acknowledged. The states were overwhelmed with consternation by this event, especially when they considered their own naked situation, and reflected that the Spanish garrisons might fall upon them before they could assemble a body of troops for their defence. The danger was so imminent, that they resolved to acknowledge the king of Spain without further hesitation, and wrote a letter to the French king for that purpose: this was no sooner received, than orders were issued for sending back their battalions.

§ XL. How warmly soever king William resented the conduct of the French king, in accepting the will so diametrically opposite to his engagements,

ments, he dissembled his chagrin, and behaved with such reserve and apparent indifference, that some people naturally believed he had been privy to the transaction. Others imagined that he was discouraged from engaging in a new war by his bodily infirmities, which daily encreased; and the opposition in parliament, to which he should be inevitably exposed. But his real aim was to conceal his sentiments, until he should have sounded the opinions of other powers in Europe, and seen how far he could depend upon his new ministry. He now seemed to repose his chief confidence in the earl of Rochester, who had undertaken for the Tories, and was declared lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Lord Godolphin was appointed first commissioner of the treasury: lord Tankerville succeeded lord Lonsdale lately deceased, as keeper of the privy-seal, and Sir Charles Hedges was declared secretary of state, in the room of the earl of Jersey: but the management of the commons was intrusted to Mr. Robert Harley, who had hitherto opposed the measures of the court with equal virulence and ability. These new undertakers well knowing they should find it very difficult, if not impossible, to secure a majority in the present parliament, prevailed on the king to dissolve it by proclamation; then the sheriffs were changed according to their nomination, and writs issued for a new parliament to meet on the sixth day of February. During this interval, count Wratislaw arrived in England, as ambassador from the emperor, to explain Leopold's title to the Spanish monarchy, supported by repeated intails and renunciations, confirmed in the most solemn treaties. This minister met with a very cold reception from those who stood at the helm of affairs. They sought to avoid all connexions that might engage their country as a principal, in another war upon the continent, smarting as they were from the losses and incumbrances which the last had intailed upon them and their posterity. They seemed to think that Lewis, rather than involve himself in fresh troubles, would give all the security that could be desired for maintaining the peace of Europe; or even should this be refused, they saw no reason for Britain's exhausting her wealth and strength to support a chimerical balance, in which her interest was but remotely concerned. It was their opinion, that by keeping aloof, she might render herself more respectable. Her reserve would overawe contending powers: they would in their turns sue for her assistance, and implore her good offices; and, instead of declaring herself a party, she would have the honour to decide as arbitress of their disputes. Perhaps they extended this idea too far; and, in all probability, their notions were inflamed by a spirit of faction. They hated the Whigs as their political adversaries, and detested the war, because it had been countenanced and supported by the interest of that party. The king believed, that a conjunction of the two monarchies of France and Spain would prove fatal to the liberties of Europe; and that this could not be prevented by any other method than a general union of the other European powers. He certainly was an enthusiast in his sentiments of this equilibrium; and fully convinced that he himself, of all the potentates in Christendom, was the only prince capable of adjusting the balance. The Imperial ambassador could not therefore be long ignorant of his real purpose, as he conversed with the Dutch favourites, who knew and approved of their master's design, though he avoided a declaration, until he should have rendered his ministers more propitious to his aim. The true secret, however, of that reserve with which count

count Wratislaw was treated at his first arrival, was a private negotiation which the king had set on foot with the regency of Spain, touching a barrier in the Netherlands. He proposed, that certain towns should be garrisoned with English and Dutch troops, by way of security against the ambitious designs of France; but the regency were so devoted to the French interest, that they refused to listen to any proposal of this nature. While this affair was in agitation, William resolved to maintain a wary distance from the emperor; but, when his effort miscarried, the ambassador found him much more open and accessible.

§ XLI. The parliament meeting on the sixth, was prorogued to the tenth day of February, when Mr. Harley was chosen speaker by a great majority, in opposition to Sir Richard Onslow. The king had previously told Sir Thomas Lyttleton, it would be for his service that he should yield his pretensions to Harley at this juncture; and that gentleman agreed to absent himself from the house on the day of election. The king observed, in his speech, That the nation's loss in the death of the duke of Gloucester had rendered it absolutely necessary for them to make further provision for the succession of the crown in the protestant line: That the death of the king of Spain had made such an alteration in the affairs of the continent, as required their mature deliberation. The rest of his harangue turned upon the usual topics of demanding supplies for the ensuing year, reminding them of the deficiencies and public debts, recommending to their inquiry the state of the navy and fortifications; exhorting them to encourage commerce, employ the poor, and proceed with vigour and unanimity in all their deliberations. Though the elections had been generally carried in favour of the Tory interest, the ministry had secured but one part of that faction. Some of the most popular leaders, such as the duke of Leeds, the marquis of Normanby, the earl of Nottingham, Seymour, Musgrave, How, Finch, and Showers, had been either neglected or found refractory, and resolved to oppose the court-measures with all their influence. Besides, the French king knowing that the peace of Europe would in a great measure depend on the resolutions of the English parliament, is said to have distributed great sums of money in England, by means of his minister Tallard, in order to strengthen the opposition in the house of commons. Certain it is, the nation abounded at this period with the French coins called Louis d'or and pistoles; but whether this redundancy was owing to a balance of trade in favour of England, or to the largesses of Lewis, we shall not pretend to determine. We may likewise observe, that the infamous practice of bribing electors had never been so flagrant as in the choice of representatives for this parliament.

* This year was distinguished by a glorious victory which the young king of Sweden obtained in the nineteenth year of his age. Riga continued invested by the king of Poland, while Peter the czar of Muscovy made his approaches to Narva, at the head of a prodigious army, purposing, in violation of all faith and justice, to share the spoils of the youthful monarch. Charles landed at Revel, compelled the Saxons to abandon the siege of Riga, and having supplied the place, marched with a handful of troops against the Muscovites, who had undertaken the siege of Narva. The czar quitted his army with some precipitation, as if he had been afraid of hazarding his person, while Charles advanced through ways that were thought impracticable, and surprised the enemy. He broke into their camp before they had the least intimation of his approach, and totally routed them, after a short resistance. He took a great number of prisoners, with all their baggage, tents, and artillery, and entered Narva in triumph.

The scandalous traffic had been chiefly carried on by the Whig-party, and therefore their antagonists resolved to spare no pains in detecting their corruption. Sir Edward Seymour distinguished himself by his zeal and activity, brought some of these practices to light, and, in particular, stigmatized the new East-India company, for having been deeply concerned in this species of venality. An inquiry being set on foot in the house of commons, several elections were declared void; and, divers persons who had been illegally returned, were first expelled the house, and afterwards detained in prison. Yet these prosecutions were carried on with such partiality as plainly indicated that they flowed rather from party-zeal than from patriotism.

§ XLII. A great body of the commons had resolved to present an address to his majesty, desiring he would acknowledge the king of Spain; and the motion, in all probability, would have been carried by a considerable majority, had not one bold and lucky expression given such a turn to the debate, as induced the anti-courtiers to desist. One Mr. Monkton, in the heat of his declamation against this measure, said, he expected the next vote would be for owning the pretended prince of Wales. Though there was little or no connexion between these two subjects, a great many members were startled at the insinuation, and deserted the measure, which was dropped accordingly. The king's speech being taken into consideration, the house resolved to support his majesty and his government; to take such effectual measures as might best conduce to the interest and safety of England, and the preservation of the protestant religion. This resolution was presented in an address to the king, who received it favourably. At the same time, he layed before them a memorial he had received from the states-general, and desired their advice and assistance in the points that constituted the substance of this remonstrance. The states gave him to understand, that they had acknowledged the duke of Anjou as king of Spain: that France had agreed to a negotiation, in which they might stipulate the necessary conditions for securing the peace of Europe; and, that they were firmly resolved to do nothing without the concurrence of his majesty and their other allies. They, therefore, begged he would send a minister to the Hague, with necessary powers and instructions to co-operate with them in this negotiation; and, in case it should prove ineffectual, or Holland be suddenly invaded by the troops which Lewis had ordered to advance towards their frontiers, they relied on the assistance of England, and hoped his majesty would prepare the succours stipulated by treaty, to be used, should occasion require. The memorial was likewise communicated to the house of lords. Mean while the commons desired, that the treaties between England and the states-general should be layed before their house. These being perused, they resolved upon an address, to desire his majesty would enter into such negotiations with the states-general and other potentates, as might most effectually conduce to the mutual safety of Great-Britain and the United-Provinces, as well as to the preservation of the peace of Europe; and to assure him of their support and assistance, in performance of the treaty subsisting between England and the states-general. This resolution, however, was not carried without great opposition from those who were averse to the nation's involving itself in another war upon the continent. The king professed himself extremely well pleased with this address, and told them he would immediately order his ministers

ministers abroad to act in concert with the states-general and other powers, for the attainment of those ends they proposed.

§ XLIII. He communicated to the commons a letter written by the earl of Melfort to his brother the earl of Perth, governor to the pretended prince of Wales. It had been mislaid by accident, and came to London in the French mail. It contained a scheme for another invasion of England, together with some reflections upon the character of the earl of Middleton, who had supplanted him at the court of St. Germain's. Melfort was a mere projector, and seems to have had no other view than that of recommending himself to king James, and bringing his rival into disgrace. The house of lords, to whom the letter was also imparted, ordered it to be printed, and next day presented an address, thanking his majesty for his care of the protestant religion; desiring all the treaties made since the last war might be layed before them; requesting him to engage in such alliances as he should think proper for preserving the ballance of power in Europe; assuring him of their concurrence; expressing their acknowledgment for his having communicated Melfort's letter; desiring he would give order for seizing the houses and arms of disaffected persons; for removing papists from London; and for searching after those arms and provisions of war mentioned in the letter: finally, they requested him to equip speedily a sufficient fleet for the defence of himself and his kingdom. They received a gracious answer to this address, which was a further encouragement to the king to put his own private designs in execution; and towards the same end the letter contributed not a little, by inflaming the fears and resentment of the nation against France, which in vain disclaimed the earl of Melfort as a fantastical schemer, to whom no regard was payed at the court of Versailles. The French ministry complained of the publication of this letter, as an attempt to sow jealousies between the two crowns; and, as a convincing proof of their sincerity, banished the earl of Melfort to Angers.

§ XLIV. The credit of exchequer bills was so lowered by the change of the ministry, and the lapse of the time allotted for their circulation, that they fell near twenty per cent. to the prejudice of the revenue, and the discredit of the government in foreign countries. The commons having taken this affair into consideration, voted, That provision should be made from time to time for making good the principal and interest due on all parliamentary funds; and afterwards passed a bill for renewing the bills of credit, commonly called Exchequer bills. This was sent up to the lords on the sixth day of March, and on the thirteenth received the royal assent. The next object that engrossed the attention of the commons was the settlement of the succession to the throne, which the king had recommended to their consideration in the beginning of the session. Having deliberated on this subject, they resolved, That for the preservation of the peace and happiness of the kingdom, and the security of the protestant religion, it was absolutely necessary, that a further declaration should be made of the limitation and succession of the crown in the protestant line, after his majesty and the princess, and the heirs of their bodies respectively: and, That further provision should be first made for the security of the rights and liberties of the people. Mr. Harley moved, That some conditions of government might be settled as preliminaries, before they should proceed to the nomination of the person, that their security might be complete. Accordingly

they deliberated on this subject, and agreed to the following resolutions: That whoever shall hereafter come to the possession of this crown, shall join in communion with the church of England as by law established: That, in case the crown and imperial dignity of this realm shall hereafter come to any person, not being a native of this kingdom of England, this nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories which do not belong to the crown of England, without the consent of parliament: That no person who shall hereafter come to the possession of the crown, shall go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without consent of parliament: That, from and after the time, that the further limitation by this act shall take effect, all matters and things relating to the well governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the privy-council, by the laws and customs of the realm, shall be transacted there, and all resolutions taken thereupon, shall be signed by such of the privy-council as shall advise and consent to the same: That after the limitation shall take effect, no person born out of the kingdom of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging, although he be naturalized, and made a denizen (except such as are born of English parents) shall be capable to be of the privy-council, or a member of either house of parliament, or to enjoy any office or place of trust, either civil or military, or to have any grant of lands, tenements, or hereditaments from the crown to himself, or to any others in trust for him: That no person who has an office or place of profit under the king, or receives a pension from the crown, shall be capable of serving as member of the house of commons: That after the limitation shall take effect, judges commissions be made, *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and their salaries ascertained and established; but, upon the address of both houses of parliament, it may be lawful to remove them: That no pardon under the great seal of England be pleadable to an impeachment by the commons in parliament. Having settled these preliminaries, they resolved, That the princess Sophia, dutchess dowager of Hanover, be declared the next in succession to the crown of England, in the protestant line, after his majesty and the princess, and the heirs of their bodies respectively: and, That the further limitation of the crown be to the said princess Sophia and the heirs of her body, being protestants. A bill being formed on these resolutions, was sent up to the house of lords, where it met with some opposition from the marquiss of Normanby; and a protest was entered against it by the earls of Huntingdon and Plymouth, the lords Guilford and Jeffries. Nevertheless, it passed without amendments, and on the twelfth day of June received the royal assent: yet, the king was extremely mortified at the preliminary limitations, which he considered as an open insult on his own conduct and administration; not but that they were necessary precautions, naturally suggested by the experience of those evils to which the nation had been already exposed, in consequence of raising a foreign prince to the throne of England. As the Tories lay under the imputation of favouring the late king's interest, they exerted themselves zealously on this occasion, to wipe off the aspersions, and insinuate themselves into the confidence of the people; hoping, that in the sequel they should be able to restrain the nation from engaging too deep in the affairs of the continent, without incurring the charge of disaffection to the present king and government. The act of settlement being passed, the earl of Macclesfield was sent to notify the transaction

to

to the electress Sophia, who likewise received from his hands the order of the garter.

§ XLV. The act of succession gave umbrage to all the popish princes who were more nearly related to the crown than this lady, whom the parliament had preferred to all others. The dutchess of Savoy, grand-daughter to king Charles I. by her mother, ordered her ambassador count Maffei, to make a protestation to the parliament of England, in her name, against all resolutions and decisions contrary to her title, as sole daughter to the princess Henrietta, next in succession to the crown of England, after king William and the princess Anne of Denmark. Two copies of this protest Maffei sent in letters to the lord-keeper and the speaker of the lower house, by two of his gentlemen and a public notary to attest the delivery; but, no notice was taken of the declaration. The duke of Savoy, while his minister was thus employed in England, engaged in an alliance with the crowns of France and Spain, on condition, That his catholic majesty should espouse his youngest daughter without a dowry: That he himself should command the allied army in Italy, and furnish eight thousand infantry, with five and twenty hundred horse, in consideration of a monthly subsidy of fifty thousand crowns.

§ XLVI. During these transactions, Mr. Stanhope envoy extraordinary to the states-general, was empowered to treat with the ministers of France and Spain, according to the addresses of both houses of parliament. He represented, that though his most christian majesty had thought fit to deviate from the partition-treaty, it was not reasonable that the king of England should lose the effect of that convention: he therefore expected some security for the peace of Europe; and for that purpose insisted upon certain articles, importing, That the French king should immediately withdraw his troops from the Spanish Netherlands: That, for the security of England, the cities of Ostend and Newport should be delivered into the hands of his Britannic majesty: That no kingdom, provinces, cities, lands, or places belonging to the crown of Spain, should ever be yielded or transferred to the crown of France, on any pretence whatever: That the subjects of his Britannic majesty should retain all the privileges, rights, and immunities, with regard to their navigation and commerce in the dominions of Spain, which they enjoyed at the death of his late catholic majesty: and also all such immunities, rights, and franchises, as the subjects of France or any other power, either possess for the present, or may enjoy for the future: That all treaties of peace and conventions between England and Spain should be renewed: and, That a treaty formed on these demands, should be guaranteed by such powers as one or other of the contractors should solicit and prevail upon to accede. Such likewise were the proposals made by the states-general, with this difference, that they demanded as cautionary towns all the strongest places in the Netherlands. Count D'Avaux, the French minister, was so surprised at these exorbitant demands, that he could not help saying, They could not have been higher if his master had lost four successive battles. He assured them, that his most christian majesty would withdraw his troops from the Spanish Netherlands as soon as the king of Spain should have forces of his own sufficient to guard the country; but, with respect to the other articles, he could give no other answer, but that he would immediately transmit them to Versailles. Lewis was filled with indignation at the insolent strain of those proposals, which he

he considered as a sure mark of William's hostile intentions. He refused to give any other security for the peace of Europe, than a renewal of the treaty of Ryswick; and he is said to have tampered, by means of his agents and emissaries, with the members of the English parliament, that they might oppose all steps tending to a new war on the continent.

§ XLVII. King William certainly had no expectation that France would close with such proposals; but, he was not without hope, that her refusal would warm the English nation into a concurrence with his designs. He communicated to the house of commons the demands which had been made by him and the states-general; and gave them to understand, that he would from time to time make them acquainted with the progress of the negotiation. The commons suspecting, that his intention was to make them parties in a congress which he might conduct to a different end from that which they proposed, resolved to signify their sentiments in the answer to this message. They called for the treaty of partition, which being read, they voted an address of thanks to his majesty for his gracious declaration, that he would make them acquainted with the progress of the negotiation; and they signified their disapprobation of the partition-treaty, signed with the great seal of England, without the advice of the parliament which was then sitting, and productive of ill consequences to the kingdom, as well as to the peace of Europe, as it assigned over to the French king such a large portion of the Spanish dominions. Nothing could be more mortifying to the king than this open attack upon his own conduct; yet he suppressed his resentment, and without taking the least notice of their sentiments with respect to the partition-treaty, assured them, that he should be always ready to receive their advice on the negotiation which he had set on foot, according to their desire. The debates in the house of commons upon the subject of the partition-treaty, rose to such violence, that divers members, in declaiming against it, transgressed the bounds of decency. Sir Edward Seymour compared the division which had been made of the Spanish territories, to a robbery on the highway; and Mr. Howe did not scruple to say it was a felonious treaty: an expression, which the king resented to such a degree, that he declared he would have demanded personal satisfaction with his sword, had not he been restrained by the disparity of condition between himself and the person who had offered such an outrageous insult to his honour. Whether the Tories intended to alienate the minds of the nation from all foreign connexions, or to wreak their vengeance on the late ministers, whom they hated as the chiefs of the Whig party, certain it is, they now raised an universal outcry against the partition-treaty, which was not only condemned in public pamphlets and private conversation, but even brought into the house of lords as an object of parliamentary censure. In the month of March a warm debate on this subject was begun by Sheffield marquis of Normanby, and carried on with great vehemence by other noblemen of the same faction. They exclaimed against the article by which so many territories were added to the crown of France: they complained, that the emperor had been forsaken: that the treaty was not communicated to the privy-council or ministry, but clandestinely transacted by the earls of Portland and Jersey: and, that the sanction of the great seal had been unjustly and irregularly applied, first to blank powers, and afterwards to the treaty itself. The courtiers replied, that the king had engaged in a treaty of partition at the de-

fire

fire of the emperor, who had agreed to every article except that relating to the dutchy of Milan, and afterwards desired, that his majesty would procure for him the best terms he could obtain; above all things recommending secrecy, that he might not forfeit his interest in Spain, by seeming to consent to the treaty: that foreign negotiations being intrusted to the care of the crown, the king lay under no legal obligation to communicate such secrets of state to his council; far less was he obliged to follow their advice: and, that the keeper of the great seal had no authority for refusing to apply it to any powers or treaty which the king should grant or conclude, unless they were contrary to law, which had made no provision for such an emergency*. The earl of Portland apprehending that this tempest would burst upon his head, declared, on the second day of the debate, that he had by the king's order communicated the treaty before it was concluded, to the earls of Pembroke and Marlborough, the lords Londale, Somers, Hallifax, and secretary Vernon. These noblemen owned, that they had been made acquainted with the substance of it: that when they excepted to some particulars, they were told, his majesty had carried the matter as far as it could be advanced, and that he could obtain no better terms; thus assured that every article was already settled, they no longer insisted upon particulars, but gave their advice, that his majesty should not engage himself in any measure that would produce a new war, seeing the nation had been so uneasy under the last. After long debates, and great variety as well as virulence of altercation, they agreed to an address, in which they disapproved of the partition-treaty, as a scheme inconsistent with the peace and safety of Europe, as well as prejudicial to the interest of Great-Britain. They complained, that neither the instructions given to his plenipotentiaries, nor the draught of the treaty itself, had been laid before his majesty's council. They humbly besought him, that for the future, he would in all matters of importance, require, and admit the advice of his natural-born subjects of known probity and fortune: and, that he would constitute a council of such persons, to whom he might impart all affairs which should any way concern him and his dominions. They observed, that interest and natural affection to their country, would incline them to every measure that might tend to its welfare and prosperity; whereas strangers could not be so much influenced by these considerations: that their knowledge of the country would render them more capable than foreigners could be, of advising his majesty touching the true interests of his kingdom: that they had exhibited such repeated demonstrations of their duty and affection, as must convince his majesty of their zeal in his service; nor could he want the knowledge of persons fit to be employed in all his secret and arduous affairs: finally, as the French king appeared to have violated the treaty of partition, they advised his majesty in future negotiations with that prince, to proceed with such caution as might imply a real security.

Burnet.
Oldmixon.
Cole.
Lamberty,
State Tracts.
Tindal.
Ralph.
Voltaire.

* In the course of this debate, the earl of Rochester reprehended some lords for speaking disrespectfully of the French king, observing, that it was peculiarly incumbent on peers to treat monarchs with decorum and respect, as they derived their dignity from the crown. Another affirming, that the French king was not only to

be respected, but likewise to be feared; a certain lord replied, he hoped no man in England needed to be afraid of the French king, much less the peer who spoke last, who was too much a friend to that monarch to fear any thing from his resentment.

An.Ch.1701.

§ XLVIII. The king received this severe remonstrance with his usual phlegm, saying, it contained matter of very great moment; and, that he would take care that all treaties he made should be for the honour and safety of England. Though he deeply felt this affront, he would not alter his conduct towards the new ministers; but, he plainly perceived their intention was to thwart him in his favourite measure, and humble him into a dependence upon their interest in parliament. On the last day of March he imparted to the commons the French king's declaration, that he would grant no other security than a renewal of the treaty of Ryfwick: so that the negotiation seemed to be at an end. He likewise communicated two resolutions of the states-general, with a memorial from their envoy in England, relating to the ships they had equipped with a view to join the English fleet, and the succours stipulated in the treaty concluded in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-seven, which they desired might be sent over with all convenient expedition. The house having considered this message, unanimously resolved, to desire his majesty would carry on the negotiations in concert with the states-general, and take such measures therein as might most conduce to their safety; and, they assured him, they would effectually enable him to support the treaty of seventy-seven, by which England was bound to assist them with ten thousand men, and twenty ships of war, in case they should be attacked. Though the king was nettled at that part of this address, which, by confining him to one treaty, implied their disapprobation of a new confederacy, he discovered no signs of emotion; but, thanked them for the assurance they had given, and told them he had sent orders to his envoy at the Hague, to continue the conferences with the courts of France and Spain. On the nineteenth day of April the marquis de Torcy delivered to the earl of Manchester at Paris, a letter, from the new king of Spain to his Britannic majesty, notifying his accession to that throne, and expressing a desire of cultivating a mutual friendship with the king and crown of England. How averse soever William might have been to any correspondence of this sort, the earl of Rochester and the new ministers importuned him in such a manner to acknowledge Philip, that he at length complied with their intreaties; and wrote a civil answer to his most catholic majesty. This was a very alarming incident to the emperor, who was bent upon a war with the two crowns, and had determined to send prince Eugene with an army into Italy, to take possession of the dutchy of Milan, as a fief of the empire. The new pope Clement XI. who had succeeded to the papacy in the preceding year, was attached to the French interest, while the Venetians favoured the emperor; but, they refused to declare themselves at this juncture.

§ XLIX. The French king consented to a renewal of the negotiations at the Hague; but, in the mean time tampered with the Dutch deputies, to engage them in a separate treaty. Finding them determined to act in concert with the king of England, he protracted the conferences, in order to gain time, while he erected fortifications, and drew lines on the frontiers of Holland, divided the princes of the empire by his intrigues, and endeavoured to gain over the states of Italy. The Dutch, mean while, exerted themselves in providing for their own security. They reinforced their garrisons, purchased supplies, and solicited succours from foreign potentates. The states wrote a letter to king William, explaining

explaining the danger of their situation, professing the most inviolable attachment to the interest of England, and desiring, that the stipulated number of troops should be sent immediately to their assistance. The three Scottish regiments which he had retained in his own pay, were immediately transported from Scotland. The letter of the states-general he communicated to the house of commons, who having taken it into consideration, resolved to assist his majesty to support his allies in maintaining the liberty of Europe; and to provide immediately succours for the states-general, according to the treaty of seventy-seven. The house of peers, to whom the letter was also communicated, carried their zeal still farther. They presented an address, in which they desired his majesty would not only perform the articles of any former treaty with the states-general, but also engage with them in a strict league offensive and defensive, for their common preservation; and invite into it all the princes and states that were concerned in the present visible danger arising from the union of France and Spain. They exhorted him to enter into such alliances with the emperor, as his majesty should think necessary, pursuant to the ends of the treaty concluded in the year one thousand six hundred and eighty-nine. They assured him of their hearty and sincere assistance, not doubting that almighty God would protect his sacred person in so righteous a cause; and, that the unanimity, wealth, and courage of his subjects would carry him with honour and success through all the difficulties of a just war. Lastly, they took leave humbly to represent, that the dangers to which his kingdom and allies had been exposed, were chiefly owing to the fatal counsels that prevented his majesty's sooner meeting his people in parliament.

§ L. These proceedings of both houses could not but be very agreeable to the king, who expressed his satisfaction in his answer to each apart. They were the more remarkable, as at this very time, considerable progress was made in a design to impeach the old ministry. This deviation, therefore, from the tenour of their former conduct, could be owing to no other motive than a sense of their own danger, and resentment against France, which, even during the negotiation, had been secretly employed in making preparations to surprise and distress the states-general. The commons having expressed their sentiments on this subject, resumed the consideration of the partition-treaty. They had appointed a committee to examine the journals of the house of lords, and to report their proceedings in relation to the treaty of partition. When the report was made by Sir Edward Seymour, the house resolved itself into a committee, to consider the state of the nation; and, after warm debates, resolved, That William earl of Portland, by negotiating and concluding the treaty of partition, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour. They ordered Sir John Levison Gower to impeach him at the bar of the house of lords; and named a committee to prepare the articles of his impeachment. Then, in a conference with the lords, they desired to know the particulars of what had passed between the earl of Portland and secretary Vernon, in relation to the partition-treaty, as also what other information they had obtained concerning negotiations or treaties of partition of the Spanish monarchy. The lords demurring to this demand, the lower house resolved to address the king, That copies of both treaties of partition, together with all the powers and instructions for negotiating those treaties, should be layed before them. The copies were accordingly produced, and

the lords sent down to the commons two papers, containing the powers granted to the earls of Portland and Jersey, for signing both treaties of partition. The house afterwards ordered, That Mr. secretary Vernon should lay before them all the letters which had passed between the earl of Portland and him, in relation to those treaties; and he thought proper to obey their command. Nothing could be more scandalously partial than the conduct of the commons on this occasion. They resolved to screen the earl of Jersey, Sir Joseph Williamson, and Mr. Vernon, who had been as deeply concerned as any others in that transaction; and pointed all their vengeance against the earls of Portland and Orford, the lords Somers and Hallifax. Some of the members even tampered with Kidd, who was now a prisoner in Newgate, to accuse lord Somers as having encouraged him in his piracy. He was brought to the bar of the house and examined; but, he declared that he had never spoke to lord Somers; and, that he had no order from those concerned in the ship, but that of pursuing his voyage against the pyrates in Madagascar. Finding him unfit for their purpose, they left him to the course of law; and he, with some of his crew, were hanged.

§ LI. Lord Somers understanding that he was accused in the house of commons, of having consented to the partition-treaty, desired, that he might be admitted and heard in his own defence. His request being granted, he told the house, that when he received the king's letter concerning the partition-treaty, with an order to send over the necessary powers in the most secret manner, he thought it would have been taking too much upon him to put a stop to a treaty of such consequence, when the life of the king of Spain was so precarious; for, had that king died before the treaty was finished, and he been blamed for delaying the necessary powers, he could not have justified his own conduct, since the king's letter was really a warrant: that, nevertheless, he had written a letter to his majesty, objecting to several particulars in the treaty, and proposing other articles which he thought were for the interest of his country: that he thought himself bound to put the great seal to the treaty when it was concluded: that, as a privy-counsellor, he had offered his best advice, and as chancellor, executed his office according to his duty. After he had withdrawn, his justification gave rise to a long debate, which ended in a resolution carried by a majority of seven voices, That John lord Somers, by advising his majesty to conclude the treaty of partition, whereby large territories of the Spanish monarchy were to be delivered up to France, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour. Votes to the same effect were passed against Edward earl of Orford, and Charles lord Hallifax; and all three were impeached at the bar of the upper house. But, the commons knowing, that those impeachments would produce nothing in the house of lords, where the opposite interest predominated, they resolved to proceed against the accused noblemen in a more expeditious and effectual way of branding their reputation. They voted and presented an address to the king, desiring he would remove them from his councils and presence for ever, as advisers of a treaty so pernicious to the trade and welfare of England. They concluded, by repeating their assurances, that they would always stand by and support his majesty to the utmost of their power, against all his enemies both at home and abroad. The king, in his answer, artfully overlooked the first part of the remonstrance. He thanked them for their repeated assurances; and, told them he would employ none in his service.

vice but such as should be thought most likely to improve that mutual trust and confidence between him and his people, which was so necessary at that conjuncture, both for their own security and the preservation of their allies.

§ LII. The lords, incensed at this step of the commons, which they considered as an insult upon their tribunal, and a violation of common justice, drew up and delivered a counter-address, humbly beseeching his majesty, that he would not pass any censure upon the accused lords, until they should be tried on the impeachments, and judgment be given according to the usage of parliament. The king was so perplexed by these opposite representations, that he knew not well what course to follow. He made no reply to the counter-address; but, allowed the names of the impeached lords to remain in the council-books. The commons having carried their point, which was to stigmatize those noblemen, and prevent their being employed for the future, suffered the impeachments to be neglected, until they themselves moved for trial. On the fifth day of May the house of lords sent a message to the commons, importing, That no articles had as yet been exhibited against the noblemen whom they had impeached. The charge was immediately drawn up against the earl of Orford, whom they accused of having received exorbitant grants from the crown: of having been concerned with Kidd the pyrate: of having committed abuses in managing and victualling the fleet when it lay on the coast of Spain: and lastly, of having advised the partition-treaty. The earl in his own defence declared, that he had received no grant from the king, except a very distant reversion, and a present of ten thousand pounds after he had defeated the French at La Hogue: that in Kidd's affair he had acted legally, and with a good intention towards the public, tho' to his own loss: that his accounts with regard to the fleet which he commanded, had been examined and passed; yet, he was ready to waive that advantage, and justify himself in every particular: and he absolutely denied, that he had given any advice concerning the treaty of partition. Lord Somers was accused of having set the seals to the powers, and afterwards to the treaties: of having accepted some grants: of having been an accomplice with Kidd: and, of having been guilty of partial and dilatory proceedings in chancery. He answered every article of the charge; but, no replication was made by the commons, either to him or to the earl of Orford. When the commons were stimulated by another message from the peers, relating to the impeachments of the earl of Portland and lord Hallifax, they declined exhibiting articles against the former, on pretence of respect for his majesty; but, on the fourteenth of June the charge against Hallifax was sent up to the lords. He was taxed with possessing a grant in Ireland, without paying the produce of it, according to the law lately enacted concerning those grants: with enjoying another grant out of the forest of Dean, to the waste of the timber, and the prejudice of the navy: with having held places that were incompatible, by being at the same time commissioner of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer: and, with having advised the two treaties of partition. He answered, that his grant in Ireland was of debts and sums of money, not within the act concerning confiscated estates: that all he had ever received from it, did not exceed four hundred pounds, which, if he was bound to repay, a common action would lie against him; but, every man was not to be impeached who did not discharge his debts at the very day of payment. He observed, that as

his grant in the forest of Dean extended to weedings only, it could occasion no waste of timber, nor prejudice to the navy: that the auditor's place was held by another person, until he obtained the king's leave to withdraw from the treasury: that he never saw the first treaty of partition, nor was his advice asked upon the subject: that he had never heard of the second but once before it was concluded; and, then he spoke his sentiments freely on the subject. This answer, like the others, would have been neglected by the commons, whose aim was now to evade the trials, had not the lords pressed them by messages to expedite the articles. They even appointed a day for Orford's trial, and signified their resolution to the commons, who desired that a committee of both houses should be named for settling preliminaries, one of which was, That the lord to be tried should not sit as a peer; and, the other imported, That those lords impeached for the same matter, should not vote in the trial of each other. They likewise desired, that lord Somers should be first tried. The lords made no objection to this last demand: but, they rejected the proposal of a committee consisting of both houses, alledging, that the commons were parties, and had no title to sit in equality with the judges, or to settle matters relating to the trial: that this was a demand contrary to the principles of law and rules of justice, and never practised in any court or nation. The lords, indeed, had yielded to this expedient in the popish plot, because it was a case of treason, in which the king's life and safety of the kingdom were concerned, while the people were jealous of the court, and the whole nation was in a ferment: but, at present the times were quiet, and the charge amounted to nothing more than misdemeanours; therefore, the lords could not assent to such a proposal as was derogatory from their jurisdiction. Neither would they agree to the preliminaries; but, on the twelfth day of June, resolved, That no peer impeached for high crimes and misdemeanours, should upon his trial be without the bar: and, That no peer impeached can be precluded from voting on any occasion, except in his own trial. Divers messages passed between the two houses; the commons still insisting upon a committee to settle preliminaries: at length, the dispute was brought to a free conference.

§ LIII. Mean while, the king going to the house of peers, gave the royal assent to the bill of succession; and in his speech expressed his warm acknowledgments for their repeated assurances of supporting him in such alliances as should be most proper for the preservation of the liberty of Europe, and for the security of England and the states-general. He observed, that the season of the year was advanced: that the posture of affairs absolutely required his presence abroad: and, he recommended dispatch of the public business, especially of those matters which were of the greatest importance. The commons thanked him in an address for having approved of their proceedings: declared they would support him in such alliances as he should think fit to make in conjunction with the emperor and the states-general, for the peace of Europe, and reducing the exorbitant power of France. Then they resumed their dispute with the upper house. In the free conference, lord Haversham happened to tax the commons with partiality, in impeaching some lords and screening others, who were equally guilty of the same misdemeanours. Sir Christopher Musgrave and the managers for the commons immediately withdrew; and, this unguarded sally being reported to the house, they immediately resolved, That John lord Haversham had uttered most

most scandalous reproaches and false expressions, highly reflecting upon the honour and justice of the house of commons, tending to a breach in the good correspondence between the two houses, and to the interruption of the public justice of the nation: That the said lord Haversham should be charged before the lords for the said words: That the lords should be desired to proceed in justice against him, and to inflict upon him such punishment as so high an offence against the commons did deserve. The commons had now found a pretence to justify their delay; and declared they would not renew the conference until they should have received satisfaction. Lord Haversham offered to submit to a trial; but, insisted on their first proving the words which he was said to have spoken. When this declaration was imparted to the commons, they said, the lords ought to have censured him in a summary way; and still refused to renew the conference. The lords, on the other hand, came to a resolution, That there should not be a committee of both houses concerning the trial of the impeached lords. Then they resolved, That lord Somers should be tried in Westminster hall on Tuesday the seventeenth day of June, and signified this resolution to the lower house; reminding them, at the same time, of the articles against the earl of Portland. The commons refused to appear, alleging, they were the only judges, and, that the evidence was not yet prepared. They sent up the reasons of their non-appearance to the house of lords, where they were supported by the new ministry and all the malcontents; and produced very warm debates. The majority carried their point piecemeal, by dint of different votes, against which very severe protests were entered. On the day appointed for the trial, they sent a message to the commons, that they were going to Westminster-hall. The other impeached lords asked leave, and were permitted to withdraw. The articles of impeachment against lord Somers, and his answers, being read in Westminster-hall, and the commons not appearing to prosecute, the lords adjourned to their own house, where they debated concerning the question that was to be put. This being settled, they returned to Westminster-hall; and the question being put, "That John lord Somers be acquitted of the articles of impeachment against him, exhibited by the house of commons, and all things thereing contained: and, That the impeachment be dismissed?" It was carried by a majority of thirty-five. The commons, exasperated at these proceedings, resolved, That the lords had refused justice to the commons: That they had endeavoured to overturn the right of impeachments lodged in the commons by the antient constitution of the kingdom: and, That all the ill consequences which might attend the delay of the supplies, given for the preservation of the public peace, and the maintenance of the balance of Europe, would be owing to those who, to procure an indemnity for their own crimes, had used their utmost endeavours to make a breach between the two houses. The lords sent a message to the commons, giving them to understand, that they had acquitted lord Somers, and dismissed the impeachment, as no body had appeared to support the articles: and, that they had appointed next Monday for the trial of the earl of Orford. They resolved, That unless the charge against lord Haversham should be prosecuted by the commons before the end of the session, the lords would adjudge him innocent: That the resolutions of the commons in their late votes, contained most unjust reflections on the honour and justice of the peers: That they were contrived to

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cover their affected and unreasonable delays in prosecuting the impeached lords: That they manifestly tended to the destruction of the judicature of the lords; to the rendering trials on impeachments impracticable for the future; and to the subverting the constitution of the English government: That, therefore, whatever ill consequences might arise from the so long deferring the supplies for this year's service, were to be attributed to the fatal counsel of the putting off the meeting of a parliament so long, and to the unnecessary delays of the house of commons. On the twenty-third day of June, the articles of impeachment against Edward earl of Orford were read in Westminster-hall; but the house of commons having previously ordered that none of their members should appear at this pretended trial, those articles were not supported: so that his lordship was acquitted, and the impeachment dismissed. Next day, the impeachment against the duke of Leeds, which had lain seven years neglected, together with those against the earl of Portland and lord Halifax, as well as the charge against lord Haverham, were dismissed for want of prosecution. Each house ordered a narrative of those proceedings to be published; and their mutual animosity had proceeded to such a degree of rancour, as seemed to preclude all possibility of reconciliation. The commons, in the whole course of this transaction, had certainly acted from the motives of faction and revenge; for nothing could be more unjust, frivolous, and partial, than the charge exhibited in the articles of impeachment, their anticipating address to the king, and their affected delay in the prosecutions. Their conduct on this occasion was so flagrant as to attract the notice of the common people, and inspire the generality of the nation with disgust. This the Whigs did not fail to augment by the arts of calumny, and, in particular, by insinuating that the court of Versailles had found means to engage the majority of the commons in its interest.

§ LIV. These had, since the beginning of this session, employed their emissaries in exciting a popular aversion to the Tory ministers and members, and succeeded so well in their endeavours, that they formed a scheme of obtaining petitions from different counties and corporations, that should induce the commons to alter their conduct, on the supposition that it was contrary to the sense of the nation. In execution of this scheme, a petition, signed by the deputy-lieutenants, above twenty justices of the peace, the grand jury and freeholders of the county of Kent, had been presented to the house of commons on the eighteenth day of May, by five gentlemen of fortune and distinction. The purport of this remonstrance was, to recommend union among themselves, and confidence in his majesty, whose great actions for the nation could never be forgot without the blackest ingratitude; to beg they would have regard to the voice of the people; that their religion and safety might be effectually provided for; that their loyal addresses might be turned into bills of supply; and that his most sacred majesty might be enabled powerfully to assist his allies before it should be too late. The house was so incensed at the petulance of the petition, that they voted it scandalous, insolent, and seditious; and ordered the gentlemen who had presented it to be taken into custody. They were afterwards committed to the Gate-house, where they remained till the prorogation of parliament: but they had no reason to repine at their imprisonment, which recommended them to the notice and esteem of the public. They were visited and caressed by the chiefs of the Whig-interest, and considered as mar-

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tyrs to the liberties of the people. Their confinement gave rise to a very extraordinary paper, intitled, "A Memorial from the gentlemen, freeholders, "and inhabitants, of the counties of ———, in behalf of themselves, and "many thousands of the good people of England." It was signed Legion, and sent to the speaker in a letter, commanding him, in the name of two hundred thousand Englishmen, to deliver it to the house of commons. In this strange expostulation, the house was charged with illegal and unwarrantable practices, in fifteen particulars; a new claim of right was ranged under seven heads; and the commons were admonished to act according to their duty, as specified in this memorial, on pain of incurring the resentment of an injured nation. It was concluded in these words: "For Englishmen are no more to be slaves to parliaments than to kings; our name is Legion, and we are many." The commons were equally provoked and intimidated by this libel, which was the production of one Daniel de Foe, a scurrilous party-writer, in very little estimation. They would not, however, deign to take notice of it in the house; but a complaint being made of endeavours to raise tumults and seditions, a committee was appointed to draw up an address to his majesty, informing him of those seditious endeavours, and beseeching him to provide for the public peace and security.

§ LV. The house, however, perceiving plainly that they had incurred the odium of the nation, which began to clamour for a war with France, and dreading the popular resentment, thought fit to change their measures with respect to this object, and present the address we have already mentioned, in which they promised to support him in the alliances he should contract with the emperor and other states, in order to bridle the exorbitant power of France. They likewise proceeded in earnest upon the supply, and voted funds for raising about two millions seven hundred thousand pounds, to defray the expence of the ensuing year. They voted thirty thousand seamen, and resolved that ten thousand troops should be transported from Ireland to Holland, as the auxiliaries stipulated in the treaty of seventy-seven with the states-general. The funds were constituted of a land-tax, certain duties on merchandise, and a weekly deduction from the excise, so as to bring down the civil list to six hundred thousand pounds; as the duke of Gloucester was dead, and James's queen refused her allowance. They passed a bill for taking away all privilege of parliament in legal prosecutions, during the intermediate prorogations; and their last struggle with the lords was concerning a bill for appointing commissioners to examine and state the public accounts. The persons nominated for this purpose were extremely obnoxious to the majority of the peers, as violent partisans of the Tory faction; when the bill therefore was sent up to the lords, they made some amendments which the commons rejected. The former animosity between the two houses began to revive, when the king interrupted their disputes by putting an end to the session, on the twenty-fourth day of June, after having thanked the parliament for their zeal in the public service, and exhorted them to a discharge of their duties in their several counties. He was no doubt extremely pleased with such an issue of a session that had begun with a very inauspicious aspect. His health daily declined; but he concealed the decay of his constitution, that his allies might not be discouraged from engaging in a confederacy of which he was deemed the head and chief support.

support. He conferred the command of the ten thousand troops destined for Holland upon the earl of Marlborough, and appointed him at the same time his plenipotentiary to the states-general; a choice that evinced his discernment and discretion; for that nobleman surpassed all his contemporaries, both as a general and a politician. He was cool, penetrating, intrepid, and persevering, plausible, insinuating, artful, and dissembling.

§ LVI. A regency being established, the king embarked for Holland in the beginning of July; and, on his arrival at the Hague, assisted at an assembly of the states-general; whom he harranged in very affectionate terms, and was answered with great cordiality: then he made a progress round the frontiers, to examine the state of the garrisons; and gave such orders and directions as he judged necessary for the defence of the country. Mean while, the French minister D'Avaux being recalled from the Hague, delivered a letter to the states from the French king, who complained that they had often interrupted the conferences, from which no good fruits were to be expected: but he assured them it wholly depended upon themselves, whether they should continue to receive marks of his antient friendship for their republic. This letter was accompanied by an insolent memorial, to which the states-general returned a very spirited answer. As they expected nothing now but hostilities from France, they redoubled their diligence in making preparations for their own defence. They repaired their fortifications, augmented their army, and hired auxiliaries. King William and they had already engaged in an alliance with the king of Denmark, who undertook to furnish a certain number of troops, in consideration of a subsidy; and they endeavoured to mediate a peace between Sweden and Poland; but this they could not effect. France had likewise offered her mediation between those powers, in hope of bringing over Sweden to her interest; and the court of Vienna had tampered with the king of Poland; but he persisted in his resolution to prosecute the war. The Spaniards began to be very uneasy under the dominion of their new master. They were shocked at the insolence of his French ministers and attendants, and much more at the manners and fashions which they introduced. The grandees found themselves very little considered by their sovereign, and resented his oeconomy; for he had endeavoured to retrench the expence of the court, which had used to support their magnificence. Prince Eugene, at the head of the Imperial army, had entered Italy by Vicenza, and passed the Adige near Carpi, where he defeated a body of five thousand French forces. The enemy were commanded by the duke of Savoy, assisted by marechal Catinat and the prince of Vaudemont, who did not think proper to hazard an engagement. But marechal Villeroy arriving in the latter end of August, with orders to attack the Imperialists, Catinat retired in disgust. The new general marched immediately towards Chiari, where prince Eugene was intrenched, and attacked his camp, but met with such a reception that he was obliged to retire with the loss of five thousand men. Towards the end of the campaign, the prince took possession of all the Mantuan territories, except Mantua itself, and Goits, the blockade of which he formed. He reduced all the places on the Oglio, and continued in the field during the whole winter, exhibiting repeated marks of the most invincible courage, indefatigable vigilance, and extensive capacity in the art of war. In January he had well nigh surprised Cremona, by introducing a body of men through an old aqueduct. They forced one of the
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gates, by which the prince and his followers entered : Villeroy being wakened by the noise, ran out into the street, where he was taken ; and the town must have been infallibly reduced, had prince Eugene been joined by another body of troops which he had ordered to march from the Parmesan and secure the bridge. These not arriving at the time appointed, an Irish regiment in the French service took possession of the bridge, and the prince was obliged to retire with his prisoner.

§ LVII. The French king, alarmed at the activity and military genius of the Imperial general, sent a reinforcement to his army in Italy, and the duke of Vendome to command his forces in that country : he likewise importuned the duke of Savoy to assist him effectually ; but that prince having obtained all he could expect from France, became cold and backward. His second daughter was by this time married to the new king of Spain, who met her at Barcelona, where he found himself involved in disputes with the states of Catalonia, who refused to pay a tax he had imposed, until their privileges should be confirmed ; and he was obliged to gratify them in this particular. The war continued to rage in the North. The young king of Sweden routed the Saxons upon the river Danu ; thence he marched into Courland, and took possession of Mitau without opposition ; while the king of Poland retired into Lithuania. In Hungary the French emissaries endeavoured to sow the seeds of a new revolt : They exerted themselves with indefatigable industry in almost every court of Christendom. They had already gained over the elector of Bavaria, and his brother the elector of Cologne, together with the dukes of Wolfenbuttle and Saxe-Gotha, who professed neutrality while they levied troops, and made such preparations for war as plainly indicated that they had received subsidies from France. Lewis had also extorted a treaty of alliance from the king of Portugal, who was personally attached to the Austrian interest : but this weak prince was a slave to his ministers, whom the French king had corrupted. During this summer, the French coasts were overawed by the combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of Sir George Rooke, who sailed down the channel in the latter end of August, and detached vice-admiral Benbow with a strong squadron to the West Indies. In order to deceive the French king with regard to the destination of this fleet, king William demanded the free use of the Spanish harbours, as if his design had been to send a squadron to the Mediterranean ; but he met with a repulse, while the French ships were freely admitted. About this period the king revoked his letters-patent to the commissioners of the admiralty, and constituted the earl of Pembroke lord-high-admiral of England, in order to avoid the factions, the disputes, and divided counsels of a board. The earl was no sooner promoted to this office, than he sent captain Loades with three frigates to Cadiz, to bring home the sea-stores and effects belonging to the English in that place, before the war should commence ; and this piece of service was successfully performed. The French king, in order to enjoy all the advantages that could be derived from his union with Spain, established a company to open a trade with Mexico and Peru ; and concluded a new assiento-treaty for supplying the Spanish plantations with negroes. At the same time he sent a strong squadron to the port of Cadiz. The French dress was introduced into the court of Spain ; and, by a formal edict, the *grandees* of that kingdom and the peers of France were put

on a level in each nation. There was no vigour left in the councils of Spain; her finances were exhausted; her former spirit seemed to be quite extinguished: the nobility were beggars, and the common people overwhelmed with indigence and distress. The condition of France was not much more prosperous. She had been harrassed by a long war, and now saw herself on the eve of another, which in all probability would render her completely miserable.

§ LVIII. These circumstances were well known to the emperor and the maritime powers, and served to animate their negotiations for another grand alliance. Conferences were opened at the Hague; and, on the seventh day of September, a treaty was concluded between his Imperial majesty, England, and the States-general. The objects proposed, were to procure satisfaction to the emperor in the Spanish succession, and sufficient security for the dominions and commerce of the allies. They engaged to use their endeavours for recovering the Spanish Netherlands, as a barrier between Holland and France; and for the emperor, the dutchy of Milan, Naples, and Sicily, with the lands and islands upon the coast of Tuscany, belonging to the Spanish dominions. They agreed that the king of England and the states-general should keep and possess whatever lands and cities they could conquer from the Spaniards in the Indies: That the confederates should faithfully communicate their designs to one another; That no party should treat of peace, or truce, but jointly with the rest: That they should concur in preventing the union of France and Spain under the same government; and hinder the French from possessing the Spanish Indies: That, in concluding a peace, the confederates should provide for the maintenance of the commerce carried on by the maritime powers to the dominions taken from the Spaniards, and secure the states by a barrier: That they should at the same time settle the exercise of religion in the new conquests: That they should assist one another with all their forces, in case of being invaded by the French king, or any other potentate, on account of this alliance: That a defensive alliance should remain between them even after the peace: That all kings, princes, and states, should be at liberty to engage in this alliance. They determined to employ two months, to obtain, by amicable means, the satisfaction and security which they demanded; and stipulated, that within six weeks the treaty should be ratified.

§ LIX. On the sixteenth day of September, king James expired at St. Germain's, after having laboured under a tedious indisposition. This unfortunate monarch, since the miscarriage of his last attempt for recovering his throne, had laid aside all thoughts of worldly grandeur, and devoted his whole attention to the concerns of his soul. Though he could not prevent the busy genius of his queen from planning new schemes of restoration, he was always best pleased when wholly detached from such chimerical projects. Hunting was his chief diversion; but religion was his constant care. Nothing could be more harmless than the life he led; and, in the course of it, he subjected himself to uncommon penance and mortification. He frequently visited the poor monks of La Trappe, who were much edified by his humble and pious deportment. His pride and arbitrary temper seem to have vanished with his greatness. He became affable, kind and easy to all his dependents; and his religion certainly opened and improved the virtues of his heart, though it seemed to impair the faculties.

faculties of his soul. In his last illness he conjured his son to prefer his religion to every worldly advantage, and even to renounce all thoughts of a crown, if he could not enjoy it without offering violence to his faith. He recommended to him the practice of justice and christian forgiveness; he himself declaring, that he heartily forgave the prince of Orange, the emperor, and all his enemies. He died with great marks of devotion, and was interred, at his own request, in the church of the English Benedictines in Paris, without any funeral solemnity.

§ LX. Before his death he was visited by the French king, who seemed touched with his condition, and declared, that in case of his death, he would own his son as king of England. This promise James's queen had already extorted from him, by the interest of madam de Maintenon and the dauphin. Accordingly, when James died, the pretended prince of Wales was proclaimed king of England at St. Germain's, and treated as such at the court of Versailles. His title was likewise recognized by the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and the pope. William was no sooner informed of this transaction, than he dispatched a courier to the king of Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Ryfwick, to complain of this manifest violation. At the same time, he recalled the earl of Manchester from Paris, and ordered him to return without taking an audience of leave. That nobleman immediately withdrew, after having intimated to the marquis de Torcy the order he had received. Lewis, in vindication of his own conduct, dispersed through all the courts of Europe, a manifesto, in which he affirmed, that in owning the prince of Wales as king of England, he had not infringed any article of the treaty of Ryfwick. He confessed, that in the fourth article, he had promised that he would not disturb the king of Great Britain in the peaceable possession of his dominions; and he declared his intention was to observe that promise punctually. He observed, that his generosity would not allow him to abandon the prince of Wales or his family: that he could not refuse him a title which was due to him by birth: that he had more reason to complain of the king of Great Britain, and the states-general, whose declarations and preparations in favour of the emperor might be regarded as real contraventions to treaties: finally, he quoted some instances from history, in which the children enjoyed the titles of kingdoms which their fathers had lost. These reasons, however, would hardly have induced the French king to take such a step, had not he perceived that a war with England was inevitable; and that he should be able to reap some advantages in the course of it, from espousing the cause of the pretender.

§ LXI. The substance of the French manifesto was published in London by Poussin the secretary of Tallard, who had been left in England, as agent for the court of Versailles. He was now ordered to leave the kingdom, which was filled with indignation at Lewis, for having pretended to declare who ought to be their sovereign. The city of London presented an address to the lords-justices, expressing the deepest resentment of the French king's presumption; and assuring his majesty, that they would at all times exert the utmost of their abilities for the preservation of his person, and the defence of his just rights, in opposition to all invaders of his crown and dignity. Addresses of the same nature were sent up from all parts of the kingdom, and could not but be agreeable to William. He had now concerted measures for acting with vigour

against France, and resolved to revisit his kingdom, after having made considerable progress in a treaty of perpetual alliance between England and the states-general, which was afterwards brought to perfection by his plenipotentiary the earl of Marlborough. The king's return, however, was delayed a whole month by a severe indisposition, during which the Spanish minister De Quiros hired certain physicians to consult together upon the state and nature of his distemper. They declared that he could not outlive many weeks; and this opinion was transmitted to Madrid. William, however, baffled the prognostic, though his constitution had sustained such a rude shock, that he himself perceived his end was near. He told the earl of Portland, he found himself so weak that he could not expect to live another summer; but charged him to conceal this circumstance until he should be dead. Notwithstanding this near approach to dissolution, he exerted himself with surprising diligence and spirit in establishing the confederacy, and settling the plan of operations. A subsidiary treaty was concluded with the king of Prussia, who engaged to furnish a certain number of troops. The emperor agreed to maintain ninety thousand men in the field to act against France: the proportion of the states was limited to one hundred and two thousand; and that of England did not exceed forty thousand, to act in conjunction with the allies.

§ LXII. On the fourth day of November the king arrived in England, which he found in a strange ferment, produced from the mutual animosity of the two factions. They reviled each other in words and writing with all the falsehood of calumny, and all the bitterness of rancour; so that truth, candour, and temperance, seemed to be banished by consent of both parties. The king had found himself deceived in his new ministers, who had opposed his measures with all their influence. He was particularly disgusted with the deportment of the earl of Rochester, who proved altogether imperious and untractable; and, instead of moderating, inflamed the violence of his party. The king declared, the year in which that nobleman directed his councils, was the uneasiest of his whole life. He could not help expressing his displeasure in such a coldness of reserve, that Rochester told him he would serve his majesty no longer, since he did not enjoy his confidence. William made no answer to this expostulation, but resolved he should see him no more. The earl, however, at the desire of Mr. Harley, became more pliant and submissive; and, after the king's departure for Holland, repaired to his government of Ireland, in which he now remained, exerting all his endeavours to acquire popularity. William foreseeing nothing but opposition from the present spirit of the house of commons, closetted some of their leaders, with a view to bespeak their compliance: but finding them determined to pursue their former principles, and to insist upon their impeachments, he resolved, with the advice of his friends, to dissolve the parliament. This step he was the more easily induced to take, as the commons were become extremely odious to the nation in general, which breathed nothing but war and defiance against the French monarch. The parliament was accordingly dissolved by proclamation, and another summoned to meet on the thirtieth day of December.

§ LXIII. Never did the two parties proceed with such heat and violence against each other, as in their endeavours to influence the new elections. The Whigs, however, obtained the victory, as they included the monied-interest, which

which will always prevail among the borough-electors. Corruption was now reduced into an open and avowed commerce; and, had not the people been so universally venal and profligate, that no sense of shame remained, the victors must have blushed for their success. Though the majority thus obtained was staunch to the measures of the court, the choice of speaker fell upon Mr. Harley, contrary to the inclination of the king, who favoured Sir Thomas Lyttleton: but his majesty's speech was received with universal applause. It was so much admired by the well-wishers to the revolution, that they printed it with decorations, in the English, Dutch, and French languages. It appeared as a piece of furniture in all their houses, and as the king's last legacy to his own and all protestant people. In this celebrated harangue, he expatiated upon the indignity offered to the nation by the French king's acknowledging the pretended prince of Wales: he explained the dangers to which it was exposed, by his placing his grandson on the throne of Spain: he gave them to understand he had concluded several alliances, according to the encouragement given him by both houses of parliament, which alliances should be layed before them, together with other treaties still depending. He observed, that the eyes of all Europe were upon this parliament; and all matters at a stand, until their resolution should be known: therefore no time ought to be lost. He told them they had yet an opportunity to secure for themselves and their posterity the quiet enjoyment of their religion and liberties, if they were not wanting to themselves, but would exert the antient vigour of the English nation: but he declared his opinion was, that should they neglect this occasion, they had no reason to hope for another. He said it would be necessary to maintain a great strength at sea, and a force at land, proportionable to that of their allies. He pressed the commons to support the public credit, which could not be preserved without keeping sacred that maxim, That they shall never be losers who trust to a parliamentary security. He declared, that he never asked aids from his people without regret; that what he desired was for their own safety and honour, at such a critical time; and that the whole should be appropriated to the purposes for which it was intended. He expressed his willingness that the accounts should be yearly submitted to the inspection of parliament. He again recommended dispatch, together with good bills for employing the poor, encouraging trade, and suppressing vice. He expressed his hope that they were come together determined to avoid disputes and differences, and to act with a hearty concurrence for promoting the common cause. He said he should think it as great a blessing as could befall England, if they were as much inclined to lay aside those unhappy fatal animosities which divided and weakened them, as he was disposed to make all his subjects safe and easy, as to any, even the highest offences committed against his person. He conjured them to disappoint the hopes of their enemies by their unanimity. As he had always shewn, and always would shew, how desirous he was to be the common father of all his people, he desired they would lay aside parties and divisions, so as that no distinctions should be heard of amongst them, but of those who were friends to the protestant religion and present establishment, and of those who wished for a popish prince and a French government. He concluded by affirming, that if they, in good earnest, desired to see England hold the balance of Europe, and be indeed at the head of the protestant interest, it would appear by their improving the present opportunity. The lords immediately drew up a warm and affectionate address,

address, in which they expressed their resentment of the proceedings of the French king, in owning the pretended prince of Wales for king of England. They assured his majesty they would assist him to the utmost of their power against all his enemies; and, when it should please God to deprive them of his majesty's protection, they would vigorously assist and defend against the pretended prince of Wales, and all other pretenders whatsoever, every person and persons who had right to succeed to the crown of England, by virtue of the acts of parliament for establishing and limiting the succession. On the fifth day of January, an address to the same effect was presented by the commons, and both met with a very gracious reception from his majesty. The lords, as a further proof of their zeal, having taken into consideration the dangers that threatened Europe, from the accession of the duke of Anjou to the crown of Spain, drew up another address, explaining their sense of that danger; stigmatising the French king as a violator of treaties; declaring their opinion, that his majesty, his subjects, and allies, could never be safe and secure, until the house of Austria should be restored to their rights, and the invader of the Spanish monarchy brought to reason; and assuring his majesty that no time should be lost, nor any thing wanting on their parts, which might answer the reasonable expectations of their friends abroad; not doubting but to support the reputation of the English name, when engaged under so great a prince, in the glorious cause of maintaining the liberty of Europe.

§ LXIV. The king, in order to acquire the confidence of the commons, ordered Mr. secretary Vernon to lay before them, copies of the treaties and conventions he had lately concluded, which were so well approved that the house unanimously voted the supply. By another vote, they authorised the exchequer to borrow six hundred thousand pounds at six per cent. for the service of the fleet, and fifty thousand pounds for the subsistence of guards and garrisons. They deliberated upon the state of the navy, with the debt due upon it, and examined an estimate of what would be necessary for extraordinary repairs. They called for an account of that part of the national debt for which no provision had been made. They ordered the speaker to write to the trustees for the forfeited estates in Ireland, to attend the house with a full detail of their proceedings in the execution of that act of parliament. On the ninth day of January, they unanimously resolved, That leave be given to bring in a bill for securing his majesty's person, and the succession of the crown in the protestant line, for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended prince of Wales, and all other pretenders, and their open and secret abettors. They resolved to address his majesty, that he would insert an article in all his treaties of alliance, importing, That no peace should be made with France, until his majesty and the nation have reparation for the great indignity offered by the French king, in owning and declaring the pretended prince of Wales king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. They agreed to maintain forty thousand men for the sea-service, and a like number by land, to act in conjunction with the forces of the allies, according to the proportions settled by the contracting powers. The supplies were raised by an imposition of four shillings in the pound upon lands, annuities, pensions, and stipends, and on the profits arising from the different professions: by a tax of two and one half per cent. on all stock in trade, and money at interest; of five shillings in the pound on all salaries, fees, and perquisites; a capitation tax of four shillings; an imposition of one per cent. on all

all shares in the capital stock of any corporation or company which should be bought, sold, or bargained for: a duty of sixpence per bushel on malt; and a further duty on mum, cyder, and perry.

§ LXV. The commons seemed to vie with the lords in their zeal for the government. They brought in a bill for attainting the pretended prince of Wales, which being sent up to the other house, passed with an additional clause of attainder against the queen, who acted as regent for the pretender. This, however, was not carried without great opposition in the house of lords. When the bill was sent back to the commons, they excepted to the amendment as irregular. They observed, that attainders by bill constituted the most rigorous part of the law; and, that the stretching of it ought to be avoided. They proposed, that the queen should be attainted by a separate bill. The lords assented to the proposal: the bill against the pretended prince of Wales passed. The lords passed another for attainting the queen; however, it was neglected in the house of commons. But, the longest and warmest debates of this session were produced by a bill, which the lords brought in for abjuring the pretended prince of Wales, and swearing to the king, by title of Rightful and lawful king, and his heirs, according to the act of settlement. It was proposed, that this oath should be voluntary, tendered to all persons, and their subscription or refusal recorded, without any other penalty. This article was violently opposed by the earl of Nottingham, and other lords of the Tory-interest. They observed, that the government was first settled with another oath, which was like an original contract; so that there was no occasion for a new imposition: that oaths relating to men's opinions had been always considered as severe impositions: and, that a voluntary oath was in its own nature unlawful. During these disputes, another bill of abjuration was brought into the house of commons by Sir Charles Hedges, that should be obligatory on all persons who enjoyed employments in church or state; it likewise included an obligation to maintain the government, in king, lords, and commons, and to maintain the church of England, together with the toleration for dissenters. Warm debates arose upon the question, Whether the oath should be imposed or voluntary? and at length, it was carried for imposition, by the majority of one voice. They agreed to insert an additional clause, declaring it equally penal to compass or imagine the death of her royal highness the princess Anne of Denmark, as it was to compass or imagine the death of the king's eldest son and heir. In the house of peers this bill was strenuously opposed by the Tories; and, when after long debates it passed on the twenty-fourth day of February, ten lords entered a protest against it as an unnecessary and severe imposition.

§ LXVI. The whole nation now seemed to join in the cry for a war with France. Party-heats began to abate; the factions in the city of London were in a great measure moderated by the union of the two companies trading to the East-Indies, which found their mutual interest required a coalition. The Tories in the house of commons having concurred so heartily with the inclinations of the people, resolved, as far as it lay in their power, to justify the conduct of their party in the preceding parliament. They complained of some petitions and addresses which had reflected upon the proceedings of the last house of commons, and particularly, of the Kentish petition. The majority, however, determined, that it was the undoubted right of the people of England, to pe-

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tion or address to the king, for the calling, sitting, or dissolving of parliaments, and for the redressing of grievances; and, that every subject under any accusation, either by impeachment or otherwise, had a right to be brought to a speedy trial. A complaint being likewise made, that the lords had denied the commons justice in the matter of the late impeachments, a furious debate ensued; and it was carried by a very small majority, that justice had not been denied. In some points, however, they succeeded. In the case of a controverted election at Maidstone, between Thomas Blisse and Thomas Culpepper, the house resolved, That the latter had been not only guilty of corrupt, scandalous, and indirect practices, in endeavouring to procure himself to be elected a burges, but likewise, being one of the instruments in promoting and presenting the scandalous, insolent, and seditious petition, commonly called the Kentish petition, to the last house of commons, was guilty of promoting a scandalous, villanous, and groundless reflection upon that house, by aspersing the members with receiving French money, or being in the interest of France; for which offence he was ordered to be committed to Newgate, and to be prosecuted by his majesty's attorney-general. They also resolved, That to assert that the house of commons is not the only representative of the commons of England, tends to the subversion of the rights and privileges of the house of commons, and the fundamental constitution of the government of this kingdom: That to assert, that the house of commons have no power of commitment, but of their own members, tends to the subversion of the constitution of the house of commons: That to print or publish any books, or libels, reflecting upon the proceedings of the house of commons, or any member thereof, for, or relating to his service therein, is a high violation of the rights and privileges of the house of commons. Notwithstanding these transactions, they did not neglect the vigorous prosecution of the war. They addressed his majesty to interpose with his allies, that they might increase their quotas of land-forces, to be put on board the fleet in proportion to the numbers his majesty should embark. When they had settled the sums appropriated to the several uses of the war, they presented a second address, desiring he would provide for the half-pay officers in the first place, in the recruits and levies to be made. The king assured them, it was always his intention to provide for those officers. He went to the house of peers, and gave the royal assent to an act, appointing commissioners to take, examine, and determine the debts due to the army, navy, and the transport-service; and also an account of prizes taken during the war.

§ LXVII. The affairs of Ireland were not a little embarrassed by the conduct of the trustees appointed to take cognizance of the forfeited estates. Their office was extremely odious to the people, as well as to the court, and their deportment was arbitrary and imperious. Several individuals of that kingdom, provoked by the insolence of the trustees on one hand, and encouraged by the countenance of the courtiers on the other, endeavoured by a circular letter, to spirit up the grand-jury of Ireland against the act of resumption; and petitions were presented to the king, couched in very strong terms, affirming, that it was injurious to the protestant interest, and had been obtained by gross misinformations. The king having communicated these addresses to the house, they were immediately voted scandalous, false, and groundless; and the commons resolved, That notwithstanding the complaints and clamours against the trustees,

trustees, it did not appear to the house but those complaints were groundless; nevertheless, they afterwards received several petitions, imploring relief against the said act; and they ordered that the petitioners should be relieved accordingly. Proposals were delivered in for incorporating such as should purchase the said forfeitures, on certain terms therein specified, according to the rent-roll, when verified and made good to the purchasers; but, whereas in this rent-roll the value of the estates had been estimated at something more than seven hundred and sixteen thousand pounds, those who undertook to make the purchase, affirmed, they were not worth five hundred thousand pounds: and thus the affair remained in suspense.

§ LXVIII. With respect to Scotland, the clamours of that kingdom had not yet subsided. When the bill of abjuration passed in the house of peers, the earl of Nottingham had declared, that although he differed in opinion from the majority in many particulars relating to that bill, yet he was a friend to the design of it; and, in order to secure a protestant succession, he thought an union of the whole island was absolutely necessary. He therefore moved for an address to the king, that he would dissolve the parliament of Scotland now sitting, as the legality of it might be called in question, on account of its having been originally a convention; and, that a new parliament should be summoned, that they might treat about an union of the two kingdoms. The king had this affair so much at heart, that even when he was disabled from going to the parliament in person, he sent a letter to the commons, expressing an eager desire that a treaty for this purpose might be set on foot, and earnestly recommended this affair to the consideration of the house. But, as a new parliament in Scotland could not be called without a great risque, while the nation was in such a ferment, the project was postponed to a more favourable opportunity.

§ LXIX. Before the king's return from Holland, he had concerted with his allies the operations of the ensuing campaign. He had engaged in a negotiation with the prince of Hesse-D'Armstadt, who assured him, that if he would besiege and take Cadiz, the admiral of Castile and divers other grandees of Spain, would declare for the house of Austria. The allies had also determined upon the siege of Keyserwaert, which the elector of Cologne had delivered into the hands of the French: the elector of Hanover had resolved to disarm the princes of Wolfenbutter: the king of the Romans and prince Lewis of Baden, undertook to invest Landau; and the emperor promised to send a powerful reinforcement to prince Eugene in Italy; but, William did not live to see these schemes put in execution. His constitution was by this time almost exhausted, tho' he endeavoured to conceal the effects of his malady, and to repair his health by exercise. On the twenty-first day of February, in riding to Hampton-court from Kensington, his horse fell under him, and he himself was thrown upon the ground with such violence, as produced a fracture in his collar bone. His attendants conveyed him to the palace of Hampton-court, where the fracture was reduced by Ronjat his serjeant-surgeon. In the evening he returned to Kensington in his coach, and the two ends of the fractured bone having been disunited by the jolting of the carriage, were replaced under the inspection of Bidloo his physician. He seemed to be in a fair way of recovering till the first day of March, when his knee seemed to be inflamed, with great pain and weakness. Next day he granted a commission under the great seal to several peers, for passing the bills to which

both houses of parliament had agreed, namely, the act of attainder against the pretended prince of Wales; and another in favour of the Quakers, enacting, That their solemn affirmation and declaration should be accepted instead of an oath in the usual form.

§ LXX. On the fourth day of March the king was so well recovered of his lameness, that he took several turns in the gallery at Kensington; but, sitting down on a couch where he fell asleep, he was seized with a shivering, which terminated in a fever and diarrhoea. He was attended by Sir Thomas Millington, Sir Richard Blackmore, Sir Theodore Colledon, Dr. Bidloo, and other eminent physicians; but, their prescriptions proved ineffectual. On the sixth he granted another commission for passing the bill for the malt-tax, and the act of abjuration: and, being so weak that he could not write his name, he, in presence of the lord-keeper and the clerks of parliament, applied a stamp prepared for the purpose. The earl of Albemarle arriving from Holland, conferred with him in private on the posture of affairs abroad; but, he received his informations with great coldness, and said, "*Je tire vers ma fin.*" "I approach the end of life." In the evening he thanked Dr. Bidloo for his care and tenderness, saying, "I know that you and the other learned physicians have done all that your art can do for my relief; but, finding all means ineffectual, I submit." He received spiritual consolation from archbishop Tenison, and Burnet bishop of Salisbury: on Sunday morning the sacrament was administered to him. The lords of the privy-council, and divers noblemen attended in the adjoining apartments, and to some of them who were admitted, he spoke a little. He thanked lord Overkirk for his long and faithful services: he delivered to lord Albemarle the keys of his closet and scrutore, telling him, he knew what to do with them. He inquired for the earl of Portland; but, being speechless before that nobleman arrived, he grasped his hand, and laid it to his heart with marks of the most tender affection. On the eighth day of March he expired, in the fifty-second year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years. The lords Lexington and Scarborough, who were in waiting, no sooner perceived the king was dead, than they ordered Ronjat to untie from his left arm a black ribbon, to which was affixed a ring, containing some hair of the late queen Mary. The body being opened and embalmed, lay in state for some time at Kensington; and on the twelfth day of April was deposited in a vault of Henry's chapel in Westminster-abbey. In the beginning of May, a will which he had intrusted with monsieur Schuylenberg, was opened at the Hague. In this he had declared his cousin prince Frison of Nassau, stadtholder of Friesland, his sole and universal heir, and appointed the states-general his executors. By a codicil annexed, he had bequeathed the lordship of Breevert, and a legacy of two hundred thousand guilders, to the earl of Albemarle.

§ LXXI. William III. was in his person of the middle stature, a thin body and delicate constitution, subject to an asthma and continual cough from his infancy. He had an aquiline nose, sparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a grave solemn aspect. He was very sparing of speech: his conversation was dry, and his manner disgusting, except in battle, when his deportment was free, spirited, and animating. In courage, fortitude, and equanimity, he rivalled the most eminent warriors of antiquity; and his natural sagacity made amends for the defects in his education, which had not been properly superintended. He was religious,

religious, temperate, generally just and sincere, a stranger to violent transports of passion, and might have passed for one of the best princes of the age in which he lived, had he never ascended the throne of Great-Britain. But, the distinguishing criterion of his character was ambition. To this he sacrificed the punctilios of honour and decorum, in deposing his own father-in-law and uncle; and this he gratified at the expence of the nation that raised him to sovereign authority. He aspired to the honour of acting as umpire in all the contests of Europe; and the second object of his attention was, the prosperity of that country to which he owed his birth and extraction. Whether he really thought the interests of the continent and Great-Britain were inseparable, or sought only to drag England into the confederacy as a convenient ally, certain it is, he involved these kingdoms in foreign connexions, which, in all probability, will be productive of their ruin. In order to establish this favourite point, he scrupled not to employ all the engines of corruption, by which the morals of the nation were totally debauched. He procured a parliamentary sanction for a standing army, which now seems to be interwoven in the constitution. He introduced the pernicious practice of borrowing upon remote funds; an expedient that necessarily hatched a brood of usurers, brokers, and stock-jobbers, to prey upon the vitals of their country. He intailed upon the nation a growing debt, and a system of politics big with misery, despair, and destruction. To sum up his character in a few words: William was a fatalist in religion, indefatigable in war, enterprising in politics, dead to all the warm and generous emotions of the human heart, a cold relation, an indifferent husband, a disagreeable man, an ungracious prince, and an imperious sovereign.

Burnet.
Oldmixon.
Boyer.
Lamberty.
State Tracts.
Tindal.
Ralph.
Voltaire.

C H A P. VII.

§ I. *Anne succeeds to the throne.* § II. *She resolves to fulfil the engagements of her predecessor with his allies.* § III. *A French memorial presented to the states-general.* § IV. *The queen's inclination to the Tories.* § V. *War declared against France.* § VI. *The parliament prorogued.* § VII. *Warm opposition to the ministry in the Scottish parliament.* § VIII. *They recognize her majesty's authority.* § IX. *The queen appoints commissioners to treat of an union between England and Scotland.* § X. *State of affairs on the continent.* § XI. *Keiserfwaert and Landau taken by the allies.* § XII. *Progress of the earl of Marlborough in Flanders.* § XIII. *He narrowly escapes being taken by a French partisan.* § XIV. *The Imperialists are worsted at Fridlinguen.* § XV. *Battle of Luzzara in Italy.* § XVI. *The king of Sweden defeats Augustus at Lissau in Poland.* § XVII. *Fruitless expedition to Cadiz by the duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke.* § XVIII. *They take and destroy the Spanish galleons at Vigo.* § XIX. *Admiral Benbow's engagement with DuCasse in the West-Indies.* § XX. *The queen assembles a new parliament.* § XXI. *Disputes between the two houses.* § XXII. *The lords inquire into the conduct of Sir George Rooke.* § XXIII. *The parliament make a settlement on prince George of Denmark.* § XXIV. *The earl of Marlborough created a duke.* § XXV. *All commerce and correspondence prohibited between Holland and the two crowns of France and Spain.* § XXVI. *A bill for preventing occasional conformity.* § XXVII. *It miscarries.* § XXVIII. *Violent animosity between the two houses, produced by the inquiry into the public accounts.* § XXIX. *Disputes between the two houses of convocation.* § XXX. *Account of the parties in Scotland.* § XXXI. *Dangerous heats in the parliament of that kingdom.* § XXXII. *The commissioner is abandoned by the Cavaliers.* § XXXIII. *He is in danger of his life, and suddenly prorogues the parliament.* § XXXIV. *Proceedings of the Irish parliament.* § XXXV. *They pass a severe act against papists.* § XXXVI. *The elector of Bavaria defeats the Imperialists at Scardigen, and takes possession of Ratisbon.* § XXXVII. *The allies reduce Bonne.* § XXXVIII. *Battle of Eckeren.* § XXXIX. *The prince of Hesse is defeated by the French at Spirebach.* § XL. *Treaty between the emperor and the duke of Savoy. The king of Portugal accedes to the grand alliance.* § XLI. *Sir Cloudesley Shovel sails with a fleet to the Mediterranean.* § XLII. *Admiral Graydon's bootless expedition to the West-Indies.* § XLIII. *Charles king of Spain arrives in England.*

§ I. **W**ILLIAM was succeeded as sovereign of England, by Anne princess of Denmark, who ascended the throne in the thirty-eighth year of her age, to the general satisfaction of all parties. Even the Jacobites seemed pleased with her elevation, on the supposition, that as in all probability she would leave no heirs of her own body, the dictates of natural affection would induce her to alter the succession in favour of her own brother. She had been taught to cherish warm sentiments of the Tories, whom she considered as the friends of monarchy, and the true sons of the church; and they had always professed an inviolable attachment to her person and interest; but,

but, her conduct was wholly influenced by the countess of Marlborough, a woman of an imperious temper and intriguing genius, who had been intimate with the princess from her tender years, and gained a surprising ascendancy over her spirit. Anne had undergone some strange vicissitudes of fortune in consequence of her father's expulsion, and sustained a variety of mortifications in the late reign, during which she conducted herself with such discretion, as left little or no pretence for censure or resentment. Such conduct, indeed, was in a great measure owing to a natural temperance of disposition, not easily ruffled or inflamed. She was zealously devoted to the church of England, from which her father had used some endeavours to detach her before the revolution; and she lived in great harmony with her husband, to whom she bore six children, all of whom she had already survived. William had no sooner yielded up his breath, than the privy-council in a body waited on the new queen, who, in a short but sensible speech, assured them, that no pains nor diligence should be wanting on her part, to preserve and support the religion, laws, and liberties of her country, to maintain the succession in the protestant line, and the government in church and state, as by law established. She declared her resolution to carry on the preparations for opposing the exorbitant power of France, and to assure the allies, that she would pursue the true interest of England, together with theirs, for the support of the common cause. The members of the privy-council having taken the oaths, she ordered a proclamation to be published, signifying her pleasure, that all persons in office of authority or government, at the decease of the late king, should so continue till further directions. By virtue of an act passed in the late reign, the parliament continued sitting even after the king's death. Both houses met immediately, and unanimously voted an address of condolence and congratulation; and, in the afternoon the queen was proclaimed. Next day the lords and commons severally attended her with an address, congratulating her majesty's accession to the throne; and, assuring her of their firm resolution to support her against all her enemies whatsoever. The lords acknowledged, that their great loss was no otherwise to be repaired but by a vigorous adherence to her majesty and her allies, in the prosecution of those measures already concerted to reduce the exorbitant power of France. The commons declared, they would maintain the succession of the crown in the protestant line, and effectually provide for the public credit of the nation. These addresses were graciously received by the queen, who, on the eleventh day of March went to the house of peers with the usual solemnity, where, in a speech to both houses, she expressed her satisfaction at their unanimous concurrence with her opinion, that too much could not be done for the encouragement of their allies in humbling the power of France; and, desired they would consider of proper methods towards obtaining an union between England and Scotland. She observed to the commons, that the revenue for defraying the expences of the civil government, was expired: and, that she relied intirely on their affection for its being supplied in such a manner as should be most suitable to the honour and dignity of the crown. She declared, it should be her constant endeavour to make them the best return for their duty and affection, by a careful and diligent administration for the good of all her subjects. "And as I know my own heart
"to be entirely English (continued she) I can very sincerely assure you, there is
"not any thing you can expect or desire from me, which I shall not be ready to
"do

“do for the happiness and prosperity of England; and, you shall always find me a strict and religious observer of my word.” These assurances were extremely agreeable to the parliament; and she received the thanks of both houses. Addresses of congratulation were presented by the bishop and clergy of London; by the dissenters in and about that city; and, by all the counties, cities, towns, and corporations of England. She declared her attachment to the church: she promised her protection to the dissenters; and, received the compliments of all her subjects with such affability as insured their affection.

§ II. William's death was no sooner known at the Hague, than all Holland was filled with consternation. The states immediately assembled, and for some time gazed at each other in silent fear and astonishment. They sighed, wept, interchanged embraces and vows, that they would act with unanimity, and expend their dearest blood in defence of their country. Then they dispatched letters to the cities and provinces, informing them of this unfortunate event, and exhorting them to union and perseverance. The express from England having brought the queen's speech to her privy-council, it was translated and published, to revive the drooping spirits of the people. Next day pensionary Fagel imparted to the states of Holland a letter which he had received from the earl of Marlborough, containing assurances in the queen's name of union and assistance. In a few days, the queen wrote a letter in the French language to the states, confirming these assurances; and, it was delivered by Mr. Stanhope, who was now furnished with fresh credentials as envoy from England. Thus animated, the states resolved to prosecute vigorous measures; and their resolutions were still more inspirited by the arrival of the earl of Marlborough, whom the queen honoured with the order of the garter, and invested with the character of ambassador extraordinary, and plenipotentiary to the states-general: he was likewise declared captain-general of her forces both at home and abroad. He assured the states, that her Britannic majesty would maintain the alliances which had been concluded by the late king, and do every thing that the common concerns of Europe required. The speech was answered by Dickvelt president of the week, who, in the name of the states, expressed their hearty thanks to her majesty, and their resolution of concurring with her in a vigorous prosecution of the common interest.

§ III. The importance of William's life was evinced by the joy that diffused itself through the kingdom of France at the news of his decease. The person who first brought the tidings to Calais was imprisoned by the governor, until his information was confirmed. The court of Versailles could hardly restrain their transports so as to preserve common decorum: the people of Paris openly rejoiced at the event; all decency was layed aside at Rome, where this incident produced such indecent raptures, that cardinal Grimani the Imperial minister complained of them to the pope, as an insult on his master the emperor, who was William's friend, confederate, and ally. The French king dispatched credentials to Barre, whom the count D'Avaux had left at the Hague to manage the affairs of France, together with instructions to renew the negotiation with the states, in hope of detaching them from the alliance. This minister presented a memorial, implying severe reflections on king William and the past conduct of the Dutch; and insinuating, that now they had recovered their liberty, the court of France hoped they would consult their true interest. The count de

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Goes envoy from the emperor, animadverted on these expressions in another memorial, which was likewise published; and, the states produced in public an answer to the same remonstrance, expressing their resentment at the insolence of such insinuations, and their veneration for the memory of their late stadtholder. The earl of Marlborough succeeded in every part of his negotiation. He animated the Dutch to a full exertion of their vigour: he concerted the operations of the campaign: he agreed with the states-general and the imperial minister, that war should be declared against France on the same day, at Vienna, London, and the Hague; and, on the third day of April embarked for England, after having acquired the intire confidence of those who governed the United Provinces.

§ IV. By this time the house of commons in England had settled the civil An. Ch. 1702. list upon the queen for her life; and, when the bill received the royal assent, she assured them, that one hundred thousand pounds of this revenue should be applied to the public service of the current year: at the same time, she passed another bill for receiving and examining the public accounts. A commission for this purpose was granted in the preceding reign, but had been for some years discontinued; and indeed, always proved ineffectual to detect and punish those individuals, who shamefully pillaged their country. The villany was so complicated, the vice so general, and the delinquent so powerfully screened by artifice and interest, as to elude all inquiry. On the twenty-fourth day of March the oath of abjuration was taken by the speaker and members, according to an act for the further security of her majesty's person, and the succession of the crown in the protestant line, and for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended prince of Wales. The queen's inclination to the Tories plainly appeared in her choice of ministers. Doctor John Sharp, archbishop of York, became her ghostly director and counsellor in all ecclesiastical affairs. The earl of Rochester was continued lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and enjoyed a great share of her majesty's confidence: the privy-seal was intrusted to the marquis of Normanby: the earl of Nottingham and Sir Charles Hedges were appointed secretaries of state: the earl of Abingdon, Viscount Weymouth, lord Dartmouth, Sir Christopher Musgrave, Greenvil, Howe, Gower, and Harcourt, were admitted as members of the privy-council, together with Sir Edward Seymour, now declared comptroller of the household. The lord Godolphin declined accepting the office of lord high-treasurer, until he was over-ruled by the persuasions of Marlborough, to whose eldest daughter his son was married. This nobleman refused to command the forces abroad, unless the treasury should be put into the hands of Godolphin, on whose punctuality in point of remittances he knew he could depend. George, prince of Denmark, was invested with the title of generalissimo of all the queen's forces by sea and land; and, afterwards created lord high-admiral: the earl of Pembroke having been dismissed from this office with the offer of a large pension, which he generously refused. Prince George, as admiral, was assisted by a council, consisting of Sir George Rooke, Sir David Mitchel, George Churchill, and Richard Hill. Though the legality of this board was doubted, the parliament had such respect and veneration for the queen, that it was suffered to act without question.

§ V. A rivalry for the queen's favour already appeared between the earls of Rochester and Marlborough. The former, as first cousin to the queen, and chief

chief of the Tory faction, maintained considerable influence in the council: but even there the interest of his rival predominated. Marlborough was not only the better courtier, but, by the canal of his countess, actually directed the queen in all her resolutions. Rochester proposed in council, that the English should avoid a declaration of war with France, and act as auxiliaries only. He was seconded by some other members: but the opinion of Marlborough preponderated. He observed, that the honour of the nation was concerned to fulfil the late king's engagements; and affirmed that France could never be reduced within due bounds, unless the English would enter as principals in the quarrel. This allegation was supported by the dukes of Somerset and Devonshire, the earl of Pembroke, and the majority of the council. The queen resolved to declare war, and communicated her intention to the house of commons, by whom it was approved; and, on the fourth day of May, the declaration was solemnly proclaimed. The king of France was, in this proclamation, taxed with having taken possession of great part of the Spanish dominions; with designing to invade the liberties of Europe; to obstruct the freedom of navigation and commerce; and with having offered an unpardonable insult to the queen and her throne, by taking upon him to declare the pretended prince of Wales king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The three declarations of the emperor, England, and the states-general, which were published in one day, did not fail to disconcert, as well as to provoke, the French monarch. When his minister de Torcy recited them in his hearing, he spoke of the queen with some acrimony; but with respect to the states-general, he declared with great emotion, that "Messieurs the Dutch merchants" should one day repent of their insolence and presumption, in declaring war "against so powerful a monarch:" he did not, however, produce his declaration till the third day of July.

§ VI. The house of commons, in compliance with the queen's desire, brought in a bill, empowering her majesty to name commissioners to treat with the Scots for an union of the two kingdoms. It met with warm opposition from Sir Edward Seymour, and other Tory members, who discharged abundance of satire and ridicule upon the Scottish nation; but the measure seemed so necessary at that juncture, to secure the protestant succession against the practices of France, and the claims of the pretender, that the majority espoused the bill, which passed through both houses, and, on the sixth day of May received the royal assent, together with some bills of less importance. The enemies of the late king continued to revile his memory*. They even charged him with having formed a design of excluding the princess Anne from the throne, and of introducing the elector of Hanover as his own immediate successor. This report had been so industriously circulated, that it began to gain credit all over the kingdom. Several peers interested themselves in William's character; and a motion was made in the upper house, that the truth of this report should be inquired into. The house immediately desired, that those lords who had visited

* In their hours of debauch, they drank to the health of Sorrel, meaning the horse that fell with the king; and, under the appellation of the little gentleman in velvet, toasted the mole that raised the hill over which the horse had stumbled. As he had formerly belonged to Sir John Fenwick, they insinuated that William's fate was a judgment upon him for his cruelty to that gentleman; and a Latin epigram was written on the occasion.

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the late king's papers, would intimate whether or not they had found any among them relating to the queen's succession, or to the succession of the house of Hanover. They forthwith declared, that nothing of that sort appeared. Then the house resolved, That the report was groundless, false, villainous, and scandalous, to the dishonour of the late king's memory, and highly tending to the disservice of her present majesty, whom they besought to give order that the authors or publishers of such scandalous reports should be prosecuted by the attorney-general. The same censure was passed upon some libels and pamphlets, tending to inflame the factions of the kingdom, and to propagate a spirit of irreligion *. On the twenty-first day of May, the commons, in an address, advised her majesty to engage the emperor, the states-general, and her other allies, to join with her in prohibiting all intercourse with France and Spain; and to concert such methods with the states-general, as might most effectually secure the trade of her subjects and allies. The lords presented another address, desiring the queen would encourage her subjects to equip privateers, as the preparations of the enemy seemed to be made for a pyratrical war, to the interruption of commerce: they likewise exhorted her majesty to grant commissions or charters to all persons who should make such acquisitions in the Indies, as she in her great wisdom should judge most expedient for the good of her kingdoms. On the twenty-fifth day of May, the queen having passed several public and † private bills, dismissed the parliament by prorogation, after having, in a short speech, thanked them for their zeal, recommended unanimity, and declared she would carefully preserve and maintain the act of toleration.

§ VII. In Scotland, a warm contest arose between the revolutioners and those in the opposition, concerning the existence of the present parliament. The queen had signified her accession to the throne, in a letter to her privy-council for Scotland, desiring they would continue to act in that office until she should send a new commission, authorising them to publish a proclamation, ordaining all officers of state, counsellors, and magistrates, to act in all things conformably to the commissions and instructions they had from his late majesty, until new commissions could be prepared. She likewise assured them of her firm resolution to protect them in their religion, laws, and liberties, and in the established government of the church. She had already, in presence of twelve Scottish counsellors, taken the coronation-oath for that kingdom: but those who wanted to embroil the affairs of their country, affirmed, that this was an irregular way of proceeding, and that the oath ought to have been tendered by persons deputed for that purpose, either by the parliament, or the privy-council of the kingdom. The present ministry, consisting of the duke of Queensberry, the earls of March-

* Doctor Binkes, in a sermon preached before the convocation, on the thirtieth day of January, drew a parallel between the sufferings of Christ, and those of king Charles, to which last he gave the preference, in point of right, character, and station.

† During this short session, the queen gave her assent to an act for laying a duty upon land: to another for encouraging the Greenland trade:

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to a third for making good the deficiencies, and the public credit: to a fourth for continuing the imprisonment of Counter, and other conspirators against king William: to a fifth for the relief of protestant purchasers of the forfeited estates of Ireland: to a sixth enlarging the time for taking the oath of abjuration: to a seventh obliging the Jews to maintain and provide for their protestant children.

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mont, Melvil, Seafeld, Hyndford, and Selkirk, were devoted to revolution-principles, and desirous that the parliament should continue, in pursuance of a late act for continuing the parliament that should be then in being, six months after the death of the king; and that it should assemble in twenty days after that event. The queen had, by several adjournments, deferred the meeting almost three months after the king's decease; and therefore the anti-revolutioners affirmed that it was dissolved. The duke of Hamilton was at the head of this party, which clamoured loudly for a new parliament. This nobleman, together with the marquis of Tweeddale, the earls Marshal and Rothes, and many other noblemen, repaired to London, in order to make the queen acquainted with their objections to the continuance of the present parliament. She admitted them to her presence, and calmly heard their allegations: but she was determined, by the advice of her privy-council for that kingdom, who were of opinion that the nation was in too great a ferment to hazard the convocation of a new parliament. According to the queen's last adjournment, the parliament met at Edinburgh on the ninth day of June, the duke of Queensberry having been appointed high commissioner. Before the queen's commission was read, the Duke of Hamilton, for himself and his adherents, declared their satisfaction at her majesty's accession to the throne, not only on account of her undoubted right by descent, but likewise because of her many personal virtues and royal qualities. He said they were resolved to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in defence of her majesty's right against all her enemies whatever; but, at the same time, they thought themselves bound in duty to give their opinion, that they were not warranted by law to sit and act as a parliament. He then read a paper to the following effect: That forasmuch as, by the fundamental laws and constitution of this kingdom, all parliaments do dissolve on the death of the sovereign, except in so far as innovated by an act in the preceding reign, that the parliament in being at his decease should meet, and act what might be needful for the defence of the true protestant religion as by law established; and for the maintenance of the succession to the crown, as settled by the claim of right; and for the preservation and security of the public peace. And seeing these ends are fully answered by her majesty's succession to the throne, we conceive ourselves not now warranted by law to meet, sit, or act; and therefore do dissent from any thing that shall be done or acted. The duke having recited this paper, and formally protested against the proceedings of the parliament, withdrew with seventy nine members, amidst the acclamations of the people.

§ VIII. Notwithstanding their secession, the commissioner, who retained a much greater number, produced the queen's letter, signifying her resolution to maintain and protect her subjects in the full possession of their religion, laws, liberties, and the presbyterian discipline. She informed them of her having declared war against France: she exhorted them to provide competent supplies for maintaining such a number of forces as might be necessary for disappointing the enemy's designs, and preserving the present happy settlement; and she earnestly recommended to their consideration an union of the two kingdoms. The duke of Queensberry and the earl of Marchmont having enforced the different articles of this letter, committees were appointed for the security of the kingdom,

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for controverted elections, for drawing up an answer to her majesty's letter, and for revising the minutes. Mean while, the duke of Hamilton and his adherents sent the lord Blantyre to London with an address to the queen, who refused to receive it, and wrote another letter to the parliament, expressing her resolution to maintain their dignity and authority against all opposers. They, in answer to the former, had assured her, that the groundless secession of some members should increase and strengthen their care and zeal for her majesty's service. They expelled Sir Alexander Bruce, for having given vent to some reflexions against presbytery. The lord advocate prosecuted the faculty of advocates before the parliament, for having passed a vote among themselves in favour of the protestation and address of the dissenting members. The faculty was severely reprimanded; but the whole nation seemed to resent the prosecution. The parliament passed an act recognizing her majesty's royal authority: another for adjourning the court of judicature called the session: a third declaring this meeting of parliament legal; and forbidding any person to disown, quarrel, or impugn, the dignity and authority thereof, under the penalty of high treason: a fourth for securing the true protestant religion and presbyterian church-government: a fifth for a land-tax; and a sixth enabling her majesty to appoint commissioners for an union between the two kingdoms.

§ IX. The earl of Marchmont, of his own accord, and even contrary to the advice of the high-commissioner, brought in a bill for abjuring the pretended prince of Wales: but this was not supported by the court-party, as the commissioner had no instructions how to act on the occasion. Perhaps the queen and her English ministry resolved to keep the succession open in Scotland, as a check upon the Whigs and house of Hanover. On the thirtieth day of June, the commissioner adjourned the parliament, after having thanked them for their cheerfulness and unanimity in their proceedings; and the chiefs of the opposite parties hastened to London, to make their different representations to the queen and her ministry. In the mean time, she appointed commissioners for treating about the union; and they met at the Cockpit on the twenty-second day of October. On the twentieth day of the next month, they adjusted the preliminaries, importing, That nothing agreed on among themselves should be binding, except it be ratified by her majesty and the respective parliaments of both nations; and that, unless all the heads proposed for the treaty were agreed to, no particular thing agreed on should be binding. The queen visited them in December, in order to quicken their mutual endeavours. They agreed, that the two kingdoms should be inseparably united into one monarchy, under her majesty, her heirs, and successors, and under the same limitations, according to the acts of settlement: but, when the Scottish commissioners proposed that the rights and privileges of their company trading to Africa, and the Indies, should be preserved and maintained, such a difficulty arose as could not be surmounted; and no further progress was made in this commission. The tranquillity of Ireland was not interrupted by any new commotion. That kingdom was ruled by justices whom the earl of Rochester had appointed; and the trustees for the forfeited estates maintained their authority.

§ X. While Britain was engaged in these civil transactions, her allies were not idle on the continent. The old duke of Zell, and his nephew the elector of Brunswick, surprised the dukes of Wolfenbüttele and Saxe-Gotha, whom they compelled to renounce their attachments to France, and concur in the common councils of the empire. Thus the north of Germany was re-united in the interest of the confederates; and the princes would have been in a condition to assist them effectually, had not the neighbourhood of the war in Poland deterred them from parting with their forces. England and the states-general endeavoured in vain to mediate a peace between the kings of Sweden and Poland. Charles was become enamoured of war, and ambitious of conquest. He threatened to invade Saxony through the dominions of Prussia. Augustus retired to Cracow, while Charles penetrated to Warsaw, and even ordered the cardinal-primate to summon a diet for choosing a new king. The situation of affairs at this juncture was far from being favourable to the allies. The court of Vienna had tampered in vain with the elector of Bavaria, who made use of this negotiation to raise his terms with Lewis. His brother the elector of Cologne, admitted French garrisons into Liege, and all his places on the Rhine. The elector of Saxony was too hard pressed by the king of Sweden, to spare his full proportion of troops to the allies: the king of Prussia was overawed by the vicinity of the Swedish conqueror: the duke of Savoy had joined his forces to those of France, and over-run the whole state of Milan: and the pope, though he professed a neutrality, evinced himself strongly biased to the French interests.

§ XI. The war was begun in the name of the elector palatine with the siege of Keiserfwaert, which was invested in the month of April by the prince of Nassau Saarbrugh, marechal du camp to the emperor; under this officer the Dutch troops served as auxiliaries, because war had not yet been declared by the states-general. The French garrison made a desperate defence. They worsted the besiegers in divers sallies, and maintained the place until it was reduced to a heap of ashes. At length the allies made a general attack upon the counter-scarp and ravelin, which they carried after a very obstinate engagement, with the loss of two thousand men. Then the garrison capitulated on honourable terms, and the fortifications were razed. During this siege, which lasted from the eighteenth day of April to the middle of June, count Tallard posted himself on the opposite side of the Rhine, from whence he supplied the town with fresh troops and ammunition, and annoyed the besiegers with his artillery; but finding it impossible to save the place, he joined the grand army, commanded by the duke of Burgundy in the Netherlands. The siege of Keiserfwaert was covered by a body of Dutch troops under the earl of Athlone, who lay encamped in the dutchy of Cleve. Mean while general Coehorn, at the head of another detachment entered Flanders, demolished the French lines between the forts of Donat and Isabella, and laid the chatellanie of Bruges under contribution: but a considerable body of French troops advancing under the marquis de Bedmar, and the count de la Motte, he overflowed the country, and retired under the walls of Sluys. The duke of Burgundy, who had taken the command of the French army under Boufflers, encamped at Zanten, near Cleve, and laid a scheme for surprising Nimeguen; in which, however, he was baffled by

by the vigilance and activity of Athlone, who guessing his design, marched thither and encamped under the cannon of the town. In the beginning of June, Landau was invested by prince Lewis of Baden: in July the king of the Romans arrived in the camp of the besiegers, with such pomp and magnificence as exhausted his father's treasury. On the ninth day of September the citadel was taken by assault, and then the town surrendered.

§ XII. When the earl of Marlborough arrived in Holland, the earl of Athlone, in quality of veldt-marechal, insisted upon an equal command with the English general; but the states obliged him to yield this point in favour of Marlborough, whom they declared generalissimo of all their forces. In the beginning of July he repaired to the camp at Nimeguen, where he soon assembled an army of sixty thousand men, well provided with all necessaries, and then he convoked a council of the general officers, to concert the operations of the campaign. On the sixteenth day of the month he passed the Maese, and encamped at Over asselt, within two leagues and a half of the enemy, who had intrenched themselves between Goch and Gennep. He afterwards repassed the river below the Grave, and removed to Gravenbroeck, where he was joined by the British train of artillery from Holland. On the second day of August, he advanced to Petit Brugel, and the French retired before him, leaving Spanish Guelderland to his discretion. He had resolved to hazard an engagement, and issued orders accordingly; but he was restrained by the Dutch deputies, who were afraid of their own interest, in case the battle should have proved unfortunate. The duke of Burgundy finding himself obliged to retreat before the allied army, rather than expose himself longer to such a mortifying indignity, returned to Versailles, leaving the command to Boufflers, who lost the confidence of Lewis by the ill success of this campaign. The deputies of the states-general having represented to the earl of Marlborough the advantages that would accrue to Holland, from his dispossessing the enemy of the places they maintained in the Spanish Guelderland, by which the navigation of the Maese was obstructed, and the important town of Maestricht in a manner blocked up, he resolved to deliver them from such a troublesome neighbourhood. He detached general Schultz with a body of troops to reduce the town and castle of Werk, which were surrendered after a slight resistance. In the beginning of September, he undertook the siege of Venlo, which capitulated on the twenty-fifth day of the month, after fort St. Michael had been stormed and taken by lord Cutts and the English volunteers, among whom the young earl of Huntington distinguished himself by very extraordinary acts of valour. Then the general invested Ruremonde, which he reduced after a very obstinate defence, together with the fort of Stevensuaert, situated on the same river. Boufflers, confounded at the rapidity of Marlborough's success, retired towards Liege, in order to cover that city; but, at the approach of the confederates, he retired with precipitation to Tongeren, from whence he directed his route towards Brabant, with a view to defend such places as the allies had no design to attack. When the earl of Marlborough arrived at Liege, he found the suburbs of St. Walburgh had been set on fire by the French garrison, who had retired into the citadel and the Chartreux. The allies took immediate possession of the city; and in a few days opened the trenches against the citadel,

which

which was taken by assault. On this occasion, the hereditary prince of Hesse-Cassel charged at the head of the grenadiers, and was the first person who mounted the breach. Violani the governor, and the duke of Charost, were made prisoners. Three hundred thousand florins in gold and silver were found in the citadel, besides notes for above one million, drawn upon substantial merchants in Liege, who paid the money. Immediately after this exploit, the garrison of the Chartreux capitulated on honourable terms, and were conducted to Antwerp. By the success of this campaign, the earl of Marlborough raised his military character above all censure, and confirmed himself in the entire confidence of the states-general, who, in the beginning of the season, had trembled for Ninewegen, and now saw the enemy driven back into their own domains.

§ XIII. When the army broke up in November, the general repaired to Maestricht, from whence he proposed to return to the Hague by water. Accordingly he embarked in a large boat, with five and twenty soldiers, under the command of a lieutenant. Next morning he was joined at Ruremonde by Coehorn, in a larger vessel, with sixty men; and they were moreover escorted by fifty troopers that rode along-side of the river. The large boat out sailed the other, and the horsemen mistook their way in the dark. A French partizan, with five and thirty men from Gueldres, who lurked among the rushes in wait for prey, seized the rope by which the boat was drawn, hauled it ashore, discharged their small arms and hand-grenades, then rushing into it, secured the soldiers before they could put themselves in a posture of defence. The earl of Marlborough was accompanied by general Opdam, and Mynheer Gueldermalsen, one of the deputies, who were provided with passports. The earl had neglected this precaution; but recollecting he had an old passport for his brother general Churchill, he produced it without any emotion; and the partizan was in such confusion that he never examined the date. Nevertheless, he rifled their baggage, carried off the guard as prisoners, and allowed the boat to proceed. The governor of Venlo receiving information that the earl was surprised by a party and conveyed to Gueldres, immediately marched out with his whole garrison to invest that place. The same imperfect account being transmitted to Holland, filled the whole province with consternation. The states forthwith assembling, resolved that all their forces should march immediately to Gueldres, and threaten the garrison of the place with the utmost extremities, unless they would immediately deliver the general. But, before these orders could be dispatched, the earl arrived at the Hague, to the inexpressible joy of the people, who already looked upon him as their saviour and protector.

§ XIV. The French arms were not quite so unfortunate on the Rhine as in Flanders. The elector of Bavaria surprised the city of Ulm in Suabia, by a stratagem, and then declared for France, which had by this time complied with all his demands. The diet of the empire assembled at Ratisbon were so incensed at his conduct in seizing the city of Ulm by perfidy, that they presented a memorial to his Imperial majesty, requesting he would proceed against the elector, according to the constitutions of the empire. They resolved, by a plurality of voices, to declare war in the name of the empire, against the French

French king and the duke of Anjou, for having invaded several fiefs of the empire in Italy, the archbishopric of Cologne, and the diocese of Liege: and they forbade the ministers of Bavaria and Cologne to appear in the general diet. In vain did these powers protest against their proceedings. The empire's declaration of war was published and notified, in the name of the diet, to the cardinal of Limberg, the emperor's commissioner. Mean while, the French made themselves masters of Neuburgh, in the circle of Suabia, and Lewis prince of Baden being weakened by sending off detachments, was obliged to lie inactive in his camp near Fridlinguen. The French army was divided into two bodies, commanded by the marquis de Villars and the count de Gouiscard; and the prince thinking himself in danger of being enclosed by the enemy, resolved to decamp. Villars immediately passed the Rhine, to fall upon him in his retreat; and an obstinate engagement ensuing, the Imperialists were overpowered by numbers. The prince having lost two thousand men, abandoned the field of battle to the enemy, together with his baggage, artillery, and ammunition, and retired towards Stauffen, without being pursued; for the French army, even after they had gained the battle, were unaccountably seized with such a panic, that if the Imperial general had faced them with two regiments, he would have snatched the victory from Villars, who was upon this occasion saluted marechal of France by the soldiers; and next day the town of Fridlinguen surrendered. The prince being joined by some troops under general Thungen, and other reinforcements, resolved to give battle to the enemy: but Villars declined an engagement, and repassed the Rhine. Towards the latter end of October, count Tallard, and the marquis de Lomarie, with a body of eighteen thousand men, reduced Triers and Traerbach; while the prince of Hesse-Cassel, with a detachment from the allied army at Liege, retook from the French the towns of Zinch, Lintz, Brisac, and Andernach.

§ XV. In Italy, prince Eugene laboured under a total neglect of the Imperial court, where his enemies, on pretence of supporting the king of the Romans in his first campaign, weaned the emperor's attention intirely from his affairs in Italy; so that he left his best army to moulder away for want of recruits and reinforcements. The prince thus abandoned, could not prevent the duke of Vendome from relieving Mantua, and was obliged to relinquish some other places he had taken. Philip king of Spain being inspired with the ambition of putting an end to the war in this country, sailed in person for Naples, where he was visited by the cardinal legate, with a compliment from the pope; yet he could not obtain the investiture of the kingdom from his holiness. The emperor, however, was so disgusted at the embassy which the pope had sent to Philip, that he ordered his ambassador at Rome to withdraw. Philip proceeded from Naples to Final, under convoy of the French fleet which had brought him to Italy: he had an interview with the duke of Savoy, who began to be alarmed at the prospect of the French king's being master of the Milanese; and, in a letter to the duke of Vendome, he forbade him to engage prince Eugene until he himself should arrive in the camp. Prince Eugene understanding that the French army intended to attack Luzzara and Guastalla, passed the Po, with an army of about half the number of the enemy, and posted himself behind the dyke of Zero, in such a manner that the French were ignorant

rant of his situation. He concluded, that on their arrival at the ground they had chosen, the horse would march out to forage, while the rest of the army would be employed in pitching tents, and providing for their refreshment. His design was to seize that opportunity of attacking them, not doubting that he should obtain a complete victory: but he was disappointed by mere accident. An adjutant, with an advanced guard, had the curiosity to ascend the dyke, in order to view the country, when he discovered the Imperial infantry lying on their faces, and their horse in the rear, ranged in order of battle. The French camp was immediately alarmed; and, as the intermediate ground was covered with hedges, which obliged the assailants to defile, the enemy were in a posture of defence before the Imperialists could advance to action: nevertheless, the prince attacked them with great vivacity, in hope of disordering their line, which gave way in several places; but night interposing, he was obliged to desist; and, in a few days, the French reduced Luzzara and Guastalla. The prince, however, maintained his posts, and Philip returned to Spain, without having obtained any considerable advantage.

§ XVI. The French king employed all his artifice and intrigues in raising up new enemies against the confederates. He is said to have bribed count Mansfield, president of the council of war at Vienna, to withhold the supplies from prince Eugene in Italy. At the Ottoman Porte he had actually gained over the vizir, who engaged to renew the war with the emperor. But the Musti and all the other great officers were averse to this design, and the vizir fell a sacrifice to their resentment. Lewis continued to embroil the kingdom of Poland by means of the cardinal primate. The young king of Sweden advanced to Lissaw, where he defeated Augustus. Then he took possession of Cracow, and raised contributions; nor could he be persuaded to retreat, although the Muscovites and Lithuanians had ravaged Livonia, and even made an irruption into Sweden.

§ XVII. The operations of the combined squadrons at sea did not fully answer the expectations of the public. On the twelfth day of May, Sir John Munden put to sea with twelve sail of ships, to intercept a French squadron appointed as a convoy to a new viceroy of Mexico, from Corunna to the West Indies. On the twenty-eighth day of the month, he chased fourteen sail of French ships into Corunna. Then he called a council of war, in which it was agreed, that as the place was strongly fortified, and by the intelligence they had received, it appeared that seventeen of the enemy's ships of war rode at anchor in the harbour, it would be expedient for them to follow the latter part of their instructions, by which they were directed to cruise in soundings for the protection of the trade. They returned accordingly, and being distressed by want of provisions, came into port, to the general discontent of the nation. For the satisfaction of the people, Sir John Munden was tried by a court-martial, and acquitted; but as this miscarriage had rendered him very unpopular, prince George dismissed him from the service. We have already hinted, that king William had projected a scheme to reduce Cadiz, with intention to act afterwards against the Spanish settlements in the West-Indies. This design queen Anne resolved to put in execution. Sir George Rooke commanded the fleet, and the duke of Ormond was appointed general of the land-forces destined for this

in this expedition. The combined squadrons amounted to fifty ships of the line, exclusive of frigates, fireships, and smaller vessels; and, the number of soldiers embarked was not far short of fourteen thousand. In the latter end of June the fleet sailed from St. Helen's; and, on the twelfth of August they anchored at the distance of two leagues from Cadiz. Next day, the duke of Ormond summoned the duke de Brancaccio, who was governor, to submit to the house of Austria; but, that officer answered, he would acquit himself honourably of the trust reposed in him by the king. On the fifteenth the duke of Ormond landed with his forces in the bay of Bulls, under cover of a smart fire from some frigates, and repulsed a body of Spanish cavalry: then he summoned the governor of fort St. Catherine's to surrender; and received an answer, importing, that the garrison was prepared for his reception. A declaration was published in the Spanish language, intimating, that the allies did not come as enemies to Spain; but, only to free them from the yoke of France, and assist them in establishing themselves under the government of the house of Austria. These professions produced very little effect among the Spaniards, who were either cooled in their attachment to that family, or provoked by the excesses of the English troops, which having taken possession of Fort St. Catherine, and Port St. Mary's, instead of protecting, plundered the natives, notwithstanding the strict orders issued by the duke of Ormond, to prevent this scandalous practice: even some general officers were concerned in the pillage. A battery was raised against Montagorda fort opposite to the Puntal; but, the attempt miscarried, and the troops were reembarked.

§ XVIII. Captain Hardy having been sent to water in Lagos-bay, received intelligence, that the galleons from the West-Indies had put into Vigo, under convoy of a French squadron. He sailed immediately in quest of Sir George Rooke, who was now in his voyage back to England, and falling in with him on the sixth day of October, communicated the substance of what he had learned. Rooke immediately called a council of war, in which it was determined, to alter their course and attack the enemy at Vigo. He forthwith detached some small vessels for intelligence, and received a confirmation, that the galleons and the squadron commanded by Chateau Renault, were actually in the harbour. They sailed thither, and appeared before the place on the eleventh day of October. The passage into the harbour was narrow, secured by batteries, forts, and breast works on each side; by a strong boom, consisting of iron-chains, topmasts, and cables, moored at each end to a seventy-gun ship, and fortified within by five ships of the same strength, lying athwart the channel, with their broad-sides to the offing. As the first and second rates of the combined fleets were too large to enter, the admirals shifted their flags into smaller ships; and a division of five and twenty English and Dutch ships of the line, with their frigates, fireships, and ketches, was destined for the service. In order to facilitate the attack, the duke of Ormond landed with five and twenty hundred men, at the distance of six miles from Vigo, and took by assault a fort and platform of forty pieces of cannon, at the entrance of the harbour. The British ensign was no sooner seen flying at the top of this fort, than the ships advanced to the attack. Vice-admiral Hopson, in the Torbay, crowding all his sail, ran directly against the boom, which was broken by the first shock; then the whole squadron entered the harbour, through a prodigious fire from the enemy's ships

and batteries. These last, however, were soon stormed and taken by the grenadiers who had been landed. The great ships lay against the forts at each side of the harbour, which in a little time they silenced; though vice-admiral Hopson narrowly escaped from a fire-ship by which he was boarded. After a very vigorous engagement, the French finding themselves unable to cope with such an adversary, resolved to destroy their ships and galleons, that they might not fall into the hands of the victors. They accordingly burned and ran ashore eight ships and as many advice-boats; but, ten ships of war were taken, together with eleven galleons. Though they had secured the best part of their plate and merchandize before the English fleet arrived, the value of fourteen million of pieces of eight, in plate and rich commodities, was destroyed in six galleons that perished; but, about half that value was brought off by the conquerors: so that this was a dreadful blow to the enemy, and a noble acquisition to the allies. Immediately after this exploit Sir George Rooke was joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who had been sent out with a squadron to intercept the galleons. This officer was left to bring home the prizes and dismantle the fortifications, while Rooke returned in triumph to England.

§ XIX. The glory which the English acquired in this expedition was in some measure tarnished by the conduct of some officers in the West-Indies. Thither admiral Benbow had been detached with a squadron of ten sail, in the course of the preceding year. At Jamaica he received intelligence, that monsieur Du Casse was in the neighbourhood of Hispaniola, and resolved to beat up to that island. At Leogane he fell in with a French ship of fifty guns, which her captain ran ashore and blew up. He took several other vessels, and having alarmed Perit-Guavas, bore away for Donna Maria bay, where he understood, that Du Casse had sailed for the coast of Carthagene. Benbow resolved to follow the same course; and on the nineteenth of August discovered the enemy's squadron near St. Martha, consisting of ten sail steering along shore. He formed the line; and an engagement ensued, in which he was very ill seconded by some of his captains. Nevertheless, the battle continued till night, and he determined to renew it next morning, when he perceived all his ships at the distance of three or four miles astern, except the Ruby, commanded by captain George Walton, who joined him in plying the enemy with chase-guns. On the twenty-first these two ships engaged the French squadron; and, the Ruby was so disabled, that the admiral was obliged to send her back to Jamaica. Next day the Greenwich, commanded by Wade, was five leagues astern; and the wind changing, the enemy had the advantage of the weather-gage. On the twenty-third the admiral renewed the battle with his single ship, unsustained by the rest of the squadron. On the twenty-fourth his leg was shattered by a chain-shot; notwithstanding which accident, he remained on the quarter-deck in a cradle, and continued the engagement. One of the largest ships of the enemy lying like a wreck upon the water, four sail of the English squadron poured their broadsides into her, and then ran to leeward, without paying any regard to the signal for battle. Then the French bearing down upon the admiral with their whole force, shot away his maintop-sail-yard, and damaged his rigging in such a manner, that he was obliged to lie by and refit, while they took their disabled ship in tow. During this interval, he called a council of his captains, and expostulated with them on their behaviour. They observed, that the French

were very strong, and advised him to desist. He plainly perceived that he was betrayed, and with the utmost reluctance returned to Jamaica, having not only lost a leg, but also received a large wound in his face, and another in his arm, while he in person boarded the French admiral. Exasperated at the treachery of his captains, he granted a commission to rear-admiral Whetstone and other officers to hold a court-martial, and try them for cowardice. Hudson of the *Pendennis* died before his trial: Kirby and Wade were convicted and sentenced to be shot: Constable of the *Windfor* was cashiered and imprisoned: Vincent of the *Falmouth*, and Fogg the admiral's own captain of the *Breda*, were convicted of having signed a paper, that they would not fight under Benbow's command; but, as they behaved gallantly in the action, the court inflicted upon them no other punishment than that of a provisional suspension. Captain Walton had likewise joined in the conspiracy while he was heated with the fumes of intoxication; but, he afterwards renounced the engagement, and fought with admirable courage until his ship was disabled. The boisterous manners of Benbow had produced this base confederacy. He was a rough seaman; but, remarkably brave, honest, and experienced*. He took this miscarriage so much to heart, that he became melancholy, and his grief co-operating with the fever occasioned by his wounds, put a period to his life. Wade and Kirby were sent home in the *Bristol*; and, on their arrival at Plymouth, shot on board of the ship, by virtue of a dead-warrant for their immediate execution, which had lain there for some time. The same precaution had been taken in all the western ports, in order to prevent applications in their favour.

§ XX. During these transactions, the queen seemed to be happy in the affection of her subjects. Though the continuance of the parliament was limited to six months after the king's decease, she dissolved it by proclamation before that term was expired; and, issued writs for electing another, in which the Tory interest predominated. In the summer the queen gave audience to the count de Platens, envoy extraordinary from the elector of Hanover; then she made a progress with her husband to Oxford, Bath, and Bristol, where she was received with all the marks of the most genuine affection. The new parliament meeting on the twentieth day of October, Mr. Harley was chosen speaker. The queen in her speech declared, she had summoned them to assist her in carrying on the just and necessary war in which the nation was engaged. She desired the commons would inspect the accounts of the public receipts and payments, that if any abuses had crept into the management of the finances, they might be detected, and the offenders punished. She told them, that the funds assigned in the last parliament had not produced the sums granted; and, that the deficiency was not supplied even by the hundred thousand pounds which she had paid from her own revenue for the public service. She expressed her concern for the disappointment at Cadiz, as well as for the abuses committed at port St.

* When one of his lieutenants expressed his sorrow for the loss of the admiral's leg, "I am sorry for it too (replied the gallant Benbow) but, I had rather have lost them both than have seen this dishonour brought upon the English nation. But, do you hear? If another shot should take me off, behave like brave men, and fight it out." When Du Cassé arrived at Carthagene, he wrote a letter to Benbow to this effect, "Sir, I had little hope on Monday last but to have supped in your cabin; but, it pleased God to order it otherwise. I am thankful for it. As for those cowardly captains who deserted you, hang them up; for, by God they deserve it. Yours, Du Cassé."

Mary's, which had obliged her to give directions for the strictest examination of the particulars. She hoped they would find time to consider of some better and more effectual method to prevent the exportation of wool, and improve that manufacture, which she was determined to encourage. She professed a firm persuasion, that the affection of her subjects was the surest pledge of their duty and obedience. She promised to defend and maintain the church as by law established; and, protect her subjects in the full enjoyments of all their rights and liberties. She protested, that she relied on their care of her: she said her interest and theirs were inseparable; and, that her endeavours should never be wanting to make them all safe and happy. She was presented with a very affectionate address from either house, congratulating her upon the glorious success of her arms, and those of her allies, under the command of the earl of Marlborough; but, that of the commons was distinguished by an implicated reproach on the late reign, importing, that the wonderful progress of her majesty's arms under the earl of Marlborough, had signally "retrieved" the ancient honour and glory of the English nation. This expression had excited a warm debate in the house, in the course of which many severe reflections were made on the memory of king William. At length, the question was put, Whether the word "Retrieved" should remain? and, carried in the affirmative by a majority of one hundred.

§ XXI. The strength of the Tories appeared in nothing more conspicuous than in their inquiry concerning controverted elections. The borough of Hindon near Salisbury was convicted of bribery, and a bill brought in for disfranchising the town; yet, no vote passed against the person who exercised this corruption, because he happened to be a Tory. Mr. Howe was declared duly elected for Gloucestershire, tho' the majority of the electors had voted for the other candidate. Sir John Packington having exhibited a complaint against the bishop of Worcester and his son, for having endeavoured to prevent his election; the commons having taken it into consideration, resolved, that the proceedings of William, lord bishop of Worcester, and his son, had been malicious, unchristian, and arbitrary, in high violation of the liberties and privileges of the commons of England. They voted an address to the queen, desiring her to remove the father from the office of lord-almoner; and, they ordered the attorney-general to prosecute the son, after his privilege as member of the convocation should be expired. A counter-address was immediately voted, and presented by the lords, beseeching her majesty would not remove the bishop of Worcester from the place of lord-almoner, until he should be found guilty of some crime by due course of law; as it was the undoubted right of every lord of parliament, and of every subject of England, to have an opportunity to make his defence before he suffers any sort of punishment. The queen said, she had not as yet received any complaint against the bishop of Worcester; but, she looked upon it as her undoubted right to continue or displace any servant attending upon her own person, when she should think proper. The peers having received this answer, unanimously resolved, That no lord of their house ought to suffer any sort of punishment by any proceedings of the house of commons, otherwise than according to the known and ancient rules and methods of parliament. When the commons attended the queen with their address against the bishop, she said, she was sorry there was occasion for such a remon-

remonstrance; and, that the bishop of Worcester should no longer continue to supply the place of her almoner. This regard to their address was a flagrant proof of her partiality to the Tories, who seemed to justify her attachment by their compliance and liberality.

§ XXII. In deliberating on the supplies, they agreed to all the demands of the ministry. They voted forty thousand seamen, and the like number of land-forces, to act in conjunction with those of the allies. For the maintenance of these last, they granted eight hundred and thirty-three thousand eight hundred and twenty-six pounds; besides three hundred and fifty thousand pounds for guards and garrisons; seventy thousand nine hundred and seventy-three pounds for ordnance; and fifty-one thousand eight hundred and forty-three pounds for subsidies to the allies. The lord Shannon arriving with the news of the success at Vigo, the queen appointed a day of thanksgiving for the signal success of her arms under the earl of Marlborough, the duke of Ormond, and Sir George Rooke; and, on that day, which was the twelfth of November, she went in state to St. Paul's church, attended by both houses of parliament. Next day, the peers voted the thanks of their house to the duke of Ormond for his services at Vigo; and, at the same time, drew up an address to the queen, desiring she would order the duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke to lay before them an account of their proceedings: a request with which her majesty complied. Those two officers were likewise thanked by the house of commons; and, vice-admiral Hopson was knighted and gratified with a considerable pension. The duke of Ormond, at his return from the expedition, complained openly of Rooke's conduct, and seemed determined to subject him to a public accusation; but, that officer was such a favourite among the commons, that the court was afraid to disoblige them by an impeachment, and took great pains to mitigate the duke's resentment. This nobleman was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and Rooke was admitted into the privy-council. A motion, however, being made in the house of lords, that the admiral's instructions and journals relating to the last expedition might be examined, a committee was appointed for that purpose, and prepared an unfavourable report: but, it was rejected by a majority of the house; and, they voted, That Sir George Rooke had done his duty, pursuant to the councils of war, like a brave officer, to the honour of the British nation.

§ XXIII. On the twenty-first day of November the queen sent a message to the house of commons by Mr. secretary Hedges, recommending further provision for the prince her husband, in case he should survive her. This message being considered, Mr. Howe moved, That the yearly sum of one hundred thousand pounds should be settled on the prince, in case he should survive her majesty. No opposition was made to the proposal; but, warm debates were excited by a clause in the bill, exempting the prince from that part of the act of succession by which strangers, though naturalized, were rendered incapable of holding employments. This clause related only to those who should be naturalized in a future reign; and indeed was calculated as a restriction upon the house of Hanover. Many members argued against this clause of exemption, because it seemed to imply, that persons already naturalized would be excluded from employments in the next reign, though already possessed of the right of natural-born subjects, a consequence plainly contradictory to the meaning of the act.

after. Others opposed it, because the lords had already resolved by a vote, That they would never pass any bill sent up from the commons, to which a clause foreign to the bill should be tacked; and this clause they affirmed to be a tack, as an incapacity to hold employments was a circumstance altogether distinct from a settlement in money. The queen expressed uncommon eagerness in behalf of this bill; and the court-influence was managed so successfully, that it passed through both houses, though not without an obstinate opposition, and a formal protest by seven and twenty peers.

§ XXIV. The earl of Marlborough arriving in England about the latter end of November, received the thanks of the commons for his great and signal services, which were so acceptable to the queen, that she created him a duke, gratified him with a pension of five thousand pounds upon the revenue of the post-office during his natural life; and, in a message to the commons, expressed a desire, that they would find some method to settle it on the heirs-male of his body. This intimation was productive of warm debates, during which Sir Christopher Musgrave observed, that he would not derogate from the duke's eminent services; but, he affirmed, his grace had been very well paid for them, by the profitable employments which he and his dutchess enjoyed. The duke understanding that the commons were heated by the subject, begged her majesty would rather forego her gracious message in his behalf, than create any uneasiness on his account, which might embarrass her affairs, and be of ill consequence to the public. Then she sent another message to the house, signifying, that the duke of Marlborough had declined her interposition. Notwithstanding this declaration, the commons in a body presented an address, acknowledging the eminent services of the duke of Marlborough, and expressing their apprehension of making a precedent to alienate the revenue of the crown, which had been so much reduced by the exorbitant grants of the late reign, and so lately settled and secured by her majesty's unparalleled grace and goodness. The queen was satisfied with their apology; but, their refusal in all probability helped to alienate the duke from the Tories; with whom he had been hitherto connected.

§ XXV. In the beginning of January the queen gave the house of commons to understand, that the states-general had pressed her to augment her forces, as the only means to render ineffectual the great and early preparations of the enemy. The commons immediately resolved, That ten thousand men should be hired, as an augmentation of the forces to act in conjunction with the allies; but, on condition, that an immediate stop should be put to all commerce and correspondence with France and Spain on the part of the states-general. The lords presented an address to the queen on the same subject, and to the same effect; and, she owned, that the condition was absolutely necessary for the good of the whole alliance. The Dutch, even after the declaration of war, had carried on a traffic with the French; and, at this very juncture, Lewis found it impossible to make remittances of money to the elector of Bavaria in Germany, and to his forces in Italy, except thro' the canal of English, Dutch, and Geneva merchants. The states-general, though shocked at the imperious manner in which the parliament of England prescribed their conduct, complied with the demand without hesitation, and published a prohibition of all commerce with the subjects of France and Spain.

§ XXVI.

§ XXVI. The commons of this parliament had nothing more at heart than a bill against occasional conformity. The Tories affected to distinguish themselves as the only true friends to the church and monarchy; and they hated the dissenters with a mixture of spiritual and political disgust. They looked upon them as an intruding sect, which constituted great part of the Whig faction that extorted such immense sums of money from the nation in the late reign, and involved it in pernicious engagements, from whence it had no prospect of deliverance. They considered them as incroaching schismatics that disgraced and endangered the hierarchy; and, those of their own communion who recommended moderation, they branded with the epithets of lukewarm christians, betrayers, and apostates. They now resolved to approve themselves zealous sons of the church, by seizing the first opportunity that was in their power to distress the dissenters. In order to pave the way to this persecution, sermons were preached, and pamphlets were printed to blacken the character of the sect, and inflame the popular resentment against them. On the fourth day of November, Mr. Bromley, Mr. St. John, and Mr. Annesley, were ordered by the house of commons to bring in a bill for preventing occasional conformity. In the preamble all persecution for conscience sake was condemned: nevertheless, it enacted, That all those who had taken the sacrament and test for offices of trust, or the magistracy of corporations, and afterwards frequented any meeting of dissenters, should be disabled from holding their employments, pay a fine of one hundred pounds, and five pounds for every day in which they continued to act in their employments after having been at any such meeting: they were also rendered incapable of holding any other employment, till after one whole year's conformity; and, upon a relapse, the penalties and time of incapacity were doubled. The promoters of the bill alledged, that an established religion and national church were absolutely necessary, when so many impious men pretended to inspiration, and deluded such numbers of the people: that the most effectual way to preserve this national church, would be the maintenance of the civil power in the hands of those who expressed their regard to the church in their principles and practices: that the parliament, by the corporation and test-acts, thought they had raised a sufficient barrier to the hierarchy, never imagining that a set of men would rise up, whose consciences would be too tender to obey the laws, but hardened enough to break them: that, as the last reign began with an act in favour of dissenters, so the commons were desirous that in the beginning of her majesty's auspicious government, an act should pass in favour of the church of England: that this bill did not intrench on the act of toleration, or deprive the dissenters of any privileges they enjoyed by law, or add any thing to the legal rights of the church of England: that occasional conformity was an evasion of the law, by which the dissenters might insinuate themselves into the management of all corporations: that a separation from the church, to which a man's conscience will allow him occasionally to conform, is a mere schism, which in itself was sinful, without the superaddition of a temporal law to make it an offence: that the toleration was intended only for the ease of tender consciences, and not to give a licence for occasional conformity: that conforming and nonconforming were contradictions; for, nothing but a firm persuasion that the terms of communion required are sinful and unlawful, could justify the one; and, this plainly condemns the other. The members who opposed the bill argued, That
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the dissenters were generally well affected to the present constitution: that to bring any real hardship upon them, or give rise to jealousies and fears at such a juncture, might be attended with dangerous consequences: that the toleration had greatly contributed to the security and reputation of the church, and plainly proved, that liberty of conscience and gentle measures were the most effectual means for increasing the votaries of the church, and diminishing the number of dissenters: that the dissenters could not be termed schismatics without bringing an heavy charge upon the church of England, which had not only tolerated such schism, but even allowed communion with the reformed churches abroad: that the penalties of this bill were more severe than those which the law imposed on papists, for assisting at the most solemn act of their religion: in a word, that toleration and tenderness had been always productive of peace and union, whereas persecution had never failed to excite discord and extend superstition. Many alterations and mitigations were proposed, without effect. In the course of the debates the dissenters were mentioned and reviled with great acrimony; and, the bill passed the lower house by virtue of a considerable majority.

§ XXVII. The lords apprehensive, that the commons would tack it to some money-bill, voted, That the annexing any clause to a money-bill was contrary to the constitution of the English government, and the usage of parliament. The bill met with a very warm opposition in the upper house, where a considerable portion of the Whig interest still remained. These members believed, that the intention of the bill was to model corporations, so as to eject all those who would not vote in elections for the Tories. Some imagined this was a preparatory step towards a repeal of the toleration; and, others concluded, that the promoters of the bill designed to raise such disturbances at home, as would discourage the allies abroad, and render the prosecution of the war impracticable. The majority of the bishops, and among these Burnet of Sarum, objected against it on the principles of moderation, and from motives of conscience. Nevertheless, as the court supported this measure with its whole power and influence, the bill made its way through the house, tho' not without alterations and amendments, which were rejected by the commons. The lower house pretended, that the lords had no right to alter any fines and penalties that the commons should fix in bills sent up for their concurrence, on the supposition, that those were matters concerning money, the peculiar province of the lower house: the lords ordered a minute inquiry to be made into all the rolls of parliament since the reign of the seventh Henry; and, a great number of instances were found in which the lords had begun the clauses imposing fines and penalties, altered the penalties which had been fixed by the commons, and even changed the uses to which they were applied. These precedents were entered in the books; but, the commons resolved to maintain their point without engaging in any dispute upon the subject. After warm debates and a free conference between the two houses, the lords adhered to their amendments, though this resolution was carried by a majority of one vote only: the commons persisted in rejecting them; the bill miscarried; and, both houses published their proceedings by way of appeal to the nation*. A bill was now brought into the

* While this bill was depending, Daniel de Foë published a pamphlet, intituled, "The short-est way with the dissenters: or, proposals for the establishment of the church." The piece was

the lower house, granting another year's consideration to those who had not taken the oath abjuring the pretended prince of Wales. The lords added three clauses, importing, That those persons who should take the oath within the limited time, might return to their benefices and employments, unless they should be already legally filled: that any person endeavouring to defeat the succession to the crown, as now limited by law, should be deemed guilty of high-treason: and, that the oath of abjuration should be imposed upon the subjects in Ireland. The commons made some opposition to the first clause; but, at length, the question being put, Whether they should agree to the amendments? it was carried in the affirmative by one voice.

§ XXVIII. No object engrossed more time, or produced more violent debates than did the inquiry into the public accounts. The commissioners appointed for this purpose, pretended to have made great discoveries. They charged the earl of Ranelagh, paymaster-general of the army, with flagrant mismanagement. He acquitted himself in such a manner as screened him from all severity of punishment; nevertheless, they expelled him from the house for a high crime and misdemeanour, in misapplying several sums of the public money; and, he thought proper to resign his employment. A long address was prepared and presented to the queen, attributing the national debt to the mismanagement of the funds; complaining, that the old methods of the exchequer had been neglected: and, that iniquitous frauds had been committed by the commissioners of the prizes. Previous to this remonstrance, the house, in consequence of the report of the committee, had passed several severe resolutions, particularly, against Charles lord Hallifax, auditor of the receipt of the exchequer, as having neglected his duty, and been guilty of a breach of trust. For these reasons, they actually besought the queen, in an address, that she would give directions to the attorney-general, to prosecute him for the said offences; and she promised to comply with their request. On the other hand, the lords appointed a committee to examine all the observations which the commissioners of accounts had offered to both houses. They ascribed the national debt to deficiencies in the funds: they acquitted lord Hallifax, the lords of the treasury, and their officers, whom the commons had accused: and, represented these circumstances in an address to the queen, which was afterwards printed with the vouchers to every particular. This difference blew up a fierce flame of discord between the two houses, which manifested their mutual animosity in speeches, votes, resolutions, and conferences. The commons affirmed, That no cognizance the lords could take of the public accounts, would enable them to supply any deficiency, or appropriate any surplussage of the public money: that they could neither acquit or condemn any person whatsoever, upon any inquiry arising originally in their own house: and, that their attempt to acquit Charles lord Hallifax was unparliamentary. The lords insisted upon their right to take cognizance originally of all public accounts: they affirmed, that in their resolutions with respect to lord Hallifax, they had proceeded according to the rules of justice. They owned, however, that their resolutions did not amount to any judgment or acquittal;

was a severe satire on the violence of the church-party. The commons ordered it to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, and the author to be prosecuted. He was accordingly com-

mitted to Newgate, tried, condemned to pay a fine of two hundred pounds, and stand in the pillory.

but, that finding a vote of the commons reflected upon a member of their house, they thought fit to give their opinion in their legislative authority. The queen interposed by a message to the lords, desiring they would dispatch the business in which they were engaged. The dispute continued even after this intimation: one conference was held after another, till at length, both sides despaired of an accommodation. The lords ordered their proceedings to be printed, and the commons followed their example. On the twenty-seventh day of February the queen having passed all the bills that were ready for the royal assent, ordered the lord-keeper to prorogue the parliament, after having pronounced a speech, in which she thanked them for their zeal, affection, and dispatch; declared, she would encourage and maintain the church as by law established; desired, they would consider some further laws for restraining the great licence assumed of publishing scandalous pamphlets and libels; and assured them, that all her share of the prizes which might be taken in the war, should be applied to the public service. By this time the earl of Rochester was intirely removed from the queen's councils. Finding himself out-weighted by the interest of the duke of Marlborough and lord Godolphin, he had become sullen and intractable; and, rather than repair to his government of Ireland, chose to resign the office, which, as we have already observed, was conferred upon the duke of Ormond, an accomplished nobleman, who had acquired great popularity by the success of the expedition to Vigo. The parties in the house of lords were so nearly matched, that the queen, in order to ascertain an undoubted majority in the next session, created four new peers*, who had signalized themselves by the violence of their speeches in the house of commons.

XXIX. The two houses of convocation, which were summoned with the parliament, bore a strong affinity with this assembly, by the different interests that prevailed in the upper and lower. The last, in imitation of the commons, was desirous of branding the preceding reign; and, it was with great difficulty that they concurred with the prelates in an address of congratulation to her majesty. Then their former contest was revived. The lower house desired, in an application to the archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans, that the matters in dispute concerning the manner of synodical proceedings, and the right of the lower house to hold intermediate assemblies, might be taken into consideration, and speedily determined. The bishops proposed, that in the intervals of sessions, the lower house might appoint committees to prepare matters; and when business should be brought regularly before them, the archbishop would regulate the prorogations in such a manner, that they should have sufficient time to sit and deliberate on the subject. This offer did not satisfy the lower house, which was emboldened to persist in its demand by a vote of the commons, who, in consequence of an address of thanks from the clergy, touching Mr. Loyd, son to the bishop of Worcester, whom they had ordered to be prosecuted after his privilege as member of the convocation should be expired, resolved, That they

These were John Granville, created baron Seymour, made baron Conway of Ragley, in the county of Warwick. At the same time, however, Granville of Potheridge in the county of Devon; Heneage Finch, baron of Guernsey in the county of Southampton; Sir John Levison Gower, baron Gower of Sittenham in Yorkshire; and Francis Seymour Conway, youngest son of Sir Edward

the principles of obedience and justice to the people with an appearance of opposition. John Hervey of the opposite faction, was created baron of Ickworth in the county of Suffolk, and the marquis of Normandy was honoured with the title of duke of Buckinghamshire.

would

would on all occasions assert the just rights and privileges of the lower house of convocation. The prelates refused to depart from the archbishop's right of proroguing the whole convocation with consent of his suffragans. The lower house proposed to refer the controversy to the queen's decision. The bishops declined this expedient, as inconsistent with the episcopal authority, and the presidency of the archbishop. The lower house having incurred the imputation of favouring presbytery, by this opposition to the bishops, entered in their books a declaration, acknowledging the order of bishops as superior to presbyters, and to be a divine apostolical institution. Then they desired the bishops, in an address, to concur in settling the doctrine of the divine apostolical right of episcopacy, that it might be a standing rule of the church. They likewise presented a petition to the queen, complaining, That in the convocation called in the year one thousand seven hundred, after an interruption of ten years, several questions having arisen concerning the rights and liberties of the lower house, the bishops had refused a verbal conference; and, afterwards declined a proposal to submit the dispute to her majesty's determination: they therefore fled for protection to her majesty, begging she would call the question into her own royal audience. The queen promised to consider their petition, which was supported by the earl of Nottingham; and ordered their council to examine the affair, how it consisted with law and custom. Whether their report was unfavourable to the lower house, or the queen was unwilling to encourage the division, no other answer was made to their address. The archbishop replied to their request presented to the upper house, concerning the divine right of presbytery, that the preface to the form of ordination contained a declaration of three orders of ministers from the times of the apostles; namely, bishops, priests, and deacons, to which they had subscribed: but, he and his brethren conceived, that without a royal licence, they had not authority to attempt, enact, promulge, or execute any canon, which should concern either doctrine or discipline. The lower house answered this declaration in very petulant terms; and, the dispute subsisted when the parliament was prorogued. But these contests produced divisions thro' the whole body of the clergy, who ranged themselves in different factions, distinguished by the names of High-church and Low-church. The first consisted of ecclesiastical Tories; and, the other included those who professed revolution principles, and recommended moderation towards the dissenters. The high-church party reproached the other as time-servers, and presbyterians in disguise; and were in their turn stigmatized as the friends and abettors of tyranny and persecution. At present, however, the Tories both in church and state triumphed in the favour of their sovereign. The right of parliaments, the memory of the late king, and even the act limiting the succession to the house of Hanover, became the subjects of ridicule. The queen was flattered as possessor of the prerogatives of the ancient monarchy: the history written by her grandfather the earl of Clarendon was now for the first time published, to inculcate the principles of obedience, and inspire the people with an abhorrence of opposition to an anointed sovereign. Her majesty's hereditary right was deduced from Edward the confessor, and, as heir of his pretended sanctity and virtue, she was persuaded to touch persons afflicted with the king's evil, according to the office inserted in the liturgy for this occasion.

§ XXX. The change of the ministry in Scotland seemed favourable to the episcopalians, and antirevolutioners of that kingdom. The earls of Marchmont, Melvil, Selkirk, Leven, and Hynford, were layed aside: the earl of Seafield was appointed chancellor; the duke of Queensberry, and the lord viscount Tarbat, were declared secretaries of state; the marquis of Annandale was made president of the council; and the earl of Tullibardin lord privy-seal. A new parliament having been summoned, the earl of Seafield employed his influence so successfully, that a great number of antirevolutioners was returned as members. The duke of Hamilton had obtained from the queen a letter to the privy-council in Scotland, in which she expressed her desire, that the presbyterian clergy should live in brotherly love and communion with such dissenting ministers of the reformed religion as were in possession of benefices, and lived with decency and submission to the law. The episcopal clergy, encouraged by these expressions in their favour, drew up an address to the queen, imploring her protection; and, humbly beseeching her to allow those parishes in which there was a majority of episcopal freeholders, to bestow the benefice on ministers of their principles. This petition was presented by Dr. Sken and Dr. Scot, who were introduced by the duke of Queensberry to her majesty. She assured them of her protection and endeavours to supply their necessities; and, exhorted them to live in peace and christian love with the clergy, who were by law invested with the church-government in her ancient kingdom of Scotland. A proclamation of indemnity having been published in March, a great number of Jacobites returned from France and other countries, pretended to have changed their sentiments, and took the oaths, that they might be qualified to sit in parliament. They formed an accession to the strength of the antirevolutioners and episcopalians, who now hoped to out-number the presbyterians, and outweigh their interest. But, this confederacy was composed of dissonant parts, from which no harmony could be expected. The presbyterians and revolutioners were headed by the duke of Argyle. The country-party of malcontents, which took its rise from the disappointments of the Darien settlement, acted under the auspices of the duke of Hamilton and marquis of Tweeddale; and, the earl of Hume appeared as chief of the antirevolutioners. The different parties who now united, pursued the most opposite ends. The majority of the country-party were friends to the revolution, and sought only redress of the grievances which the nation had sustained in the late reign. The antirevolutioners considered the accession and government of king William as an extraordinary event which they were willing to forget, believing, that all parties were safe under the shelter of her majesty's general indemnity. The Jacobites submitted to the queen as tutrix or regent for the prince of Wales, whom they firmly believed she intended to establish on the throne. The Whigs under Argyle, alarmed at the coalition of all their enemies, resolved to procure a parliamentary sanction for the revolution.

§ XXXI. The parliament being opened on the sixth day of May at Edinburgh, by the duke of Queensberry as commissioner, the queen's letter was read, in which she demanded a supply for the maintenance of the forces, advised them to encourage trade, and exhorted them to proceed with wisdom, prudence, and unanimity. The duke of Hamilton immediately offered the draught of a bill

Burnet.
Oldmixon.
Torcy's Mem.
Lamberty's
Mem.
Feuquieres.
Burchet.
Tindal.
Lockhart's
Mem.
Lives of the
Admirals.
Hist. of the D.
of Marlbo-
rough.
Dutchess of
Marlbo-
rough's Apol.

An. Ch. 1703.

bill for recognizing her majesty's undoubted right and title to the imperial crown of Scotland, according to the declaration of the estates of the kingdom, containing the claim of right. It was immediately received; and at the second reading, the queen's advocate offered an additional clause, denouncing the penalties of treason against any person who should quarrel her majesty's right and title to the crown, or her exercise of the government from her actual entry to the same. This, after a long and warm debate, was carried by the concurrence of the antirevolutioners. Then the earl of Hume produced the draught of a bill for the supply; and immediately after it was read, the marquis of Tweeddale made an overture, that before all other business, the parliament would proceed to make such conditions of government, and regulations in the constitution of the kingdom, to take place after the decease of her majesty and the heirs of her body, as should be necessary for the preservation of their religion and liberty. This overture and the bill were ordered to lie upon the table; and, in the mean time, the commissioner found himself involved in great perplexity. The duke of Argyle, the marquis of Annandale, and the earl of Marchmont, gave him to understand in private, that they were resolved to move for an act, ratifying the revolution; and for another, confirming the presbyterian government: that they would insist upon their being discussed before the bill of supply: and, that they were certain of carrying the points at which they aimed. The commissioner now found himself reduced to a very disagreeable alternative: There was a necessity for relinquishing all hope of a supply, or abandoning the antirevolutioners, to whom he was connected by promises of concurrence. The Whigs were determined to oppose all schemes of supply that should come from the cavaliers: and, these last resolved to exert their whole power in preventing the confirmation of the revolution and the presbyterian discipline. He foresaw, that on this occasion the Whigs would be joined by the duke of Hamilton and his party, so as to preponderate against the cavaliers. He endeavoured to cajole both parties; but, found the task impracticable. He desired in parliament, that the act for the supply might be read, promising, that they should have full time afterwards to deliberate on other subjects. The marquis of Tweeddale insisted upon his overture; and, after warm debates, the house resolved to proceed with such acts as might be necessary for securing the religion, liberty, and trade of the nation, before any bill for supply, or other business should be discussed. The marquis of Athol offered an act for the security of the kingdom, in case of her majesty's decease; but, before it was read, the duke of Argyll presented his draught of a bill for ratifying the revolution, and all the acts following thereupon. An act for limiting the succession after the death of her majesty and the heirs of her body, was produced by Mr. Fletcher of Saltoun. The earl of Rothes recommended another, importing, that after her majesty's death, and failing heirs of her body, no person coming to the crown of Scotland, being at the same time king or queen of England, should, as king or queen of Scotland, have power to make peace or war without the consent of parliament. The earl of Marchmont recited the draught of an act for securing the true protestant religion and presbyterian government; and, one was suggested by Sir Patrick Johnston, allowing the importation of wines and other foreign liquors. All these bills were ordered to lie upon the table. Then the earl of Strathmore produced an act for toleration to all protestants in the exercise of religious worship.

worship. But against this the general assembly presented a most violent remonstrance; and the promoters of the bill foreseeing that it would meet with great opposition, allowed it to drop for the present. On the third day of June, the parliament passed the act for preserving the true reformed protestant religion; and confirming presbyterian church government, as agreeable to the word of God, and the only government of Christ's church within the kingdom. The same party enjoyed a further triumph in the success of Argyle's act, for ratifying and perpetuating the first act of king William's parliament; for declaring it high treason to disown the authority of that parliament; or to alter or innovate the claim of right, or any article thereof. This last clause was strenuously opposed; but at last the bill passed, with the concurrence of all the ministry, except the marquis of Arthole and the viscount Tarbat, who began at this period to correspond with the opposite party.

§ XXXII. The cavaliers, thinking themselves betrayed by the duke of Queensberry, who had assented to these acts, first expostulated with him on his breach of promise, and then renounced his interest, resolving to separate from the court, and jointly pursue such measures as might be for the interest of their party. But of all the bills that were produced in the course of this remarkable session, that which produced the most violent altercation was the act of security, calculated to abridge the prerogative of the crown, limit the successor, and throw a vast additional power into the hands of the parliament. It was considered paragraph by paragraph: many additions and alterations were proposed, and some adopted: inflammatory speeches were uttered; bitter sarcasms retorted from party to party; and different votes passed on different clauses. At length, in spite of the most obstinate opposition from the ministry and the cavaliers, it was passed by a majority of fifty-nine voices. The commissioner was importuned to give it the royal assent; but declined answering their intreaties till the tenth day of September, when he made a speech in parliament, giving them to understand that he had received the queen's pleasure, and was empowered to give the royal assent to all the acts voted in this session, except to the act for the security of the kingdom. Then a motion was made, to solicit the royal assent in an address to her majesty; but the question being put, it was carried in the negative by a small majority. On the sixth day of the same month, the earl of Marchmont had produced a bill to settle the succession on the house of Hanover. At first the import of it was not known; but, when the clerk, in reading it, mentioned the princess Sophia, the whole house was kindled into a flame. Some proposed that the overture should be burned; others moved that the earl might be sent prisoner to the castle; and a general dissatisfaction appeared in the whole assembly. Not that the majority in parliament were averse to the succession in the house of Hanover; but they resolved to avoid a nomination without stipulating conditions; and they had already provided, in the act of security, that it should be high treason to own any person as king or queen after her majesty's decease, until he or she should take the coronation oath, and accept the terms of the claim of right, and such conditions as should be settled in this or any ensuing parliament.

§ XXXIII. Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, a man of undaunted courage and inflexible integrity, who professed republican principles, and seemed designed by nature as a member of some Grecian commonwealth, after having observed that

that the nation would be enslaved, should be submit, either willingly or by commission, to the successor of England, without such conditions of government as should secure them against the influence of an English ministry, offered the draught of an act, importing, That, after the decease of her majesty, without heirs of her body, no person being successor to the English throne, should succeed to the crown of Scotland, but under the following limitations, which, together with the coronation-oath and claim of right, they should swear to observe: namely, That all offices and places, civil and military, as well as pensions, should for the future be conferred by parliament to be chosen at every Michaelmas head court, to sit on the first day of November, and adjourn themselves from time to time, till the ensuing Michaelmas. That they should chuse their own president: That a committee of six and thirty members, chosen out of the whole parliament, without distinction of estates, should, during the intervals of parliament, be vested under the king, with the administration of the government, act as his council, be accountable to parliament, and call it together on extraordinary occasions. He proposed that the successor should be nominated by the majority, declaring for himself, that he would rather concur in nominating the most rigid papist with those conditions, than the truest protestant without them. The motion was seconded by many members; and though postponed for the present, in favour of an act of trade under the consideration of the house, it was afterwards resumed with great warmth. In vain the lord-treasurer represented, that no funds were as yet provided for the army, and moved for a reading of the act presented for that purpose: a certain member observed, that this was a very unreasonable juncture to propose a supply, when the house had so much to do for the security of the nation: he said they had very little encouragement to grant supplies, when they found themselves frustrated of all their labour and expence for these several months; and, when the whole kingdom saw that supplies served for no other uses but to gratify the avarice of some insatiable ministers. Mr. Fletcher expatiated upon the good consequences that would arise from the act which he had proposed. The chancellor answered, That such an act was laying a scheme for a commonwealth, and tending to innovate the constitution of the monarchy. The ministry proposed the state of a vote, whether they should first give a reading to Fletcher's act, or to the act of subsidy. The country party moved that the question might be, "Overtures for subsidies, or overtures for liberty." Fletcher withdrew his act, rather than people should pervert the meaning of laudable designs. The house resounded with the cry of "Liberty or subsidy." Bitter invectives were uttered against the ministry. One member said it was now plain the nation was to expect no other return for their expence and toil, than that of being loaded with a subsidy, and being obliged to bend their necks under the yoke of slavery, which was prepared for them from that throne. Another observed, that as their liberties were suppressed, so the privileges of parliament were like to be torn from them; but that he would venture his life in defence of his birthright, and rather die a free man than live a slave. When the vote was demanded, and declined by the commissioner, the earl of Roxburgh declared, that if there was no other way of obtaining so natural and undeniable a privilege of parliament, they would demand it with their swords in their hands. The commissioner

millioner foreseeing this spirit of freedom and contradiction, had ordered the foot-guards to be in readiness, and placed a strong guard upon the eastern gate of the city. Notwithstanding these precautions, he ran the risque of being torn in pieces; and, in this apprehension, ordered the chancellor to inform the house, that the parliament should proceed upon overtures for liberty at their next sitting. This promise allayed the ferment, which had begun to rise. Next day the members prepared an overture, implying, That the elective members should be chosen for every seat at the Michaelmas head-courts: That a parliament should be held once in two years at least: That the short adjournments *de die in diem*, should be made by the parliaments themselves, as in England; and, That no officer in the army, customs, or excise, nor any gratuitous pensioner, should sit as an elective member. The commissioner being apprised of their proceedings, called for such acts as he was impowered to pass, and having given the royal assent to them, prorogued the parliament to the twelfth day of October *. Such was the issue of this remarkable session of the Scottish parliament, in which the duke of Queensberry was abandoned by the greatest part of the ministry; and such a spirit of ferocity and opposition prevailed, as threatened the whole kingdom with civil war and confusion. The queen conferred titles upon those † who appeared to have influence in the nation, and attachment to her government, and revived the order of the thistle, which the late king had dropped.

§ XXXIV. Ireland was filled with discontent, by the behaviour and conduct of the trustees for the forfeited estates. The earl of Rochester had contributed to foment the troubles of the kingdom, by encouraging the factions which had been imported from England. The duke of Ormond was received with open arms, as heir to the virtues of his ancestors, who had been the bulwarks of the protestant interest in Ireland. He opened the parliament on the twenty-first day of September, with a speech to both houses, in which he told them, that his inclination, his interest, and the examples of his progenitors, were indispensable obligations upon him, to improve every opportunity to the advantage and prosperity of his native country. The commons having chosen Allen Broderick to be their speaker, proceeded to draw up very affectionate addresses to the queen and the lord-lieutenant. In that to the queen they complained, that their enemies had misrepresented them, as desirous of being

* Though the queen refused to pass the act of security, the royal assent was granted to an act of limitation on the successor, in which it was declared, that no king or queen of Scotland should have power to make war or peace without consent of parliament. Another law was enacted, allowing French wines and other liquors to be imported in neutral bottoms. Without this expedient, it was alledged, that the revenue would have been insufficient to maintain the government. An act passed in favour of the company trading to Africa and the Indies; another for a commission concerning the public accounts: a third for punishing slanderous speeches and writings. The commission for treating of an union with England was vacated, with a prohibition to

grant any other commission for that purpose without consent of parliament; and no supply having been provided before the adjournment, the army and expence of government were maintained upon credit.

† The marquis of Athol, and the marquis of Douglas, though a minor, were created dukes, lord Tarbat was invested with the title of earl of Cromarty; the viscounts of Stair and Roseberry were promoted to the same dignity. Lord Boyle was created earl of Glasgow; James Stuart of Bute earl of Bute; Charles Hope of Hoptoun earl of Hoptoun; John Crawford of Kilbirnie viscount of Garnock; and Sir James Primrose of Carrington, viscount of Primrose.

independent of the crown of England: they therefore, to vindicate themselves from such false aspersions, declared and acknowledged, that the kingdom of Ireland was annexed and united to the imperial crown of England. In order to express their hatred of the trustees, they resolved, That all the protestant freeholders of that kingdom had been falsely and maliciously misrepresented, traduced, and abused, in a book intituled, "The Report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the Irish forfeitures;" and it appearing, that Francis Annesley member of the house, John Trenchard, Henry Langford, and James Hamilton, were authors of that book, they further resolved, That they had scandalously and maliciously misrepresented and traduced the protestant freeholders of that kingdom, and endeavoured to create a misunderstanding and jealousy between the people of England and the protestants of Ireland. Annesley was expelled the house, Hamilton was dead, and Trenchard had returned to England. They had finished the inquiry before the meeting of this parliament; and sold, at an under-value, the best of the forfeited estates to the sword-blade company of England, who, in a petition to the Irish parliament, prayed, that heads of a bill might be brought in for enabling them to take conveyances of lands in Ireland: but the parliament was very little disposed to confirm the bargains of the trustees, and the petition lay neglected on the table. The house expelled John Asgill, who, as agent to the sword-blade company, had offered to lend money to the public in Ireland, on condition that the parliament would pass an act to confirm the company's purchase of the forfeited estates. His constituents disowned his proposal; and, when he was summoned to appear before the house, and answer for his prevarication, he pleaded his privilege as member of the English parliament. The commons, in a representation of the state and grievances of the nation, gave her majesty to understand, that the constitution of Ireland had been of late greatly shaken; and their lives, liberties, and estates, called in question, and tried in a manner unknown to their ancestors: that the expence to which they had been unnecessarily exposed by the late trustees for the forfeited estates, in defending their just rights and titles, had exceeded in value the current cash of the kingdom: that their trade was decayed, their money exhausted; and that they were hindered from maintaining their own manufactures: that many protestant families had been constrained to quit the kingdom, in order to earn a livelihood in foreign countries: that the want of frequent parliaments in Ireland had encouraged evil-minded men to oppress the subject: That many civil officers had acquired great fortunes in that impoverished country, by the exercise of corruption and oppression: That others, in considerable employments, resided in another kingdom, neglecting personal attendance on their duty, while their offices were ill executed, to the detriment of the public, and the failure of justice. They declared, that it was from her majesty's gracious interposition alone, that they proposed to themselves relief from those their manifold groans and misfortunes. The commons afterwards voted the necessary supplies, and granted one hundred and fifty thousand pounds to make good the deficiencies of the necessary branches of the establishment.

§ XXXV. They appointed a committee to inspect the public accounts, by which they discovered, that above one hundred thousand pounds had been falsely charged as a debt upon the nation. The committee was thanked by

the house for having saved this sum, and ordered to examine what persons were concerned in such a misrepresentation, which was generally imputed to those who acted under the duke of Ormond. He himself was a nobleman of honour and generosity, addicted to pleasure, and fond of popular applause: but he was surrounded by people of more sordid principles, who had ingratiated themselves into his confidence by the arts of adulation. The commons voted a provision for the half-pay officers; and abolished pensions to the amount of seventeen thousand pounds a year, as unnecessary branches of the establishment. They passed an act settling the succession of the crown, after the pattern set them by England: but the most important transaction of this session was a severe bill to prevent the growth of popery. It bore a strong affinity to that which had passed three years before in England; but contained more effectual clauses. Among others, it enacted, That all estates of papists should be equally divided among the children, notwithstanding any settlement to the contrary, unless the persons to whom they might be settled, should qualify themselves by taking the oaths, and communicating with the church of England. The bill was not at all agreeable to the ministry in England, who expected large presents from the papists, by whom a considerable sum had been actually raised for this purpose. But, as they did not think proper to reject such a bill while the English parliament was sitting, they added a clause which they hoped the parliament of Ireland would refuse; namely, that no persons in that kingdom should be capable of any employment, or of being in the magistracy of any city, who did not qualify themselves by receiving the sacrament, according to the test-act passed in England. Though this was certainly a great hardship on the dissenters, the parliament of Ireland sacrificed this consideration to their common security against the roman catholics, and accepted the amendment without hesitation. This affair being discussed, the commons of Ireland passed a vote against a book intituled, "Memoirs of the late king James II." as a seditious libel. They ordered it to be burned by the hands of the common hangman; and the bookseller and printer to be prosecuted. When this motion was made, a member informed the house, that in the county of Limerick the Irish papists had begun to form themselves into bodies; to plunder the protestants of their arms and money, and to maintain a correspondence with the disaffected in England. The house immediately resolved, That the papists of the kingdom still retained hopes of the accession of the person known by the name of the prince of Wales in the life-time of the late king James, and now by the name of James III. In the midst of this zeal against popery and the pretender, they were suddenly adjourned by command of the lord-lieutenant, and broke up in great animosity against that nobleman †.

§ XXXVI. The attention of the English ministry had been for some time chiefly engrossed by the affairs of the continent. The emperor agreed with the allies, that his son the archduke Charles should assume the title of king of Spain, demand the infant of Portugal in marriage, and undertake something

† They had, besides the bills already mentioned, passed an act for an additional excise on beer, ale, and other liquors: another encouraging the importation of iron and staves: a third for preventing popish priests from coming into

the kingdom: a fourth securing the liberty of the subject, and for prevention of imprisonment beyond seas: and a fifth for naturalizing all protestant strangers.

of importance, with the assistance of the maritime powers. Mr. Methuen, the English minister at Lisbon, had already made some progress in a treaty with his Portuguese majesty; and the court of Vienna promised to send such an army into the field as would in a little time drive the elector of Bavaria from his dominions. But they were so dilatory in their preparations, that the French king broke all their measures, by sending powerful reinforcements to the elector, in whose ability and attachment Lewis reposed great confidence. Marechal Villars, who commanded an army of thirty thousand men at Strasburg, passed the Rhine, and reduced fort Kehl, the garrison of which was conducted to Philipsburgh. The emperor, alarmed at this event, ordered count Schlick to enter Bavaria on the side of Saltsburg, with a considerable body of forces; and sent another under count Stirum, to invade the same electorate by the way of Newmark, which was surrendered to him, after he had routed a party of Bavarians: the city of Amberg met with the same fate. Mean while count Schlick defeated a body of militia that defended the lines of Saltsburg, and made himself master of Riedt, and several other places. The elector assembling his forces near Brenau, diffused a report that he intended to besiege Passau, to cover which place Schlick advanced with the greatest part of his infantry, leaving behind his cavalry and cannon. The elector having by this feint divided the Imperialists, passed the bridge of Scardigen with twelve thousand men, and, after an obstinate engagement, compelled the Imperialists to abandon the field of battle; then he marched against the Saxon troops which guarded the artillery, and attacked them with such impetuosity, that they were intirely defeated. In a few days after these actions, he took Newburg on the Inn by capitulation. He obtained another advantage over an advanced post of the Imperialists near Burgenfeldt, commanded by the young prince of Brandenburg Anspach, who was mortally wounded in the engagement. He advanced to Ratisbon, where the diet of the empire was assembled, and demanded that he should be immediately put in possession of the bridge and gate of the city. The burghers immediately took to their arms, and planted cannon on the ramparts; but, when they saw a battery erected against them, and the elector determined to bombard the place, they thought proper to capitulate, and comply with his demands. He took possession of the town on the eighth day of April, and signed an instrument obliging himself to withdraw his troops, as soon as the emperor should ratify the diet's resolution for the neutrality of Ratisbon. Marechal Villars having received orders to join the elector at all events, and being reinforced by a body of troops under count Tallard, resolved to break through the lines which the prince of Baden had made at Stollhoffen. This general had been luckily joined by eight Dutch battalions, and received the French army, though double his number, with such obstinate resolution, that Villars was obliged to retreat with great loss, and directed his route towards Offingen. Nevertheless, he penetrated through the Black forest, and effected a junction with the elector. Count Stirum endeavoured to join prince Lewis of Baden; but being attacked near Schwemmingen, retired under the cannon of Nortlingen.

§ XXXVII. The confederates were more successful on the Lower Rhine and in the Netherlands. The duke of Marlborough crossed the sea in the beginning of April, and assembling the allied army, resolved, that the cam-

paign should be begun with the siege of Bonne, which was accordingly invested on the twenty-fourth day of April. Three different attacks were carried on against this place; one by the hereditary prince of Hesse-Cassel; another by the celebrated Coehorn; and a third by the lieutenant-general Fagel. The garrison defended themselves vigorously till the fourteenth day of May, when the fort having been taken by assault, and the breaches practicable, the marquis d'Alegre the governor, ordered a parley to be beat; hostages were immediately exchanged; on the sixteenth the capitulation was signed; and in three days the garrison evacuated the place, in order to be conducted to Luxemburg. During the siege of Bonne, the marechals Boufflers and Villeroy advanced with an army of forty thousand men towards Tongeren, and the confederate army commanded by Overkirk was obliged at their approach to retreat under the cannon of Maestricht. The enemy having taken possession of Tongeren, made a motion against the confederate army, which they found already drawn up in order of battle, and so advantageously posted, that, notwithstanding their great superiority in point of number, they would not hazard an attack; but retired to the ground from whence they had advanced. Immediately after the reduction of Bonne, the duke of Marlborough, who had been present at the siege, returned to the confederate army in the Netherlands, now amounting to one hundred and thirty squadrons, and fifty-nine battalions. On the twenty fifth day of May, the duke having passed the river Jecker, in order to give battle to the enemy, they marched with precipitation to Boekwern, and abandoned Tongeren, after having blown up the walls of the place with gunpowder. The duke continued to follow them to Thys, where he encamped, while they retreated to Hannye, retiring as he advanced. Then he resolved to force their lines; and this service was effectually performed by Coehorn, at the point of Callo, and by baron Spaar in the county of Waes, near Stoken. The duke had formed the design of reducing Antwerp, which was garrisoned by Spanish troops, under the command of the marquis de Bedmar. He intended with the grand army to attack the enemy's lines on the side of Louvaine and Mechlin, while he detached Coehorn with his flying camp on the right of the Scheld, towards Dutch Flanders, to amuse the marquis de Bedmar on that side; and he ordered the baron Opdam with twelve thousand men to take post between Eckeren and Capelle near Antwerp, that he might act against that part of the lines which was guarded by the Spanish forces.

§ XXXVIII. The French generals, in order to frustrate the scheme of Marlborough, resolved to cut off the retreat of Opdam. Boufflers, with a detachment of twenty thousand men from Villeroy's army, surprised him at Eckeren, where the Dutch were put in disorder; and Opdam believing all was lost, fled to Breda. Nevertheless, the troops rallying under general Schlangenburg, maintained their ground with the most obstinate valour, till night, when the enemy was obliged to retire, and left the communication free with fort Lillo, to which place the confederates marched without further molestation, having lost about fifteen hundred men in the engagement. The damage sustained by the French was more considerable. They were frustrated in their design, and had actually abandoned the field of battle; yet Lewis ordered *Te Deum* to be sung for the victory: nevertheless, Boufflers was censured for his conduct on this occasion, and in a little time totally disgraced. Opdam presented

presented a justification of his conduct to the states-general; but by this oversight forfeited the fruits of a long service, during which he had exhibited repeated proofs of courage, zeal, and capacity. The states honoured Schlangenburg with a letter of thanks for the valour and skill he had manifested in this engagement; but, in a little time they dismissed him from his employment, on account of his having given umbrage to the duke of Marlborough, by censuring his grace for exposing such a small number of men to this disaster. After this action Villeroy, who lay encamped near St. Job, declared he would wait for the duke of Marlborough, who forthwith advanced to Hoogstraet with a view to give him battle: but, at his approach, the French general setting fire to his camp, retired within his lines with great precipitation. Then the duke invested Huy, the garrison of which, after a vigorous defence, surrendered themselves prisoners of war, on the twenty-seventh day of August. At a council of war held in the camp of the confederates, the duke proposed to attack the enemy's lines between the Mehaigne and Leuwe, and was seconded by the Danish, Hanoverian, and Hessian generals; but the scheme was opposed by the Dutch officers and the deputies of the states, who alledged that the success was dubious, and the consequences of forcing the lines inconsiderable. They therefore recommended the siege of Limburg, by the reduction of which they would acquire a whole province, and cover their own country, as well as Juliers and Gueldres, from the designs of the enemy. The siege of Limburg was accordingly undertaken. The trenches were opened on the five and twentieth day of September, and in two days the place was surrendered; the garrison remaining prisoner of war. By this conquest the allies secured the country of Liege, and the electorate of Cologne, from the incursions of the enemy; and before the end of the year, they remained masters of the whole Spanish Guelderland, by the reduction of Gueldres, which surrendered on the seventeenth day of September, after having been long blockaded, bombarded, and reduced to a heap of ashes, by the Prussian general Lottum. Such was the campaign in the Netherlands, which in all probability would have produced events of greater importance, had not the duke of Marlborough been restricted by the deputies of the states-general, who began to be influenced by the intrigues of the Louvestein faction, ever averse to a single dictator.

§ XXXIX. The French king redoubled his efforts in Germany. The duke of Vendôme was ordered to march from the Milanese to Tyrol, and there join the elector of Bavaria, who had already made himself master of Inspruck. But the boors rising in arms, drove him out of the country before he could be joined by the French general, who was therefore obliged to return to the Milanese. The Imperialists in Italy were so ill supplied by the court of Vienna, that they could not pretend to act offensively. The French invested Ostiglia, which, however, they could not reduce: but the fortress of Barfילו, in the dutchy of Reggio, capitulating after a long blockade, they took possession of the duke of Modena's country. The elector of Bavaria rejoining Villars, resolved to attack count Stirum, whom prince Lewis of Baden had detached from his army. With this view they passed the Danube at Donawert, and discharged six guns as a signal for the marquis D'Usson, whom they had left in the camp at Lavingen, to fall upon the rear of the Imperialists, while they should charge them in front. Stirum no sooner perceived the signal, than he guessed the intention of the enemy, and instantly resolved to attack D'Usson before the

the elector and the marechal should advance. He accordingly charged him at the head of some select squadrons, with such impetuosity that the French cavalry was totally defeated; and all his infantry would have been killed and taken, had not the elector and Villars come up in time to turn the fate of the battle, which continued from six in the morning to four in the afternoon, when Stirum being overpowered by numbers, was obliged to retreat to Norlingen with the loss of twelve thousand men, and all his baggage and artillery. In the mean time, the duke of Burgundy, assisted by Tallard, undertook the siege of Old Brisac, with a prodigious train of artillery. The place was very strongly fortified, though the garrison was small and ill provided with necessaries. In fourteen days, the governor surrendered the place, and was condemned to lose his head for having made such a slender defence. The duke of Burgundy returned in triumph to Versailles, and Tallard was ordered to invest Landau. The prince of Hesse-Cassel being detached from the Netherlands for the relief of the place, joined the count of Nassau-Weilburg general of the Palatine forces, near Spire, where they resolved to attack the French in their lines. But by this time monsieur Pracontal with ten thousand men had joined Tallard, and enabled him to strike a stroke which proved decisive. He suddenly quitted his lines, and surprised the prince at Spirebach, where the French obtained a complete victory, after a very obstinate and bloody engagement, in which the prince of Hesse distinguished himself by uncommon marks of courage and presence of mind. Three horses were successively killed under him, and he slew a French officer with his own hand. After incredible efforts, he was fain to retreat with the loss of some thousands. The French payed dear for their victory, Pracontal having been slain in the action. Nevertheless, they resumed the siege, and the place was surrendered by capitulation. The campaign in Germany was finished with the reduction of Augsbourg by the elector of Bavaria, who took it in the month of December, and agreed to its being secured by a French garrison.

§ XL. The emperor's affairs at this juncture wore a very unpromising aspect. The Hungarians were fleeced and barbarously oppressed by those to whom he intrusted the government of their country. They derived courage from despair. They seized this opportunity when the emperor's forces were divided, and his councils distracted, to exert themselves in defence of their liberties. They ran to arms under the auspices of prince Ragotzki. They demanded that their grievances should be redressed, and their privileges restored. Their resentment was kept up by the emissaries of France and Bavaria, who likewise encouraged them to persevere in their revolt, by repeated promises of protection and assistance. The emperor's prospect, however, was soon mended by two incidents of very great consequence to his interest. The duke of Savoy foreseeing how much he would lie exposed to the mercy of the French king, should that monarch become master of the Milanese, engaged in a secret negotiation with the emperor, which, notwithstanding all his caution, was discovered by the court of Versailles. Lewis immediately ordered the duke of Vendome to disarm the troops of Savoy that were in his army, to the number of two and twenty thousand men: to insist upon the duke's putting him in possession of four considerable fortresses; and demand that the number of his troops should be reduced to the establishment stipulated in the treaty of one thousand six hundred and ninety-six. The duke, exasperated at these insults, ordered the French ambassador, and several officers of the same nation,

nation, to be arrested; and Lewis endeavoured to intimidate him by a menacing letter, in which he gave him to understand, that since neither religion, honour, interest, nor alliances, had been able to influence his conduct, the duke of Vendome should make known the intentions of the French monarch, and allow him four and twenty hours to deliberate on the measures he should pursue. This letter was answered by a manifesto: in the mean time the duke concluded a treaty with the court of Vienna; acknowledged the archduke Charles as king of Spain; and sent envoys to England and Holland. Queen Anne knowing his importance, as well as his selfish disposition, assured him of her friendship and assistance; and both she and the states sent ambassadors to Turin. He was immediately joined by a body of Imperial horse under Visconti, and afterwards by count Staremburg, at the head of fifteen thousand men, with whom he marched from the Modenese in the worst season of the year, through an enemy's country, and roads that were deemed impassable, while the French forces harassed him in his march, and even surrounded him in many different places on the route. He surmounted all these difficulties with incredible courage and perseverance, and joined the duke of Savoy at Cannelli, so as to secure the country of Piedmont. The other incident which proved so favourable to the Imperial interest, was a treaty by which the king of Portugal acceded to the grand alliance. His ministry perceived, that should Spain be once united to the crown of France, their master would sit very insecure upon his throne. They were intimidated by the united fleets of the maritime powers, which maintained the empire of the sea; and they were allured by the splendor of a match between their infant and the archduke Charles, to whom the emperor and the king of the Romans should transfer all their pretensions to the Spanish crown. By this treaty, concluded at Lisbon, between the emperor, the queen of Great Britain, the king of Portugal, and the states-general, it was stipulated, That king Charles should be conveyed to Portugal by a powerful fleet, having on board twelve thousand soldiers, with a great supply of money, arms, and ammunition; and that he should be joined immediately upon his landing, by an army of eight and twenty thousand Portuguese.

§ XLI. The confederates reaped very little advantage from the naval operations of this summer. Sir George Rooke cruised in the channel, in order to alarm the coast of France, and protect the trade of England. On the first day of July, Sir Cloudesley Shovel sailed from St. Helen's, with the combined squadrons of England and Holland: he directed his course to the Mediterranean, and being reduced to great difficulty by want of water, steered to Altea on the coast of Valentia, where brigadier Seymour landed and encamped with five and twenty hundred marines. The admiral published a short manifesto, signifying that he was not come to disturb, but to protect the good subjects of Spain, who should swear allegiance to their lawful monarch the archduke Charles, and endeavour to shake off the yoke of France. This declaration produced little or no effect; and the fleet being watered, sailed to Leghorn. One design of this armament was to assist the Cevennois, who had in the course of the preceding year been persecuted into a revolt on account of religion, and implored the assistance of England and the states-general. The admiral detached two ships into the gulph of Narbonne, with some refugees and French pilots, who had concerted signals with the Cevennois; but the marechal de

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Montrevil having received intimation of their design, took such measures as prevented all communication; and the English captains, having repeated their signals to no purpose, rejoined Sir Cloudesley at Leghorn. This admiral having renewed the peace with the pyratel states of Barbary, returned to England, without having taken one effectual step for annoying the enemy, or attempted any thing that looked like the result of a concerted scheme for that purpose. The nation naturally murmured at this fruitless expedition, by which it had incurred such a considerable expence. The merchants complained that they were ill supplied with convoys. The ships of war were victualled with damaged provision; and every article of the marine being mismanaged, the blame fell upon those who acted as council to the lord high-admiral.

§ XLII. Nor were the arms of England by sea much more successful in the West Indies. Sir George Rooke, in the preceding year, had detached from the Mediterranean captain Hovenden Walker with six ships of the line and transports, having on board four regiments of soldiers, for the Leeward islands. Being joined at Antigua by some troops under colonel Coddington, they made a descent upon the island Guadaloupe, where they razed the fort, burned the town, ravaged the country, and reembarked with precipitation, in consequence of a report that the French had landed nine hundred men on the back of the island. They retired to Nevis, where they must have perished by famine, had not they been providentially relieved by vice-admiral Graydon, in his way to Jamaica. This officer had been sent out with three ships to succeed Benbow, and was convoyed about one hundred and fifty leagues by two other ships of the line. He had not sailed many days, when he fell in with part of the French squadron commanded by Du Cassé, on their return from the West Indies, very foul and richly laden. Captain Cleland of the Montague engaged the sternmost; but he was called off by a signal from the admiral, who proceeded on his voyage without taking farther notice of the enemy. When he arrived at Jamaica, he quarrelled with the principal planters of the island; and his ships beginning to be crazy, he resolved to return to England. He accordingly sailed through the gulph of Florida, with a view to attack the French at Placentia, in Newfoundland; but his ships were dispersed in a fog that lasted thirty days; and afterwards the council of war which he convoked were of opinion, that he could not attack the settlement with any prospect of success. At his return to England, the house of lords then sitting set on foot an inquiry into his conduct. They presented an address to the queen, desiring she would remove him from his employments; and he was accordingly dismissed. The only exploit that tended to the distress of the enemy, was performed by rear-admiral Dilkes, who, in the month of July, sailed to the coast of France with a small squadron; and, in the neighbourhood of Granville, took or destroyed about forty ships and their convoy. Yet this damage was inconsiderable when compared to that which the English navy sustained from the dreadful tempest that began to blow on the twenty-seventh day of November, accompanied with such flashes of lightening, and peals of thunder, as overwhelmed the whole kingdom with consternation. The houses in London shook from their foundations, and some of them falling, buried the inhabitants in their ruins. The water overflowed several streets, and rose to a considerable tide in Westminster-hall. London-bridge was almost choked up with the wrecks of vessels that perished

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in the river. The loss sustained by the capital was computed at a million sterling; and the city of Bristol suffered to a prodigious amount: but the chief national damage fell upon the navy. Thirteen ships of war were lost, together with fifteen hundred seamen, including rear-admiral Beaumont, who had been employed in observing the Dunkirk squadron, and was then at anchor in the Downs, where his ship foundered. This great loss, however, was repaired with incredible diligence, to the astonishment of all Europe. The queen immediately issued orders for building a greater number of ships than that which had been destroyed; and she exercised her bounty for the relief of the shipwrecked seamen, and the widows of those who were drowned, in such a manner as endeared her to all her subjects.

§ XLIII. The emperor having declared his second son Charles king of Spain, that young prince set out from Vienna to Holland, and at Dusseldorp was visited by the duke of Marlborough, who, in the name of his mistress, congratulated him upon his accession to the crown of Spain. Charles received him with the most obliging courtesy. In the course of their conversation, taking off his sword, he presented it to the English general, with a very gracious aspect, saying, in the French language, "I am not ashamed to own myself a poor prince. I possess nothing but my cloak and sword: the latter may be of use to your grace; and I hope you will not think it the worse for my wearing it one day." "On the contrary (replied the duke) it will always put me in mind of your majesty's just right and title, and of the obligations I lie under to hazard my life in making you the greatest prince in Christendom." This nobleman returned to England in October; and king Charles embarking for the same kingdom, under convoy of an English and Dutch squadron, arrived at Spithead on the twenty-sixth day of September. There he was received by the dukes of Somerset and Marlborough, who conducted him to Windsor; and on the road he was met by prince George of Denmark. The queen's deportment towards him was equally noble and obliging; and he expressed the most profound respect and veneration for this illustrious princess. He spoke but little; yet what he said was judicious; and he behaved with such politeness and affability as conciliated the affection of the English nobility. After having been magnificently entertained for three days, he returned to Portsmouth, from whence, on the fourth of January, he sailed for Portugal, with a great fleet, commanded by Sir George Rooke, having on board a body of land-forces under the duke of Schomberg. When the admiral had almost reached cape Finisterre, he was driven back by a storm to Spithead, where he was obliged to remain to the middle of February. Then being favoured with a fair wind, he happily performed the voyage to Lisbon, where king Charles was received with great splendour, though the court of Portugal was overspread with sorrow, excited by the death of the infanta, whom the king of Spain intended to espouse. In Poland, all hope of peace seemed to vanish. The cardinal-primate, by the instigation of the Swedish king, whose army lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Dantzick, assembled a diet at Warsaw, which solemnly deposed Augustus, and declared the throne vacant. Their intention was to elect young Sobieski, son of their late monarch, who resided at Breslaw in Silesia: but their scheme was anticipated by Augustus, who retired hastily into his Saxon dominions, and seizing Sobieski with his brother, secured them as prisoners at Dresden.

C H A P. VIII.

§ I. *The commons revive the bill against occasional conformity.* § II. *Conspiracy trumped up by Simon Fraser lord Lovat.* § III. *The lords present a remonstrance to the queen.* § IV. *The commons pass a vote in favour of the earl of Nottingham.* § V. *Second remonstrance of the lords.* § VI. *Further disputes between the two houses.* § VII. *The queen grants the first fruits and the tenths to the poor clergy.* § VIII. *Inquiry into naval affairs.* § IX. *Trial of Lindsay.* § X. *Meeting of the Scottish parliament.* § XI. *Violent opposition to the ministry in that kingdom.* § XII. *Their parliament pass the act of security.* § XIII. *Melancholy situation of the emperor's affairs.* § XIV. *The duke of Marlborough marches at the head of the allied army into Germany.* § XV. *He defeats the Bavarians at Schellenberg.* § XVI. *Fruitless negotiation with the elector of Bavaria.* § XVII. *The confederates obtain a complete victory at Hochstadt.* § XVIII. *Siege of Landau.* § XIX. *The duke of Marlborough returns to England.* § XX. *State of the war in different parts of Europe.* § XXI. *Campaign in Portugal.* § XXII. *Sir George Rooke takes Gibraltar.* § XXIII. *And worsts the French fleet in a battle off Malaga.* § XXIV. *Session of parliament in England.* § XXV. *An act of alienation passed against the Scots.* § XXVI. *Manour of Woodstock granted to the duke of Marlborough.* § XXVII. *Disputes between the two houses on the subject of the Aylesbury constables.* § XXVIII. *The parliament dissolved.* § XXIX. *Proceedings in the parliament of Scotland.* § XXX. *They pass an act for a treaty of union with England.* § XXXI. *Difference between the parliament and convocation in Ireland.* § XXXII. *Fruitless campaign on the Moselle.* § XXXIII. *The duke of Marlborough forces the French lines in Brabant.* § XXXIV. *He is prevented by the deputies of the states from attacking the French army.* § XXXV. *He visits the Imperial court of Vienna.* § XXXVI. *State of the war on the Upper Rhine, in Hungary, Piedmont, Portugal, and Poland.* § XXXVII. *Sir Thomas Dilkes destroys part of the French fleet, and relieves Gibraltar.* § XXXVIII. *The earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudesley Shovel reduce Barcelona.* § XXXIX. *The earl's surprising progress in Spain.* § XL. *New parliament in England.* § XLI. *Bill for a regency in case of the queen's decease.* § XLII. *Debates in the house of lords upon the supposed danger to which the church was exposed.* § XLIII. *The parliament prorogued.* § XLIV. *Conferences opened for a treaty of union with Scotland.* § XLV. *Substance of the treaty.*

§ I. **W**HEN the parliament met in October, the queen in her speech took notice of the declaration by the duke of Savoy, and the treaty with Portugal, as circumstances advantageous to the alliance. She told them, that although no provision was made for the expedition to Lisbon and the augmentation of the land-forces, the funds had answered so well, and the produce of prizes been so considerable, that the public had not run in debt by those additional services: that she had contributed out of her own revenue to the support of the circle of Suabia, whose firm adherence to the interest of the allies deserved

deserved her seasonable assistance; and, she said, she would not engage in any unnecessary expence of her own, that she might have the more to spare towards the ease of her subjects. She recommended dispatch and union; and, earnestly exhorted them to avoid any heats or divisions that might give encouragement to the common enemies of the church and state. Notwithstanding this admonition, and the addresses of both houses, in which they promised to avoid all divisions, a motion was made in the house of commons for renewing the bill against occasional conformity; and carried by a great majority. In the new draught, however, the penalties were lowered, and the severest clauses mitigated. As the court no longer interested itself in the success of this measure, the house was pretty equally divided with respect to the speakers, and the debates on each side were maintained with equal spirit and ability: at length, it passed, and was sent up to the lords, who handled it still more severely. It was opposed by a small majority of the bishops, and particularly, by Burnet of Sarum, who declaimed against it as a scheme of the papists, to set the church and protestants at variance. It was successively attacked by the duke of Devonshire, the earl of Pembroke, the lords Haverham, Mohun, Ferrars, and Wharton. Prince George of Denmark absented himself from the house: and, the question being put for a second reading, it was carried in the negative; yet, the duke of Marlborough and lord Godolphin entered their dissent against its being rejected, though the former had positively declared, that he thought the bill unseasonable. The commons having perused a copy of the treaty with Portugal, voted forty thousand men, including five thousand marines, for the sea-service of the ensuing year; a like number of land forces, to act in conjunction with the allies, besides the additional ten thousand; and, they resolved, That the proportion to be employed in Portugal should amount to eight thousand. Sums were granted for the maintenance of these great armaments, as well as for the subsidies payable to her majesty's allies; and funds appointed equal to the occasion. Then they assured the queen, in an address, that they would provide for the support of such alliances as she had made, or should make with the duke of Savoy.

§ II. At this period the nation was alarmed by the detection of a conspiracy said to be hatched by the Jacobites of Scotland. Simon Fraser lord Lovat, a man of desperate enterprize, profound dissimulation, abandoned morals, and ruined fortune, who had been outlawed for having ravished a sister of the marquis of Athol, was the person to whom the plot seems to have owed its origin. He repaired to the court of St. Germain's, where he undertook to assemble a body of twelve thousand Highlanders to act in favour of the pretender, if the court of France would assist them with a small reinforcement of troops, together with officers, arms, ammunition, and money. The French king seemed to listen to the proposal; but, as Fraser's character was infamous, he doubted his veracity. He was, therefore, sent back to Scotland with two other persons, who were instructed to learn the strength and sentiments of the clans, and endeavour to engage some of the nobility in the design of an insurrection. Fraser no sooner returned than he privately discovered the whole transaction to the duke of Queensberry, and undertook to make him acquainted with the whole correspondence between the pretender and the Jacobites. In consequence of this service he was provided with a pass, to secure him from all prosecution; and made a progress through the Highlands, to sound the inclination of the chieftains.

ains. Before he set out on this circuit, he delivered to the duke a letter from the queen dowager at St. Germain's, directed to the marquiss of Athol: it was couched in general terms, and superscribed in a different character; so that, in all probability, Frazer had forged the direction, with a view to ruin the marquiss, who had prosecuted him for the injury done to his sister. He proposed a second journey to France, where he should be able to discover other more material circumstances; and the duke of Queensberry procured a pass for him to go to Holland from the earl of Nottingham, though it was expedited under a borrowed name. The duke had communicated his discovery to the queen, without disclosing his name, which he desired might be concealed; and, her majesty believed the particulars, which were confirmed by her spies at Paris, as well as by the evidence of Sir John Maclean, who had lately been conveyed from France to England in an open boat, and apprehended at Folkstone. This gentleman pretended at first, that his intention was to go thro' England to his own country, in order to take the benefit of the queen's pardon; and, this, in all probability, was his real design: but, being given to understand, that he would be treated in England as a traitor, unless he should merit forgiveness by making important discoveries, he related all he knew of the purposed insurrection. From his information the ministry gave directions for apprehending one Keith, whose uncle had accompanied Frazer from France, and knew all the intrigues of the court of St. Germain's. He declared, that there was no other design a-foot, except that of paving the way for the pretender's ascending the throne after the queen's decease. Ferguson, that veteran conspirator, affirmed, that Frazer had been employed by the duke of Queensberry to decoy some persons whom he hated, into a conspiracy, that he might have an opportunity to effect their ruin; and, by the discovery establish his own credit, which began to totter. Perhaps, there was too much reason for this imputation. Among those who were seized at this time, was a gentleman of the name of Lindsay, who had been undersecretary to the earl of Middleton. He had returned from France to Scotland, in order to take the benefit of the queen's pardon, under the shelter of which he came to England, thinking himself secure from prosecution. He protested, he knew of no designs against the queen or her government; and, that he did not believe she would ever receive the least injury or molestation from the court of St. Germain's. The house of lords having received intimation of this conspiracy, resolved, That a committee should be appointed to examine into the particulars; and, ordered, That Sir John Maclean should be next day brought to their house. The queen, who was far from being pleased with this instance of their officious interposition, gave them to understand by message, that she thought it would be inconvenient to change the method of examination already begun; and, that she would in a short time inform the house of the whole affair. On the seventeenth day of December the queen went to the house of peers, and having passed the bill for the land-tax, made a speech to both houses, in which she declared, that she had unquestionable information of ill practices and designs carried on by the emissaries of France in Scotland. The lords persisting in their resolution to bring the inquiry into their own house, chose their select committee by ballot; and, in an address thanked her majesty for the information she had been pleased to communicate.

§ III. The commons taking it for granted, that the queen was disobliged at these proceedings of the upper house, which indeed implied an insult upon her ministry,

ministry, if not upon herself, presented an address, declaring themselves surprised to find, that when persons suspected of treasonable practices were taken into custody by her majesty's messengers, in order to be examined, the lords, in violation to the known laws of the land, had wrested them out of her hands, and arrogated the examination solely to themselves; so that a due inquiry into the evil practices and designs against her majesty's person and government might in a great measure be obstructed. They earnestly desired, that she would suffer no diminution of the prerogative; and, they assured her they would, to the utmost of their power, support her in the exercise of it at home, as well as in asserting it against all invasions whatsoever. The queen thanked them for their concern and assurances; and, was not ill pleased at the nature of the address, though the charge against the peers was not strictly true: for, there were many instances of their having assumed such a right of inquiry. The upper house deeply resented the accusation. They declared, that by the known laws and customs of parliament, they had an undoubted right to take examinations of persons charged with criminal matters, whether those persons were or were not in custody. They resolved, That the address of the commons was unparliamentary, groundless, without precedent, highly injurious to the house of peers, tending to interrupt the good correspondence between the two houses, to create an ill opinion in her majesty of the house of peers, of dangerous consequence to the liberties of the people, the constitution of the kingdom, and privileges of parliament. They presented a long remonstrance to the queen, justifying their own conduct, explaining the steps they had taken, recriminating upon the commons; and, expressing the most fervent zeal, duty, and affection to her majesty. In her answer to this representation, which was drawn up with elegance, propriety, and precision, she professed her sorrow for the misunderstanding which had happened between the two houses of parliament, and thanked them for the concern they had expressed for the rights of the crown and the prerogative, which she should never exert so willingly as for the good of her subjects, and the protection of their liberties.

§ IV. Among other persons seized on the coast of Sussex, on their landing from France, was one Boucher, who had been aid-du-camp to the duke of Berwick. When examined, he denied all knowledge of any conspiracy; and said, that being weary of living so long abroad, and having made some unsuccessful attempts to obtain a pass, he had chosen rather to cast himself on the queen's mercy, than to remain longer in exile from his native country. He was tried and condemned for high-treason, yet continued to declare himself ignorant of the plot. He proved, that in the war of Ireland as well as in Flanders, he had treated the English prisoners with great humanity. The lords desisted from the prosecution; he obtained a reprieve, and died in Newgate. On the twenty-ninth day of January the earl of Nottingham told the house, that the queen had commanded him to lay before them the papers containing all the particulars hitherto discovered of the conspiracy in Scotland; but, that there was one circumstance which could not yet be properly communicated, without running the risque of preventing a discovery of greater importance. They forthwith drew up and presented an address, desiring, that all the papers might be immediately submitted to their inspection. She said, she did not expect to be pressed in this manner immediately after the declaration she had made; but, in a few days the

earl of Nottingham delivered the papers sealed to the house, and all the lords were summoned to attend on the eighth day of February, that they might be opened and perused. Nottingham was suspected of a design to stifle the conspiracy. Complaint was made in the house of commons, that he had discharged an officer belonging to the late king James, who had been seized by the governor of Berwick. A warm debate ensued, and at length ended in a resolve, That the earl of Nottingham, one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state, for his great ability and diligence in the execution of his office, for his unquestionable fidelity to the queen and her government, and for his steady adhering to the church of England as by law established, highly merited the trust her majesty had reposed in him. They ordered the speaker to present this resolution to the queen, who said, she was glad to find them so well satisfied with the earl of Nottingham, who was trusted by her in so considerable an office. They perused the examination of the witnesses which were layed before them, without passing judgment or offering advice on the subject; but, they thanked her majesty for having communicated those particulars, as well as for her wisdom and care of the nation. When the lords proceeded with uncommon eagerness in their inquiry, the lower house, in another address, renewed their complaints against the conduct of the peers, which they still affirmed was without a precedent. But, this was the language of irritated faction, by which indeed both sides were equally actuated.

§ V. The select committee of the lords prosecuted the inquiry, and founded their report chiefly on the confession of Sir John Maclean, who owned, that the court of St. Germain's had listened to Lovat's proposal: that several councils had been held at the pretender's court on the subject of an invasion; and, persons sent over to sound some of the nobility in Scotland. But, the nature of their private correspondence and negotiation could not be discovered. Keith had tampered with his uncle to disclose the whole secret; and, this was the circumstance which the queen declined imparting to the lords, until she should know the success of his endeavours, which proved ineffectual. The uncle stood aloof; and, the ministry did not heartily engage in the inquiry. The house of lords having finished these examinations, and being warmed with violent debates, voted, That there had been dangerous plots between some persons in Scotland and the courts of France and St. Germain's: and, That the encouragement for this plotting arose from the not settling the succession to the crown of Scotland in the house of Hanover. These votes were signified to the queen in an address; and, they promised, that when the succession should be thus settled, they would endeavour to promote the union of the two kingdoms upon just and reasonable terms. Then they composed another representation, in answer to the second address of the commons, touching their proceedings. They charged the lower house with want of zeal in the whole progress of this inquiry. They produced a great number of precedents, to prove that their conduct had been regular and parliamentary; and they, in their turn, accused the commons of partiality and injustice in vacating legal elections. The queen, in answer to this remonstrance, said, she looked upon any misunderstanding between the two houses as a very great misfortune to the kingdom: and, that she should never omit any thing in her power to prevent all occasions of them for the future.

§ VI. The lords and commons, animated by such opposite principles, seized every opportunity of thwarting each other. An action having been brought by one Matthew Ashby against William White and the other constables of Aylesbury, for having denied him the privilege of voting in the last election, the cause was tried at the assizes, and the constables were cast with damages. But, an order was given in the queen's bench to quash all the proceedings, since no action had ever been brought on that account. The cause being moved by writ of error into the house of lords, was argued with great warmth; at length, it was carried by a great majority, that the order of the queen's bench should be set aside, and judgment pronounced according to the verdict given at the assizes. The commons considered these proceedings as encroachments on their privileges. They passed five different resolutions, importing, That the commons of England in parliament assembled had the sole right to examine, and determine all matters relating to the right of election of their own members: That the practice of determining the qualifications of electors in any court of law, would expose all mayors, bailiffs, and returning-officers, to a multiplicity of vexatious suits, and insupportable expences, and subject them to different and independent jurisdictions, as well as to inconsistent determinations in the same case, without relief: That Matthew Ashby was guilty of a breach of privilege, as were all attornies, solicitors, counsellors, and serjeants at law, soliciting, prosecuting, or pleading, in any case of the same nature. These resolutions, signed by the clerk, were fixed upon the gate of Westminster-hall. On the other hand, the lords appointed a committee to draw up a state of the case; and, upon their report, resolved, That every person being wilfully hindered to exercise his right of voting, might maintain an action in the queen's courts against the officer by whom his vote should be refused, to assert his right, and recover damage for the injury: That an assertion to the contrary was destructive of the property of the subjects, against the freedom of elections, and manifestly tended to the encouragement of partiality and corruption: That the declaring Matthew Ashby guilty of a breach of privilege of the house of commons, was an unprecedented attempt upon the judicature of parliament, and an attempt to subject the law of England to the votes of the house of commons. Copies of the case, and these resolutions, were by the lord keeper sent to all the sheriffs of England, to be circulated through all the boroughs of their respective counties.

§ VII. On the seventh day of February the queen ordered secretary Hedges to tell the house of commons, that she had remitted the arrears of the tenths to the poor clergy: that she would grant her whole revenue arising out of the first-fruits and tenths, as far as it should become free from incumbrance, as an augmentation of their maintenance: and, that if the house of commons could find any method by which her intentions to the poor clergy might be made more effectual, it would be an advantage to the public, and acceptable to her majesty. The commons immediately brought in a bill, enabling her to alienate this branch of the revenue, and create a corporation by charter, to direct the application of it to the uses proposed: they likewise repealed the statute of Mortmain, so far as to allow all men to bequeath by will, or grant by deed, any sum they should think fit to give towards the augmentation of benefices. Addresses of thanks and acknowledgment from all the clergy of England were presented to the queen for her gracious bounty; but, very little regard was paid to
Burnet

Burnet bishop of Sarum, although the queen declared that prelate author of the project. He was generally hated either as a Scot, a low-church-man, or a meddling partizan.

§ VIII. In March an inquiry into the condition of the navy was begun in the house of lords. They desired the queen, in an address, to give speedy and effectual orders, that a number of ships sufficient for the home-service should be equipped and manned with all possible expedition. They resolved, That admiral Graydon's not attacking the four French ships in the channel, had been a prejudice to the queen's service, and a disgrace to the nation: That his pressing men in Jamaica, and his severity towards masters of merchant vessels and transports, had been a great discouragement to the inhabitants of that island, as well as prejudicial to her majesty's service: and, they presented the address against him, in consequence of which he was dismissed. They examined the accounts of the earl of Orford, against which great clamour had been raised; and, taking cognizance of the remarks made by the commissioners of the public accounts, found them false in fact, ill grounded, or of no importance. The commons besought the queen to order a prosecution on account of ill practices in the earl of Ranelagh's office; and, they sent up to the lords a bill for continuing the commission on the public accounts. Some alterations were made in the upper house, especially, in the nomination of commissioners; but, these were rejected by the commons. The peers adhering to their amendments, the bill dropped and the commission expired. No other bill of any consequence passed in this session, except an act for raising recruits, which impowered justices of the peace to impress idle persons for soldiers and marines. On the third day of April the queen went to the house of peers, and having made a short speech on the usual topics of acknowledgment, unity, and moderation, prorogued the parliament to the fourth day of July. The division still continued between the two houses of convocation; so that nothing of moment was transacted in that assembly, except their address to the queen upon her granting the first-fruits and tenths for the augmentation of small benefices. At the same time, the lower house sent their prolocutor with a deputation to wait upon the speaker of the house of commons, to return their thanks to that honourable house for having espoused the interest of the clergy; and, a promise to pursue such methods as might best conduce to the support, honour, interest, and security of the church as now by law established. They sent up to the archbishop and prelates divers representations, containing complaints, and proposing canons and articles of reformation; but, very little regard was payed to their remonstrances.

§ IX. About this period, the earl of Nottingham, after having ineffectually pressed the queen to discard the dukes of Somerset and Devonshire, resigned the seals. The earl of Jersey and Sir Edward Seymour were dismissed: the earl of Kent was appointed chamberlain, Harley secretary of state, and Henry St. John secretary of war. The discovery of the Scottish conspiracy was no sooner known in France, than Lewis ordered Frazer to be imprisoned in the Bastile. In England Lindsay being sentenced to die for having corresponded with France, was given to understand that he had no mercy to expect unless he would discover the conspiracy. He persisted in denying all knowledge of any such conspiracy; and, scorned to save his life by giving false information. In order to intimidate him into a confession, the ministry ordered him to be conveyed to Tyburn,

Tyburn, where he still rejected life upon the terms proposed: then he was carried back to Newgate, where he remained some years: at length, he was banished, and died of hunger in Holland. The ministers had been so lukewarm and languid in the investigation of the Scottish conspiracy, that the Whigs loudly exclaimed against them as disguised Jacobites, and even whispered insinuations, implying, that the queen herself had a secret bias of sisterly affection for the court of St. Germain's. What seemed to confirm this allegation, was the disgrace of the duke of Queensberry, who had exerted himself with remarkable zeal in the detection; but, the decline of his interest in Scotland was the real cause of his being layed aside at this juncture.

§ X. The design of the court was to procure in the Scottish parliament the nomination of a successor to the crown, and a supply for the forces, which could not be obtained in the preceding session. Secretary Johnston, in concert with the marquis of Tweedale, undertook to carry these points, in return for certain limitations on the successor, to which her majesty agreed. The marquis was appointed commissioner. The office of lord-register was bestowed upon Johnston; and, the parliament met on the sixth day of July. The queen, in her letter, expressed her concern that these divisions should have risen to such a height, as to encourage the enemies of the nation to employ their emissaries for debauching her good subjects from their allegiance. She declared her resolution to grant whatever could in reason be demanded for quieting the minds of the people. She told them, she had impowered the marquis of Tweedale to give unquestionable proofs of her determination to maintain the government in church and state as by law established in that kingdom; to consent to such laws as should be found wanting for the further security of both, and for preventing all incroachments for the future. She earnestly exhorted them to settle the succession in the protestant line, as a step absolutely necessary for their own peace and happiness, the quiet and security of all her dominions, the reputation of her affairs abroad, and the improvement of the protestant interest through all Europe. She declared, that she had authorized the commissioner to give the royal assent to whatever could be reasonably demanded, and was in her power to grant, for securing the sovereignty and liberties of that her antient kingdom. The remaining part of the letter turned upon the necessity of their granting a supply, the discouragement of vice, the encouragement of commerce, and the usual recommendation of moderation and unanimity.

§ XI. The duke of Hamilton presented a resolve, That the parliament would not name a successor to the crown, until the Scots should have concluded a previous treaty with England, in relation to commerce and other concerns. This motion produced a warm debate, in the course of which, Fletcher of Salton expatiated upon the hardships and miseries which the Scots had sustained since the union of the two crowns under one sovereign, and the impossibility of bettering their condition, unless they should take care to anticipate any design that tended to a continuation of the same calamities. Another resolve was produced by the earl of Rothes, importing, That the parliament should proceed to make such limitations and conditions of government as might be judged proper for rectifying the constitution; for vindicating and securing the sovereignty and independency of the nation; and, then the parliament would take into consideration the other resolve offered by the duke of Hamilton for a treaty previous to the nomination of a successor. This proposal was seconded by the court-party;

Burnet.
Hist. of Q.
Anne.
Feuquieres.
Lockhart.
Burchet.
Tindal.
Lives of the
Admirals.
Voltaire.
Hist. of Eu-
rope.
Hist. of the D.
of Marlbo-
rough.

An. Ch. 1704.

and, violent heats ensued. At length, Sir James Falconer of Phefdo, offered an expedient, which neither party could refuse with any shew of moderation. He suggested a resolve, That the parliament would not proceed to the nomination of a successor, until the previous treaty with England should be discussed; and, that it would make the necessary limitations and conditions of government, before the successor should be nominated. This joint-resolve being put to the vote, was carried by a great majority. The treaty with England was neglected, and the affair of the succession consequently postponed. The duke of Athol moved, That her majesty should be desired to send down the witnesses and all the papers relating to the conspiracy, that after due examination those who were unjustly accused might be vindicated, and the guilty punished according to their demerits. The commissioner declared, that he had already written, and would write again to the queen on that subject. The intention of the cavaliers was to convict the duke of Queensberry of malice and calumny in the prosecution of that affair, that they might wreak their vengeance upon him for that instance of his animosity, as well as for his having deserted them in the former session. But, he found means to persuade the queen, that such an inquiry would not only protract the session, but also divert them from the settlement of the succession, and raise such a ferment as might be productive of tragical consequences. Alarmed at these suggestions, she resolved to prevent the examination; and, made no answer to the repeated applications made by her parliament and ministers. Mean while, the duke of Queensberry appeased his enemies in Scotland, by directing all his friends to join in the opposition.

§ XII. The duke of Hamilton again moved, That the parliament should proceed to the limitations, and name commissioners to treat with England, previous to all other business, except an act for a land-tax of two months, necessary for the immediate subsistence of the forces. The earl of Marchmont proposed an act to exclude all popish successors; but, this was warmly opposed as unseasonable, by Hamilton and his party. A bill of supply being offered by the lord-justice clerk, the cavaliers tacked to it great part of the act of security, to which the royal assent had been refused in the former session. Violent debates arose; so that the house was filled with rage and tumult. The national spirit of independence had been wrought up to a dangerous pitch of enthusiasm. The streets were crowded with people of all ranks, exclaiming against English influence; and, threatening to sacrifice as traitors to their country, all who should embrace measures that seemed to favour a foreign interest. The commissioner and his friends were confounded and appalled. Finding it impossible to stem the torrent, he, with the concurrence of the other ministers, wrote a letter to the queen, representing the uncomfortable situation of affairs, and advising her majesty to pass the bill, incumbered as it was with the act of security. Lord Godolphin, on whose counsel she chiefly relied, found himself involved in great perplexity. The Tories had devoted him to destruction. He foresaw that the queen's concession to the Scots in an affair of such consequence, would furnish his enemies with a plausible pretence to arraign the conduct of her minister; but, he chose to run that risque rather than see the army disbanded for want of a supply, and the kingdom left exposed to an invasion. He therefore seconded the advice of the Scottish ministers; and, the queen authorised the commissioner to pass the bill that was depending. This act provided, That in case of the queen's dying without issue, a parliament should immediately meet

meet and declare the successor to the crown, different from the person possessing the throne of England, unless before that period a settlement should be made in parliament, of the rights and liberties of the nation, independent on English councils: by another clause, they were impowered to arm and train the subjects so as to put them in a posture of defence. The Scottish parliament, having by a laudable exertion of spirit obtained this act of security, granted the supply without further hesitation; but, not yet satisfied with this sacrifice, they engaged in debates about the conspiracy, and the proceedings of the house of lords in England, which they termed an officious intermeddling in their concerns, and an incroachment upon the sovereignty and independency of the nation. They drew up an address to the queen, desiring, that the evidence and papers relating to the plot, might be subjected to their examination in the next session. Mean while, the commissioner dreading the further progress of such an ungovernable ferocity, prorogued the parliament to the seventh day of October. The act of security being transmitted to England, copies of it were circulated by the enemies of Godolphin, who represented it as a measure of that minister; and, the kingdom was filled with murmurs and discontent. People openly declared, that the two kingdoms were now separated by law, so as never to be rejoined. Reports were spread, that great quantities of arms had been conveyed to Scotland; and, that the natives were employed in preparations to invade England. All the blame of these transactions was imputed to lord Godolphin, whom the Tories determined to attack, while the other party resolved to exert their whole influence for his preservation: yet, in all probability, he owed his immediate support to the success of his friend the duke of Marlborough.

§ XIII. Nothing could be more deplorable than the situation to which the emperor was reduced in the beginning of the season. The malcontents in Hungary had rendered themselves formidable by their success: the elector of Bavaria possessed all the places on the Danube as far as Passau, and even threatened the city of Vienna, which must have been infallibly lost had the Hungarians and Bavarians acted in concert. By the advice of prince Eugene, the emperor implored the assistance of her Britannic majesty; and, the duke of Marlborough explained to her the necessity of undertaking his relief. This nobleman in the month of January had crossed the sea to Holland, and concerted a scheme with the deputies of the states-general, for the operations of the ensuing campaign. They agreed, that general Overkirk should lie upon the defensive with a small body of troops in the Netherlands, while the main army of the allies should act upon the Rhine, under the command of the duke of Marlborough. Such was the pretext under which this consummate general concealed another plan, which was communicated to a few only, in whose discretion he could confide. It was approved by the pensionary and some leading men, who secured its favourable reception with the states-general, when it became necessary to impart the secret to that numerous assembly. In the mean time, the preparations were made, on pretence of carrying the war to the banks of the Moselle.

§ XIV. In the month of April, the duke, accompanied by his brother general Churchill, lieutenant-general Lumley, the earl of Orkney, and other officers of distinction, embarked for Holland, where he had a long conference with a deputation of the states, concerning a proposal of sending a large army towards the Moselle. The deputies of Zealand opposed this measure of sending their

troops to such a distance, so strenuously, that the duke was obliged to tell them in plain terms, he had received orders to march thither with the British forces. He accordingly assembled his army at Maestricht; and, on the eighth day of May began his march into Germany. The French imagined his intention was to begin the campaign with the siege of Traerbach, and penetrate into France along the Moselle. In this persuasion they sent a detachment to that river; and gave out that they intended to invest Huy, a pretence to which the duke paid no regard. He continued his route by Bedburg, Kerpenord, Kassecken, and visited the fortifications of Bonne, where he received certain advice, that the recruits and reinforcements for the French army in Bavaria had joined the elector at Villingen. He redoubled his diligence, passed the Neckar on the third of June, and halted at Ladenburgh, from whence he wrote a letter to the states-general, giving them to understand, that he had the queen's orders to march to the relief of the empire; and, expressing his hope, that they would approve the design, and allow their troops to share the honour of the expedition. By the return of a courier he received their approbation, and full power to command their forces. He then proceeded to Mildenheim, where he was visited by prince Eugene; and, these two great men, whose talents were congenial, immediately contracted an intimacy of friendship. Next day prince Lewis of Baden arrived in the camp at Great Hippach. He told the duke, his grace was come to save the empire, and to give him an opportunity of vindicating his honour, which he knew was at the last stake in the opinion of some people. The duke replied, he was come to learn of him how to serve the empire: that they must be ignorant indeed, who did not know, that the prince of Baden, when his health permitted him, had preserved the empire and extended its conquests.

§ XV. Those three celebrated generals agreed, that the two armies should join: that the command should be alternately vested in the duke and prince Lewis, from day to day: and, that prince Eugene should command a separate army on the Rhine. Prince Lewis returned to his army on the Danube: prince Eugene set out for Philipsburg: and, the duke of Marlborough being joined by the Imperial army under prince Lewis of Baden, at Wastertellen, prosecuted his march by Elchingen, Gingen, and Landthausen. On the first day of July he was in sight of the enemy's intrenchments at Dillingen, and encamped with his right at Amerdighem, and his left at Onderingen. Understanding that the elector of Bavaria had detached the best part of his infantry to reinforce the count D'Arco, who was posted behind strong lines at Schellenberg near Donawert, he resolved to attack their intrenchments without delay. On the second day of July he advanced towards the enemy, passed the river Wermitz; and, about five o'clock in the afternoon the attack was begun by the English and Dutch infantry, supported by the horse and dragoons. They were very severely handled, and even obliged to give way, when prince Lewis of Baden marching up at the head of the Imperialists, to another part of the line, made a diversion in their favour. After an obstinate resistance they forced the intrenchments, and the horse entering with the infantry, fell so furiously upon the enemy already disordered, that they were routed with great slaughter. They fled with the utmost trepidation to Donawert and the Danube, leaving six thousand men dead on the field of battle. The confederates took sixteen pieces of cannon, thirteen

thirteen pair of colours, with all the tents and baggage. Yet, the victory was dearly purchased: some thousands of the allies were slain in the attack, including many gallant officers, among whom were the generals Goor and Beinheim, and count Stirum was mortally wounded. Next day the Bavarian garrison abandoned Donawert, of which the confederates took immediate possession; while the elector passed the Danube in his march to the river Leche, lest the victors should cut off his retreat to his own country. The confederates having crossed the Danube on several bridges of pontoons, a detachment was sent to pass the Leche, and take post in the country of the elector, who had retired under the cannon of Augsburg. The garrison of Neuburg retiring to Ingolstadt, the place was secured by the confederates; and, the count de Frize was detached with nine battalions and fifteen squadrons to invest the town of Rain. Advice arriving from prince Eugene, that the marechals Villeroy and Tallard had passed the Rhine at Fort Kehl, with an army of five and forty thousand men, to succour the elector of Bavaria, the generals of the allies immediately detached prince Maximilian of Hanover with thirty squadrons of horse, as a reinforcement to the prince. In a few days Rain surrendered, and Aicha was taken by assault. The emperor no sooner received a confirmation of the victory of Schellenbergh, than he wrote a letter of acknowledgment to the duke of Marlborough; and, ordered count Wratislau to intimate his intention of investing him with the title of prince of the empire, which the duke declined accepting, until the queen interposed her authority at the desire of Leopold.

§ XVI. The allies advanced within a league of Augsburg, and tho' they found the elector of Bavaria too securely posted under the cannon of that city, to be dislodged or attacked with any prospect of success, they encamped with Friedburg in their centre, so as to cut off all communication between him and his dominions. The duke of Marlborough having reduced him to this situation, proposed very advantageous terms of peace, provided he would abandon the French interest and join the Imperialists in Italy. His subjects seeing themselves at the mercy of the allies, pressed him to comply with those offers, rather than expose his country to ruin and desolation. A negotiation was begun, and he seemed ready to sign the articles, when hearing that marechal Tallard had passed the Black-forest to join him with a great body of forces, he declared, that since the king of France had made such powerful efforts to support him, he thought himself obliged in honour to continue firm in his alliance. The generals of the allies were so exasperated at this disappointment, that they sent out detachments to ravage the country of Bavaria as far as Munich; and, upwards of three hundred towns, villages, and castles, were inhumanly destroyed, to the indelible disgrace of those who countenanced and conducted such barbarous practices. The elector, shocked at these brutal proceedings, desired, in a letter to the duke of Marlborough, that a stop might be put to acts of violence so opposite to true glory. The answer he received, implied, that it was in his own power to put an end to them by a speedy accommodation. Incensed at this reply, he declared, that since they had obliged him to draw the sword, he would throw away the scabbard. The duke and prince Lewis finding it impracticable to attack the elector in his strong camp, resolved to undertake the siege of Ingolstadt; and, for that purpose passed the Paer near the town of Schrobenhausen, where they encamped with their left at Closterberg. On the fifth day

day of August the elector of Bavaria marched to Biberach, where he was joined by Tallard. He resolved to pass the Danube at Lawingen, to attack prince Eugene, who had followed the French army from the lines of Biehl, and lay encamped at Hochstadt. Next day, however, he made a motion that disappointed the enemy. Nevertheless, they persisted in their design of passing the Danube and encamping at Blenheim. The allies resolved, that prince Lewis should undertake the siege of Ingoldstadt, whilst prince Eugene and the duke should observe the elector of Bavaria. Advice being received that he had actually crossed the Danube at Lawingen, the duke of Marlborough joined the forces of prince Eugene at the camp of Munster on the eleventh day of August, prince Lewis having by this time marched off towards the place he intended to besiege. Next day the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene observed the posture of the enemy, who were advantageously posted on a hill near Hochstadt, their right being covered by the Danube and the village of Blenheim, their left by the village of Lutzingen, and their front by a rivulet, the banks of which were steep and the bottom marshy.

§ XVII. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the generals resolved to attack them immediately, rather than lie inactive until their forage and provision should be consumed. They were moreover stimulated to this hazardous enterprise, by an intercepted letter to the elector of Bavaria from marechal Villeroy, giving him to understand, that he had received orders to ravage the country of Wirtemberg, and intercept all communication between the Rhine and the allied army. The dispositions being made for the attack, and the orders communicated to the general officers, the forces advanced into the plain on the thirteenth day of August, and were ranged in order of battle. The cannonading began about nine in the morning, and continued on both sides till one in the afternoon. The French and Bavarians amounted to about sixty thousand men. Marechal Tallard commanded on the right, and posted seven and twenty battalions with twelve squadrons in the village of Blenheim, supposing that there the allies would make their chief effort: their left was conducted by the elector of Bavaria, assisted by Marfin, a French general of experience and capacity. The number of the confederates did not exceed five and fifty: their right was under the direction of prince Eugene, and their left commanded by the duke of Marlborough. At noon the action was begun by a body of English and Hessians, under major-general Wilkes, who having passed the rivulet with difficulty, and filed off to the left in the face of the enemy, attacked the village of Blenheim with great vigour; but, were repulsed after three successive attempts. Mean while, the troops in the center and part of the right wing, passed the rivulet on planks in different places; and, formed on the other side without any molestation from the enemy. At length, however, they were charged by the French horse with such impetuosity, and so terribly galled in flank by the troops posted at Blenheim, that they fell in disorder, and part of them repassed the rivulet; but, a reinforcement of dragoons coming up, the French cavalry were broke in their turn, and driven to the very hedges of the village of Blenheim. The left wing of the confederates being now completely formed, ascended the hill in a firm compacted body, charging the enemy's horse, which could no longer stand their ground; but, rallied several times as they gave way. Tallard, in order to make a vigorous effort, ordered ten battalions to fill up the intervals

tervals of his cavalry. The duke perceiving his design, sent three battalions of the troops of Zell to sustain his horse. Nevertheless, the line was a little disordered by the prodigious fire from the French infantry, and even obliged to recoil about sixty paces; but, the confederates advancing to the charge with redoubled ardour, routed the French horse; and their battalions being thus abandoned, were cut in pieces. Tallard, having rallied his broken cavalry behind some tents that were still standing, resolved to draw off the troops he had posted in the village of Blenheim, and sent an aid-du-camp to Marfin, who was with the elector of Bavaria on the left, to desire he would face the confederates with some troops to the right of the village of Oberklau, so as to keep them in play, and favour the retreat of the forces from Blenheim. That officer assured him, he was so far from being in a condition to spare troops, that he could hardly maintain his ground. The fate of the day was now more than half decided. The French cavalry being vigorously attacked in flank were totally defeated. Part of them endeavoured to gain the bridge which they had thrown over the Danube between Hochstadt and Blenheim; but, they were so closely pursued, that those who escaped the slaughter threw themselves into the river, where they perished. Tallard, being surrounded, was taken near a mill behind the village of Sonderen, together with the marquis de Montperoux general of horse, the major-generals de Seppesville, de Silly, de la Valiere, and many other officers of distinction. Whilst these occurrences passed on the left wing, Marfin's quarters at the village of Oberklau, in the centre, were attacked by ten battalions, under the prince of Holstein-beck, who passed the rivulet with undaunted resolution; but, before he could form his men on the other side, he was overpowered by numbers, mortally wounded and taken prisoner. His battalions being supported by some Danish and Hanoverian cavalry, renewed the charge, and were again repulsed: at length, the duke of Marlborough in person brought up some fresh squadrons from the body of reserve, and obliged the enemy to retire. By this time, prince Eugene had obliged the left wing of the enemy to give ground, after having surmounted a great number of difficulties, sustained a very obstinate opposition, and seen his cavalry, in which his chief strength seemed to lie, three times repulsed. The duke of Marlborough had no sooner defeated the right wing, than he made a disposition to reinforce the prince, when he understood from an aid-du-camp, that his highness had no occasion for assistance; and, that the elector with monsieur de Marfin had abandoned Oberklau and Lutzingen. They were pursued as far as the villages of Morfelingen and Teisfenhoven, from whence they retreated to Dillingen and Lawingen. The confederates were now masters of the field of battle, and surrounded the village of Blenheim, in which, as we have already observed, seven and twenty battalions and twelve squadrons were posted. Seeing themselves cut off from all communication with the rest of their army, and despairing of being able to force their way through the allies, they capitulated about eight in the evening, layed down their arms, delivered their colours and standards, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war, on condition, that the officers should not be rifled. This was one of the most glorious and complete victories that ever was obtained. Ten thousand French and Bavarians were left dead on the field of battle: the greater part of thirty squadrons of horse and dragoons perished in the river Danube; thirteen thousand were made prisoners: one hundred
pieces

pieces of cannon were taken, with twenty-four mortars, one hundred and twenty-nine colours, one hundred and seventy-one standards, seventeen pair of kettle drums, three thousand six hundred tents, four and thirty coaches, three hundred laden mules, two bridges of boats, fifteen pontoons, fifteen barrels and eight casks filled with silver. Of the allies, about four thousand five hundred men were killed, and about eight thousand wounded or taken. The loss of the battle was imputed to two capital errors committed by marechal Tallard; namely, his weakening the centre, by detaching such a number of troops to the village of Blenheim, and his suffering the confederates to pass the rivulet, and form unmolested. Certain it is, these circumstances contributed to the success of the duke of Marlborough, who rode through the hottest of the fire with the calmest intrepidity, giving his orders with that presence of mind and deliberation which were so peculiar to his character. When he next day visited Tallard, he told that general, he was sorry such a misfortune should happen personally on one for whom he had a profound esteem. The marechal congratulated him on having vanquished the best troops in the world; a compliment to which the duke replied, That he thought his own the best troops in the world, seeing they had conquered those upon whom the marechal had bestowed such an encomium.

§ XVIII. The victorious generals having by this decisive stroke saved the house of Austria from ruin, and intirely changed the face of affairs in the empire, signified their opinion to prince Lewis of Baden, that it would be for the advantage of the common cause to join all their forces and drive the French out of Germany, rather than lose time at the siege of Ingoldstadt, which would surrender of course. This opinion was confirmed by the conduct of the French garrison at Augsburg, who quitted that place on the sixteenth day of August. The magistrates sent a deputation, craving the protection of the duke of Marlborough, who forthwith ordered a detachment to take possession of that important city. The duke having sent marechal de Tallard under a guard of dragoons to Frankfort, and disposed of the other prisoners of distinction in the adjacent places, encamped at Seffingen, within half a league of Ulm. Here he held a conference with the princes Eugene and Lewis of Baden, in which they agreed, that, as the enemy retreated towards the Rhine, the confederate army should take the same route, excepting three and twenty battalions and some squadrons, to be left for the siege of Ulm, under general Thungen. They began their march on the twenty-sixth day of August, by different routes, to the general rendezvous at Bruchsal, near Philippsburg. Then they resolved, that prince Lewis of Baden should undertake the siege of Landau, in order to secure the circle of Suabia from the incursions of that garrison. Considering the consternation that prevailed all over France, nothing could be more impolitic than this measure, which gave the enemy time for recollection, and recruiting their forces. It was a proposal on which the prince of Baden insisted with uncommon obstinacy. He was even suspected of corruption. He was jealous of the glory which the duke of Marlborough had acquired; and such a bigotted papist that he repined at the success of an heretical general. On the twelfth day of September, he marched towards Landau with the troops destined for the siege, and the duke of Marlborough with prince Eugene encamped at Croon Weissenburg, to cover the enterprize. By this time Ulm

had

had surrendered to Thungen, even before the trenches were opened. Villeroy advanced with his army towards Landau, as if he had intended to attack the confederates; but he retired without having made any attempt for the relief the place, which was defended with the most obstinate valour till the twenty-third day of November, when the besiegers having lodged themselves on the counter-scarps, the breaches being practicable, and the dispositions made for a general assault, the garrison capitulated upon honourable conditions. The king of the Romans had arrived in the camp, that he might have the credit of taking the place, the command of which he bestowed on the count de Frize, who had before defended it with equal courage and ability.

§ XIX. The next enterprize which the confederates undertook, was the siege of Traerbach. The hereditary prince of Hesse-Cassel being intrusted with the direction of the attacks, invested the castle in the beginning of November; and, though it was strongly fortified and well defended, carried on his operations with such spirit and assiduity, that in about six weeks the garrison surrendered the place on honourable terms. In the mean time, the duke of Marlborough repaired to Berlin, where he negotiated for a reinforcement of eight thousand Prussians to serve under prince Eugene in Italy, during the next campaign. Thence he proceeded to the court of Hanover, where, as in all other places, he was received with particular marks of distinction. When he arrived at the Hague, he was congratulated by the states-general on his victories at Schellenberg and Blenheim, and as much considered in Holland as if he had been actually stadtholder. He had received a second letter from the emperor, couched in the warmest terms of acknowledgment, and was declared prince of the empire. In December he embarked for England, where he found the people in a transport of joy, and was welcomed as an hero who had retrieved the glory of the nation.

§ XX. In Flanders, nothing of moment was executed, except the bombardment of Bruges and Namur by baron Spaar, with nine thousand Dutch troops; and two attempts upon the French lines, which were actually penetrated by Overkirk, though he was not able to maintain the footing he had gained. The elector of Bavaria, who had retired to Brussels after his defeat, formed a scheme for surprising the Dutch general at the end of the campaign, and assembled all his troops at Tirlemont; but the French court, apprehensive of his temerity, sent Villeroy to watch his conduct, and prevent his hazarding an engagement, except with a fair prospect of advantage. The marechal finding him determined to give battle at all events, represented the improbability of succeeding against an enemy so advantageously posted; and the ill consequences of a repulse: but finding the elector deaf to all his remonstrances, he flatly refused to march, and produced the king's order to avoid an engagement. In Italy the French met with no opposition. The duke of Savoy being unable to face the enemy in the field, was obliged to lie inactive, and see the duke of Vendome reduce Vercelli and Ivrea, and undertake the siege of Verac, while he posted his little army on the other side of the Po, at Crescentino, where he had a bridge of communication, by which he supplied the place occasionally with fresh troops and provision. It held out five months, against all the efforts of the French general: at length the communication being cut off, the duke of Savoy retired to Chivas. He bore his misfortunes with great equanimity;

and told the English minister, that though he was abandoned by the allies, he would never abandon himself. The emperor had neglected Italy, that he might act with more vigour against Ragotski and the Hungarian malcontents, over whom he obtained several advantages; notwithstanding which they continued formidable, from their number, bravery, and resolution. The ministers of the allies pressed Leopold to enter into a negotiation for a peace with those rebels, and conferences were opened: but he was not sincerely disposed to an accommodation, and Ragotski aimed at the principality of Transylvania, which the court of Vienna would not easily relinquish. The emperor was not a little alarmed by a revolution at the Ottoman Porte, until the new sultan dispatched a chiaus to Vienna, with an assurance that he would give no assistance to the malcontents of Hungary. In Poland, the diet being assembled by the cardinal-primate, Stanislaus Leszinski, palatine of Posnania, was elected and proclaimed king, and recognized by Charles of Sweden, who still maintained his army by contributions in that country, more intent upon the ruin of Augustus than upon the preservation of his own dominions; for he paid no regard to the progress of the Muscovites, who had ravaged Livonia, reduced Narva, and made incursions into Sweden. Augustus retreated into his Saxon dominions, which he impoverished, in order to raise a great army, with which he might return to Poland; and the pope espoused the interest of this new convert, so far as to cite the cardinal-primate to appear at Rome, and give an account of the share he had in the Polish troubles. The protestants of the Cevennois deriving courage from despair, became so troublesome to the government of France, that Lewis was obliged to treat them with lenity: he sent marshal Villars against them with a fresh reinforcement; but at the same time furnished him with instructions to treat for an accommodation. This officer immediately commenced a negotiation with Cavalier, the chief of the revolters; and a formal treaty was concluded, by which they were indulged with liberty of conscience. But these articles were very ill observed by the French ministry.

§ XXI. In Portugal the interest of king Charles wore a very melancholy aspect. When he arrived at Lisbon, he found no preparations made for opening the campaign. The Portuguese ministry favoured the French in secret: the people were averse to heretics: the duke of Schomberg was on ill terms with Fagel the Dutch general: the Portuguese forces consisted of raw undisciplined peasants: and the French ambassador had bought up the best horses in the kingdom; so that the troopers could not be properly mounted. The king of Portugal had promised to enter Spain with Charles by the middle of May: but he was not ready till the beginning of June, when they reached Santaren. By this time they had published their respective manifestoes; Charles displaying his title to the crown of Spain, and promising pardon to all his subjects who should in three months join his army; and the king of Portugal declaring that his sole aim in taking up arms, was to restore the liberty of the Spanish nation, oppressed by the power of France, as well as to assert the right of Charles to that monarchy. The present possessor, whom they mentioned by the name of the duke of Anjou, had already anticipated their invasion. His general the duke of Berwick entering Portugal, took the town of Segura by stratagem. The governor of Salva-terra surrendered at discretion: Cebre-

ros was reduced without much opposition : Zebredo was abandoned by the inhabitants ; and the town of Ihana la Viella was taken by assault. Portugal was at the same invaded in different parts by the marquis de Jeoffreville, prince Tserclaes de Tilly, and the marquis de Villadarias. Two Dutch battalions were attacked and taken by the duke of Berwick at Sodreira Formosa. Then he passed the Tagus and joined prince Tserclaes. King Philip arriving in their army, invested Portalegre ; and the garrison, including an English regiment of foot commanded by colonel Stanhope, were made prisoners of war. The next place he besieged was Castel Davide, which met with the same fate, although the marquis Das Minas, in order to make a diversion, entered Spain with fifteen thousand men, took Fuente Grimaldo, in Castile, by assault, defeated a body of French and Spaniards commanded by Don Ronquillo, and made himself master of Manseinto. The weather growing excessively hot, Philip sent his troops into quarters of refreshment ; and the allies followed his example. Duke Schomberg finding his advice very little regarded by the Portuguese ministry, and seeing very little prospect of success, desired leave to resign his command, which the queen bestowed upon the earl of Galway, who, with a reinforcement of English and Dutch troops, arrived at Lisbon on the thirtieth day of July. About the latter end of September, the two kings repaired to the camp near Almeda, resolving to invade Castile ; but they found the river Agueda so well guarded by the duke of Berwick, that they would not attempt a passage. They therefore retired into the territories of Portugal, and the army was put into winter-quarters. The Spaniards were now so weakened, by detachments sent with the marquis de Villadarias towards Gibraltar, that the duke of Berwick could not execute any scheme of importance during the remaining part of the campaign.

§ XXII. The arms of England were not less fortunate by sea than they had been upon the Danube. Sir George Rooke having landed king Charles at Lisbon, sent a squadron to cruise off cape Spartell, under the command of rear-admiral Dilkes, who, on the twelfth of March, engaged and took three Spanish ships of war, bound from St. Sebastian's to Cadiz. Rooke received orders from the queen to sail to the relief of Nicé and Villa Franca, which were threatened with a siege by the duke of Vendome ; and at the same time he was pressed by king Charles to execute a scheme upon Barcelona, projected by the prince of Hesse-D'Armstadt, who declared his opinion, that the Catalonians would declare for the house of Austria, as soon as they should be assured of proper support and protection. The ministry of England understanding that the French were employed in equipping a strong squadron in Brest, and judging it was destined to act in the Mediterranean, sent out Sir Cloudesley Shovel with a considerable fleet, to watch the motions of the Brest squadron ; and he was provided with instructions how to act in case it should be sailed to the Mediterranean. Mean while, Sir George Rooke, in compliance with the intreaties of king Charles, sailed with the transports under his convoy to Barcelona, and on the eighteenth of May appeared before the city. Next day, the troops were landed by the prince of Hesse, to the number of two thousand, and the Dutch ketches bombarded the place : but by this time the governor had secured the chiefs of the Austrian party ; and the people exhibiting no marks of attachment to king Charles, the prince reembarked his soldiers, from an apprehension of

their being attacked and overpowered by number. On the sixteenth day of June, Sir George Rooke being joined by Sir Cloudefley Shovel, resolved to proceed up the Mediterranean in quest of the French fleet, which had sailed thither from Brest, and which Rooke had actually discovered, in the preceding month, on their voyage to Toulon. On the seventeenth day of July, the admiral called a council of war in the road of Tetuan, when they resolved to make an attempt upon Gibraltar, which was but slenderly provided with a garrison. Thither they sailed, and on the twenty-first day of the month the prince of Hesse landed on the isthmus with eighteen hundred marines: then he summoned the governor to surrender, and was answered, that the place would be defended to the last extremity. Next day the admiral gave orders for cannonading the town; and perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications at the south mole-head, commanded captain Whitaker to arm all the boats, and assault that quarter. The captains Hicks and Jumper, who happened to be nearest the mole, immediately manned their pinaces, and entered the fortifications sword in hand. The Spaniards sprung a mine, by which two lieutenants and about a hundred men were killed or wounded. Nevertheless, the two captains took possession of a platform, and kept their ground until they were sustained by captain Whitaker and the rest of the seamen, who took by storm a redoubt between the mole and the town. Then the governor capitulated; and the prince of Hesse entered the place, amazed at the success of this attempt, considering the strength of the fortifications, which might have been defended by fifty men against a numerous army.

§ XXIII. A sufficient garrison being left with his highness, the admiral returned to Tetuan to take in wood and water; and when he sailed, on the ninth day of August, he descried the French fleet, to which he gave chase with all the sail he could spread. On the thirteenth he came up with it, as it lay in a line off Malaga ready to receive him, to the number of two and fifty great ships, and four and twenty galleys, under the command of the count de Tholouse, high-admiral of France, with the inferior flags of the white and blue divisions. The English fleet consisted of three and fifty ships of the line, exclusive of frigates; but they were inferior to the French in number of guns and men, as well as in weight of metal, and altogether unprovided of gallies, from which the enemy reaped great advantage during the engagement. A little after ten in the morning, the battle began with equal fury on both sides, and continued to rage with doubtful success till two in the afternoon, when the van of the French gave way: nevertheless, the fight was maintained till night, when the enemy bore away to leeward. The wind shifting before morning, the French gained the weather-gage; but they made no use of this advantage: for two successive days the English admiral endeavoured to renew the engagement, which the count de Tholouse declined, and at last he disappeared. The loss was pretty equal on both sides, though not a single ship was taken or destroyed by either: but the honour of the day certainly remained with the English. Over and above the disadvantages we have enumerated, their bottoms were foul, and several large ships had expended all their shot long before the battle ceased: yet the enemy were so roughly handled, that they did not venture another engagement during the whole war. The French king, in order to raise the drooping spirits of his people, claimed the victory, and published an ac-

count of the action, which, at this distance of time, plainly proves that he was reduced to the mean shift of imposing upon his subjects, by false and partial representations. Among other exaggerations in this detail, we find mention made of mischief done to French ships by English bombs; though nothing is more certain, than that there was not one bomb-vessel in the combined fleet. The French academy, actuated by a servile spirit of adulation, caused a medal to be struck on the occasion, which, instead of perpetuating the glory of their prince, serves only to transmit their own shame to posterity. After the battle, Sir George Rooke sailed to Gibraltar to refit, and leaving a squadron with Sir John Leake, set sail for England on the twenty-fourth day of August. He arrived in September, and was received by the ministry, and the people in general, with those marks of esteem and veneration which were due to his long services and signal success: but he was still persecuted with a spirit of envy and detraction. Philip king of Spain, alarmed at the reduction of Gibraltar, sent the marquis de Villadarias with an army to retake it. The siege lasted four months, during which the prince of Hesse exhibited many shining proofs of courage and ability. The place was supplied with men and provisions by convoys from Lisbon, until monsieur de Pointis put a stop to that communication, by entering the bay with a strong squadron: but he was obliged to retire at the approach of Sir John Leake and admiral Vanderdussen; and the marquis de Villadarias having made little or no progress at land, thought proper to abandon the enterprize.

§ XXIV. The parliament of England meeting on the twenty-ninth day of October, the queen in her speech observed, that the great and remarkable success with which God had blessed her arms, produced unanimous joy and satisfaction through all parts of the kingdom; and that a timely improvement of the present advantages would enable her to procure a lasting foundation of security for England, as well as a firm support for the liberty of Europe. She declared her intention was to be kind and indulgent to all her subjects. She expressed her hope that they would do nothing to endanger the loss of this opportunity; and that there would be no contention among them, but an emulation to promote the public welfare. Contratulatory addresses were voted and presented by both houses. They were equal in their professions of duty and affection to the queen; but the addresses imbibed a very different colour from the different factions by which the two houses were influenced. The lords congratulated her on the great and glorious success of her arms under the command of the duke of Marlborough, without deigning to mention Sir George Rooke, who had defeated the French navy at sea, and added the important fortress of Gibraltar to the British conquests. On the other hand, the commons affected to mention the battle of Blenheim, and Rooke's naval victory, as events of equal glory and importance. However, they might be warped by prejudice against individuals, they did not suffer the war to languish for want of supplies. Having taken into consideration the services of the army and navy, they voted that the queen should be desired to bestow her bounty on the seamen and land-forces who had behaved themselves so gallantly. Then they deliberated upon the different articles of national expence, and granted four millions six hundred and seventy thousand nine hundred and thirty-one pounds, for the occasions of the ensuing year, to be raised by a land tax, by

by the sale of annuities, and other expedients. These measures were taken with such expedition, that the land-tax received the royal assent on the ninth day of December, when the queen, in a short speech, thanked the commons for their dispatch, which she considered as a sure pledge of their affection.

§ XXV. The high-church party took this occasion to promote the bill against occasional conformity, which was revived and brought into the house on a new model, by Mr. William Bromley, who moved that it might be tacked to the land-tax bill, and sent up to the lords for their concurrence. The court no longer espoused this measure; and the violent party was weakened by defection. After a warm and tedious debate, the tack was rejected by a great majority. The bill, however, passed the house of commons, and was sent up to the lords on the fourteenth day of December, when it would hardly have excited a debate, had not the queen been present, and desirous of hearing what could be said on both sides of the question. For the information and satisfaction of her majesty, the subject was again discussed, and all the arguments being repeated, the bill was rejected by a majority of one and twenty voices. The next subject on which the house of lords employed their attention, was the late conduct of the Scottish parliament. The lord Haverham, in a set speech, observed, that the settlement of the succession in Scotland had been postponed, partly because the ministry for that kingdom were weak and divided; partly from a received opinion that the succession was never sincerely and cordially intended by those who managed the affairs of Scotland in the cabinet-council. He expatiated on the bad consequences that might attend the act of security, which he stiled a bill of exclusion; and particularly mentioned that clause by which the heritors and boroughs were ordained to exercise their sensible men every month. He said the nobility and gentry of Scotland were as learned and brave as any nation in Europe, and generally discontented: that the common people were very numerous, very stout, and very poor; and he asked who was the man that could tell what such a multitude, so armed, and so disciplined, might do under such leaders, could opportunities suit their intention? He recommended these circumstances to the consideration of the house, and concluded with these words of lord Bacon, "Let men beware how they neglect or suffer matter of troubles to be prepared; for no man can forbid the sparks that may set all on fire." They resolved to consider these subjects on the twenty-ninth day of November, when the queen repaired to the house of peers to hear the debates, and by her presence moderate the heat of both parties. The earl of Nottingham reflected so severely on the memory of king William, that he would have been sent to the Tower, had not the lords declined any such motion, out of respect to her majesty. After much declamation on the Scottish act of security, the grand committee of the peers, by the advice of lord Wharton, resolved, That the queen should be enabled by act of parliament on the part of England, to name commissioners to treat about an union with Scotland, provided that the parliament of Scotland should first appoint commissioners on their part for the same purpose. That no Scotsmen should enjoy the privileges of Englishmen, except such as were settled in England, Ireland, and the plantations, and such as were or might be in the sea or land-service, until an union could be effected, or the succession settled as in England: That the traffic by cattle from Scotland to England should be prevented:

That

That the lord admiral should issue orders for taking such vessels as should be found trading from Scotland to France, or to the ports of any of her majesties enemies; and that care should be taken to prevent the exportation of English wool into Scotland. On these resolutions a bill was formed for an intire union, and passed the house on the twentieth day of December. The lords presented an address to the queen, representing that they had duly weighed the dangerous and pernicious effects that were likely to be produced by divers acts of parliament lately passed in Scotland: That they were of opinion, the safety of the kingdom required that speedy and effectual orders should be given to put Newcastle in a posture of defence, secure the port of Tinnmouth, and repair the fortifications of Hull and Carlisle. They likewise advised her majesty to give directions for disciplining the militia of the four northern counties; for providing them with arms and ammunition; for maintaining a competent number of regular troops on the northern borders of England, as well as in the north of Ireland; and for putting the laws in execution against papists. The queen promised that a survey should be made of the places they had mentioned, and laid before the parliament; and that she would give the necessary directions upon the other articles of the address. The commons seemed to concur with the lords in their sentiments of the Scottish act of security. They resolved, That a bill should be brought in for the effectual securing the kingdom of England from the apparent dangers that might arise from several acts lately passed in the parliament of Scotland; and this was formed on nearly the same resolutions which had been taken in the upper-house. The bill sent down by the lords was thrice read, and ordered to lie upon the table; while they passed their own, to take effect at Christmas, provided before that time the Scots should not settle the succession. When it was offered to the lords, they passed it without any amendment, contrary to the expectation, and even to the hope, of some members who were no friends to the house of Hanover, and firmly believed the lords would have treated this bill with the same contempt which had been manifested for that which they had sent down to the commons.

§ XXVI. The duke of Marlborough, at his first appearance in the house after his return to England, was honoured with a very extraordinary eulogium, pronounced by the lord-keeper, in the name of the peers of England; and a compliment of the same nature was presented to him by a committee of the house of commons. Doctor Delaune, vice-chancellor of Oxford, accompanied by the principal members of the university, attended the queen with an address of congratulation upon the success of her arms in Germany, under the admirable conduct and invincible courage of the duke of Marlborough; and at sea, under the most brave and faithful admiral Sir George Rooke. He received a civil answer from her majesty, though now she took umbrage at Rooke's being raised upon a level with the duke of Marlborough, whose great victories had captivated her admiration; and whose wife had alienated her affection from the Tories. The commons perceiving how high he stood in her majesty's esteem, and having been properly tutored for the purpose, took into consideration the great services of the duke; and, in an address, besought her majesty to consider some proper means to perpetuate the memory of such noble actions. In a few days she gave them to understand by a message, that she was inclined to grant the interest of the crown in the honour and manour of Wood-

Woodstock and hundred of Wooton, to the duke of Marlborough and his heirs; and that, as the lieutenancy and rangerhip of the parks, with the rents and profits of the manours and hundreds were granted for two lives, she wished that incumbrance could be removed. A bill was immediately brought in, enabling the queen to bestow these honours and manours on the duke of Marlborough and his heirs; and the queen was desired to advance the money for clearing the incumbrances. She not only complied with this address, but likewise ordered the comptroller of her works to build, in Woodstock-park, a magnificent palace for the duke, upon a plan much more solid than beautiful. By this time, Sir George Rooke was layed aside, and the command of the fleet bestowed upon Sir Cloudesley Shovel, now declared rear-admiral of England. Marechal de Tallard, with the other French generals taken at Hockstadt, arrived on the sixteenth of December in the river Thames, and were immediately conveyed to Nottingham and Litchfield, where they were attended by a detachment of the royal regiment of horse-guards. They were treated with great respect, and allowed the privilege of riding ten miles around the places of their confinement.

§ XXVII. While the house of commons, in two successive addresses, thanked the queen for the treaty which the duke of Marlborough had concluded with Prussia, concerning the troops to be sent to the duke of Savoy; and desired she would use her interest with the allies, that they might next year furnish their complete proportions of men by sea and land; the lords examined into all the proceedings at sea, and all the instructions of the admiralty; and presented an address to the queen, explaining all the different articles of mismanagement. She promised to consider them particularly, and give such directions upon them as might be most for the advantage of the public service. The remaining part of the session was consumed in disputes and altercations between the two houses, on the subject of the Aylesbury constables, who were sued by five other inhabitants, for having denied them the right of voting at the election. These five persons were committed to Newgate by order of the house of commons. They moved for a habeas corpus in the king's-bench; but the court would take no cognizance of the affair. Two of the prisoners petitioned the queen that their case might be brought before her majesty in parliament. The commons, in an address, besought the queen to refuse granting a writ of error in this case, which would tend to the overthrowing the undoubted rights and privileges of the commons of England. She assured them she would not do any thing to give them just cause of complaint; but this matter relating to the course of judicial proceedings, being of the highest importance, she thought it necessary to weigh and consider very carefully what might be proper for her to do in a thing of so great concern. They voted all the lawyers who had pleaded on the return of the habeas corpus in behalf of the prisoners, guilty of a breach of privilege; and ordered them to be taken into custody. They likewise ordered the prisoners to be removed from Newgate into the custody of their serjeant at arms, lest they should have been discharged by the queen's granting writs of error. The prisoners finding themselves at the mercy of the exasperated commons, petitioned the lords for relief. The upper-house passed six different resolutions against the conduct of the commons, as being an obstruction to justice, and contrary to magna charta. The lower-house demanded a conference,

ference, in which they insisted upon the sole right of determining elections; they affirmed, that they only could judge who had a right of voting; and, that they were judges of their own privileges, in which the lords could not intermeddle.

§ XXVIII. The upper house demanded a free conference, which proved ineffectual. New resolutions were taken by the commons, diametrically opposite to those of the peers, who, on the other hand, attended the queen with a long representation of all the particulars relating to this affair. They affirmed, that the proceedings of the house of commons against the Aylesbury men were wholly new and unprecedented: that it was the birthright of every Englishman, who apprehended himself injured, to seek for redress in her majesty's courts of justice: that if any power could controul this right, and prescribe when he should, and when he should not, be allowed the benefit of the laws, he ceased to be a freeman, and his liberty and property were precarious. They requested, therefore, that no consideration whatever should prevail with her majesty to suffer an obstruction to the known course of justice; but, that she would be pleased to give effectual orders for the immediate issuing of the writs of error. The queen assured them, that she should have complied with their request; but, finding an absolute necessity for putting an immediate end to this session, she knew there could be no further proceedings on that matter. On that very day, which was the fourteenth of March, she went to the house of lords, and passed the bills that were ready for the royal assent. Then she thanked the parliament for having dispatched the public business, warned them to avoid the fatal effects of animosity and dissension; and, ordered the lord-keeper to prorogue them to Thursday the first of May: but, on the fifth of April, they were dissolved by proclamation, and another was published for calling a new parliament. The queen, accompanied by the prince of Denmark, made an excursion to New-market, and afterwards dined by invitation with the university of Cambridge, where she conferred the honour of knighthood upon Dr. Ellis the vice-chancellor, James Montague counsel for the university, and the celebrated Isaac Newton mathematical professor. The two houses of convocation still continued at variance. The lower house penned petulant representations; and, the archbishop answered them by verbal reprehension and admonition. The Tory interest was now in the wane. The duke of Buckinghamshire was deprived of the privy-seal, and that office conferred upon the duke of Newcastle, a nobleman of powerful influence with the Whig party. The earl of Montague was created marquis of Mounthermer and duke of Montague; the earl of Peterborough and lord Cholmondley were chosen of the privy-council; and the lord Cutts was sent to command the troops in Ireland, under the duke of Ormond.

§ XXIX. The ministry of Scotland was now entirely changed. The marquis of Tweeddale and Johnston having been found unequal to the undertaking, were dismissed. The duke of Queensberry resumed the management of affairs in that kingdom, under the title of lord privy-seal; and the office of commissioner was conferred upon the young duke of Argyle, who succeeded to his father's influence among the presbyterians. He was a nobleman possessed of good natural talents, which had not been neglected; candid, open and sincere, brave, passionate, and aspiring: had he been endued with a greater

Burnet.
Hist. of Europe.
Tindal.
Hist. of the D.
of Marlborough.
Lockhart.
Burchet.
Lives of the Admirals.
Quincy.
Feuquieres.
Voltaire.

share of liberality, his character would have been truly heroic. At this juncture, he was instructed to procure an act of the Scottish parliament settling the protestant succession; or, to set on foot a treaty for the union of the two kingdoms. At the opening of the session in June, the members were divided into three parties, namely, the Cavaliers or Jacobites, the revolutioners, the *squadron volante*, or flying squadron, headed by the marquis of Tweeddale, who disclaimed the other two factions, and pretended to act from the dictates of conscience alone. The parliament was adjourned to the third day of July, when her majesty's letter was read, earnestly recommending the settlement of the succession in the protestant line; and, an act for a commission to treat of an union between the two kingdoms. The marquis of Annandale proposed, that the parliament should proceed on the limitations and conditions of government: and, that a committee should be appointed to consider the condition of the coin and the commerce of the nation. The earl of Mar moved, that the house would, preferably to all other business, consider the means for engaging in a treaty with England. After a long debate, they resolved to proceed on the coin and the commerce. Schemes for supplying the nation with money by a paper-credit were presented by Dr. Hugh Chamberlayne and John Law; but rejected. The house resolved, That any kind of paper-credit, by the circulation of bills, was an improper expedient; and appointed a council to put the laws relating to trade in execution. The duke of Hamilton proposed, that the parliament should not proceed to the nomination of a successor, until the treaty with England should be discussed, and the limitations be settled. This proposal being approved, a draught of an answer to her majesty's letter was presented by the marquis of Tweeddale. Two different forms of an act for a treaty with England were offered by the earl of Mar and the marquis of Lothian; and, others were produced concerning the election of officers of state, and the regulation of commerce.

§ XXX. The chief aim of the cavaliers was, to obstruct the settlement of the succession; and, with that view they pressed the project of limitations, to which they knew the court would never assent. A motion being made, to grant the first reading to an act of commission for a treaty with England, the duke of Hamilton insisted on the limitations, and a vote being stated in these terms, "Proceed to consider the act for a treaty, or limitation:" the latter was carried in favour of the cavaliers. On the twenty-second day of August an act for this purpose was approved; and next day an act for a triennial parliament, which the courtiers were enabled to defeat. They likewise passed an act, ordaining, That the Scottish ambassadors representing Scotland should be present when the sovereign might have occasion to treat with foreign princes and states; and accountable to the parliament of Scotland. Fletcher of Saltoun presented a scheme of limitations that favoured strong of republican principles. He afterwards enlarged upon every article, endeavouring to prove, that they were absolutely necessary to prevent the consequences of English influence; to enable the nation to defend its rights and liberties; to deter ministers of state from giving bad advice to their sovereign; to preserve the courts of judicature from corruption, and screen the people from tyranny and oppression. The earl of Stair having argued against these limitations, Fletcher replied, "It was no wonder he opposed the scheme; for, had such an act subsisted, his lordship would
" have

“ have been hanged for the bad counsel he had given to king James; for the
 “ concern he had in the massacre of Glencoe; and, for his conduct since the revo-
 “ lution.” The next subject on which the parliament deliberated, was the con-
 spiracy. A motion being made, that the house might know what answer the
 queen had returned to their address in the last session, the chancellor delivered
 to the clerk-register the papers relating to the plot, that they might be perused
 by the members. But, these being copies, and the evidences remaining at Lon-
 don, no farther progress was made in the affair. Yet, the duke of Athol, in a
 distinct narrative of the pretended conspiracy, boldly accused the duke of
 Queensberry, of having endeavoured to mislead the queen by false insinuations
 against her good subjects. When the act for a treaty of union fell under confi-
 deration, a draught for that purpose, presented by the earl of Mar, was com-
 pared with the English act, importing, That the queen should name and appoint
 not only the commissioners for England, but likewise those for Scotland.
 Fletcher did not fail to inveigh against the imperious conduct of the English
 parliament in this affair. He exhorted the house to resent such treatment, and
 offered the draught of an address to her majesty on the subject; but, this
 the house rejected. Duke Hamilton proposed, that a clause might be added to
 the act, importing, That the union should no ways derogate from any funda-
 mental laws, antient privileges, offices, rights, liberties, and dignities of the
 Scottish nation. This occasioned a long debate; and, the question being put,
 was carried in the negative. Another clause was proposed, that the Scottish
 commissioners should not begin to treat until the English parliament should have
 rescinded their clause, enacting, That the subjects of Scotland should be adjudged
 and taken as aliens after the twenty-fifth day of December. The courtiers
 considering the temper of the house, would not venture to oppose this motion di-
 rectly, but proposed, that the clause should be formed into a separate act; and
 the expedient was approved. Though the duke of Athol entered a vigorous
 protest, to which the greater part of the cavaliers, and all the squadrone ad-
 hered, comprehending four and twenty peers, seven and thirty barons, and
 eighteen burroughs, the act for the treaty of union was, after much alterca-
 tion finished, empowering commissioners to meet and treat of an union; but
 restraining them from treating of any alterations of the church-government as
 by law established. While this important subject was under consideration, the
 duke of Hamilton, to the amazement of his whole party, moved, that the no-
 mination of the commissioners should be left to the queen. Fourteen or fifteen
 of the cavaliers ran out of the house in a transport of indignation, exclaiming,
 that they were deserted and basely betrayed by the duke of Hamilton. A very hot
 debate ensued, in the course of which the duke was severely handled by those
 whom he had hitherto conducted; but, at length, the question being put, Whe-
 ther the nomination should be left to the queen or to the parliament? the duke’s
 motion was approved by a very small majority. He afterwards excused him-
 self for his defection, by saying, he saw it was in vain to contend; and that,
 since the court had acquired a great majority, he thought he might be allowed
 to pay that compliment to his sovereign. He was desirous of being in the
 commission, and the duke of Argyle promised he should be nominated.
 The queen refusing to honour him with that mark of distinction, Argyle
 would not suffer himself to be named, and threatened to oppose the union;

but, means were found to appease his resentment. Two draughts of an address being presented by the earl of Sutherland and Fletcher of Saltoun, beseeching her majesty to use her endeavours with the parliament of England, to rescind that part of their act which declared the subjects of Scotland aliens; and, an overture of a bill being offered, ordaining, that the Scottish commissioners should not enter upon the treaty of union until that clause should be repealed; the courtiers moved, that the parliament should proceed by way of order to their commissioners, and by address to her majesty. After some debate, the house assenting to this proposal, the order and address were drawn up and approved. The great and weighty affair of the treaty being at length happily transacted, though not without a protest by Athol and his adherents, the parliament granted a supply of fifty thousand pounds; and the house was adjourned to the twentieth day of December: then the queen declared the earl of Mar secretary of state, in the room of the marquis of Annandale, who was appointed lord-president of the council.

§ XXXI. In Ireland the parliament met at Dublin on the fifth day of March, and voted one hundred and fifty thousand pounds for the support of the necessary branches of the establishment. A dispute arose between the commons and the lower house of convocation, relating to the tythes of hemp and flax, ascertained in a clause of a bill for the better improvement of the hempen and flaxen manufactures of the kingdom. The lower house of convocation presented a memorial against this clause, as prejudicial to the rights and properties of the clergy. The commons voted the person who brought it guilty of a breach of privilege; and ordered him to be taken into custody. Then they resolved, That the convocation were guilty of a contempt, and breach of the privilege of that house. The convocation presuming to justify their memorial, the commons voted, That all matters relating to it should be razed out of the journals and books of convocation. The duke of Ormond, dreading the consequence of such heats, adjourned the parliament to the first day of May, when the houses meeting again, came to some resolutions that reflected obliquely on the convocation, as enemies to her majesty's government and the protestant succession. The clergy, in order to acquit themselves of all suspicion, resolved in their turn, That the church and nation had been happily delivered from popery and tyranny by king William at the revolution: That the continuance of these blessings were due (under God) to the auspicious reign and happy government of her majesty queen Anne: That the future security and preservation of the church and nation depended wholly (under God) on the succession of the crown as settled by law in the protestant line: That if any clergyman should by word or writing declare any thing in opposition to these resolutions, they should look upon him as a sower of divisions among the protestants, and an enemy to the constitution. They levelled another resolution against the presbyterians, importing, That to teach or preach against the doctrine, government, rites, or ceremonies of the church, or to maintain schools or seminaries for the education of youth, in principles contrary to those of the established church, was a contempt of the ecclesiastical laws of the kingdom; of pernicious consequence; and served only to continue and widen the unhappy schisms and divisions in the nation. In June the parliament was prorogued to the same month of the following year; then the duke of Ormond embarked for England, leaving the administration in the hands

hands of Sir Richard Cox lord-chancellor, and the lord Cutts commander in chief of the queen's forces, who were appointed lords-justices during the duke's absence.

§ XXXII. During these transactions in Great-Britain and Ireland, the allies had not been remiss in their preparations for the ensuing campaign. The duke of Marlborough had fixed upon the Moselle for the scene of action; and, magazines of all sorts were formed at Triers. On the thirteenth day of March the duke embarked for Holland, where he prevailed upon the states-general to contribute their troops for the execution of his project. Having concerted with the deputies of the states and the Dutch generals, the necessary measures for opening the campaign, he set out for Maastricht, in order to assemble his army. On the fifth day of May the emperor Leopold died at Vienna, and was succeeded on the Imperial throne by his eldest son Joseph king of the Romans, a prince who resembled his father in meekness of disposition, narrowness of intellect, and bigotry to the romish religion. On the fifteenth of June the English troops passed the Maese, and continued their march towards the Moselle, under the command of general Churchill; and, the duke set out for Creutznach, to confer with prince Lewis of Baden, who excused himself on pretence of being much indisposed. Marlborough visited him at Rastadt, where, in a conference they resolved, that a sufficient number of German troops should be left for the security of the lines of Lauterburg and Stolhoffen, under the command of general Thungen; and, that prince Lewis of Baden should march with a large detachment towards the Saar, to act in concert with the duke of Marlborough. The confederate army passed the Moselle and the Saar in the beginning of June, and encamped at Elft in sight of the enemy, who retired with great precipitation, and intrenched themselves in the neighbourhood of Coningsmarchen. The duke's design was to besiege Saar-Louis; but, prince Lewis failed in the performance of his engagement: he feigned himself sick, and repaired to the bath at Schlangenbade, leaving the small number of Imperial troops he had conducted as far as Creutznach, under the command of the count de Frize. He was suspected of treachery; but probably acted from envy of the duke's military reputation.

§ XXXIII. While this nobleman sustained such a mortifying disappointment on the Moselle, the French did not fail to make advantage of their superiority in the Netherlands, where general Overkirk was obliged to stand on the defensive. They invested Huy, and carried on their operations so vigorously, that in a few days the garrison were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war: then Villeroy undertook the reduction of Liege, and actually began his works before the citadel. Marlborough was no sooner informed of the enemy's progress than he marched to Triers, where, in a council it was resolved, that the army should return to the Netherlands. The troops were in motion on the nineteenth of June, and marched with such expedition, that they passed the Maese on the first day of July. Villeroy having received advice of the duke's approach, abandoned his enterprize, and retired to Tongeren, from whence he retreated within his lines. Marlborough having joined Overkirk, sent general Scholten with a detachment to invest Huy; and, in a few days the garrison surrendered at discretion. The English general resolving to strike some stroke of importance, that should atone for his disappointment on the Moselle, sent general Hompesch to the states, with a proposal for attacking the French lines;

and obtained their permission to do whatever he should think proper for the good of the common cause. Then he explained the scheme in two successive councils of war, by which, at length, it was approved and resolved upon, tho' some Dutch generals declared against the undertaking. The enemy were posted along the lines, amounting to one hundred battalions and one hundred and forty-six squadrons. The allied army did not much exceed that number. In order to divide them, Overkirk made a false motion and passed the Mehaigne, as if he had intended to attack the lines about Messelin; and, the stratagem succeeded. The French weakened the other parts by strengthening that which was on the side of the Gerbise towards Namur. The duke of Marlborough having made the disposition, the army began to march in the night between the seventeenth and eighteenth of July, in order to force a passage of the French lines at Elixheim, the castle of Waugh, and the villages of Waugh, Neerhespen, and Oostmalen. These posts were taken with very little difficulty; but, before the infantry could come up, the enemy advanced with fifty squadrons and twenty battalions, and began to fire from eight pieces of cannon with triple barrels, which did considerable execution. The duke perceiving that they were continually reinforced from the other parts of the lines, ordered the horse to charge their cavalry, which were soon broken and routed; but rallying behind their infantry, interlined with foot, and joined by fresh squadrons, they advanced again towards the allies, who were now sustained by their infantry, and moved forwards to renew the charge. After a warm, though short engagement, the enemy's horse were defeated with great slaughter. The infantry, seeing themselves abandoned in the plain, retreated in great disorder, between the villages of Heilisheim and Golsteden, where they were joined by the rest of their army, and formed again in order of battle. Mean while, the duke of Marlborough ordered all his troops to enter the lines; and extended his right towards the Great Geete before Tirlemont, where the enemy had left the battalion of Montluc, which surrendered at discretion. In this action the confederates took the marquis D'Alegre and the count de Horne, lieutenant-generals, one major-general, two brigadier-generals, with many other officers, and a great number of common soldiers, a large heap of standards, four colours, one pair of kettle-drums, and ten pieces of cannon. In the action, as the duke of Marlborough advanced to the charge at the head of several squadrons, a Bavarian officer rode up to attack him sword in hand; but, in raising himself on his stirrups to strike with the greater advantage, he fell from his horse, and was immediately slain.

§ XXXIV. The body of troops commanded by monsieur D'Alegre being thus defeated with little or no loss to the confederates, the elector of Bavaria and the marechal de Villeroy passed the Great Geete and the Deule, with great expedition, and took possession of the strong camp at Parck, their left extending to Rooselaer, and their right to Winefelen against the height of Louvain. Next day the duke of Marlborough marching through the plain of Parck, took twelve hundred prisoners, who could not keep pace with the rest of the enemy's forces; and, in the evening he encamped with the right at the abbey of Vlierfbeck, and the left before Bierbeck, under the cannon of Louvain. He detached lieutenant-general Henkelum, the duke of Wirtemberg, and count Oxienstiern, with a considerable body of forces, to attack some posts on the Deule, which were slenderly guarded. Their advanced guard accordingly passed the river, and repulsed

repulsed the enemy; but, for want of timely support they were obliged to pass it and retire. On the third of August baron Spaar, with a body of Dutch troops, marched to Raboth on the canal of Bruges, forced the French lines at Loven-degen, and took four forts by which they were defended; but receiving advice that the enemy were on their march towards him, he retired to Mildegem, and carried with him several hostages as security for the payment of the contributions he had raised. On the fifteenth the duke moved from Mildert to Corbais; next day continued his march to Genap, from whence he advanced to Fischermont. On the seventeenth general Overkirk took the post of Waterloo; and next day the confederate army was drawn up in order of battle before the enemy, who extended from Overysche near the wood of Soignies to Neerysche, with the little river Ysche in their front, so as to cover Brussels and Louvain. The duke of Marlborough proposed to attack them immediately before they should recollect themselves from their consternation; and Overkirk approved of the design. But, it was opposed by general Schlangenburgh and other Dutch officers, who represented it in such a light to the deputies of the states, that they refused to concur in the execution. The duke being obliged to relinquish the scheme, wrote an expostulatory letter to the states-general, complaining of their having withdrawn that confidence which they had reposed in him while he acted in Germany. This letter being published at the Hague, excited murmurs among the people; and the English nation were incensed at the presumption of the deputies, who wrote several letters in their own justification to the states-general; but these had no effect upon the populace, by whom the duke was respected even to a degree of adoration. The states being apprised of the resentment that prevailed over all England, and that the earl of Pembroke, lord-president of the council, was appointed as envoy extraordinary to Holland, with instructions to demand satisfaction, thought proper to anticipate his journey, by making submissions to the duke, and removing Schlangenburgh from his command. The confederate army returned to Corbais, from whence it marched to Perwitz, where it encamped. The little town of Sout-Leewe, situated in the middle of a morass, and constituting the chief defence of the enemy's lines, being taken by a detachment under the command of lieutenant-general Dedem, the duke ordered the lines from this place to Wasseigne to be levelled, and the town of Tirlemont to be dismantled: then passing the Demer, he encamped on the nineteenth day of September at Arschoot. About the latter end of the month he marched to Heventhals: from hence the duke repaired to the Hague, where he had several conferences with the pensionary. In a few days he returned to the army, which decamping from Heventhals, marched to Clamphout. On the twenty-fourth day of October the count de Noyelles invested Santvliet, which surrendered before the end of the month.

§ XXXV. At this period the duke, in consequence of pressing letters from the emperor, set out for Vienna, in order to concert the operations of the ensuing campaign, and other measures of importance, in which the concerns of the allies were interested. In his way he was magnificently entertained by the elector palatine, and him of Triers, and complimented by the magistracy of Francfort, where he conferred with prince Lewis of Baden. On the twelfth of November he arrived at Vienna, where he was treated with the highest marks of distinction and cordial friendship by their Imperial majesties. His son-in-law the earl

earl of Sunderland, had been sent thither as envoy extraordinary; and, now they conferred together with the emperor and his ministers. They resolved to maintain the war with redoubled vigour. The treaties were renewed; and provision made for the security of the duke of Savoy. The emperor, in consideration of the duke's signal service to the house of Austria, presented him with a grant of the lordship of Mindelheim in Suabia, which was now erected into a principality of the Roman empire. In his return with the earl of Sunderland, he visited the courts of Berlin and Hanover, where he was received with that extraordinary respect which was due to his character; and arrived at the Hague on the fourteenth day of December. There he settled the operations of the next campaign with the states-general, who consented to join England in maintaining an additional body of ten thousand men, as a reinforcement to the army of prince Eugene in Italy. While the allies were engaged in the siege of Santyriet, the elector of Bavaria sent a detachment, under the command of Don Marcello de Grimaldi, to invest Dieff, the garrison of which were made prisoners of war.

§ XXXVI. On the Upper Rhine marshal Villars besieged and took Homburg, and passed the Rhine at Strasburg on the sixth day of August. But prince Lewis of Baden arriving in the camp of the Imperialists at Stollhoffen, not only obliged him to retire, but having passed the river, forced the French lines at Hagenau: then he reduced Drusenheim and Hagenau, but attempted no enterprize equal to the number of his army, although the emperor had expostulated with him severely on his conduct; and he had now a fair opportunity of emulating the glory of Marlborough, upon whom he looked with the eyes of an envious rival. In Italy a battle was fought at Casano, between prince Eugene and the duke of Vendome, with dubious success. The duke de Feuillade reduced Chivas, and invested Nice; which, after an obstinate defence, surrendered in December. All the considerable places belonging to the duke of Savoy were now taken, except Coni and Turin; and, his little army was reduced to twelve thousand men, whom he could hardly support. His dutches, his clergy, and his subjects in general, pressed him to submit to the necessity of his affairs; but he adhered to the alliance with surprising fortitude. He withstood the importunities of his dutches, excluded all the bishops and clergy from his councils; and, when he had occasion for a confessor, chose a priest occasionally, either from the Dominicans or Franciscans. The campaign in Portugal began with a very promising aspect. The allies invaded Spain by the different frontiers of Beyra and Alentejo. Their army, under the command of the Conde das Galveas, undertook the siege of Valencia D'Alcantara in May, and took it by assault: Albuquerque surrendered upon articles; and, then the troops were sent into quarters of refreshment. The marquis de las Minas, who commanded the Portuguese in the province of Beyra, reduced the town of Salva-terra, plundered and burned Sarca; but was obliged to retire to Penamacos at the approach of the enemy. Towards the end of September the confederates being reassembled, invested Badajox, by the advice of the earl of Galway, who lost his right hand by a cannon-ball, and was obliged to be carried off; so that the conduct of the siege was left to general Fagel. He had made considerable progress towards the reduction of the place, when the marquis de Theffe found means to throw in a powerful reinforcement; and then the confederates abandoned the enterprize. The war continued to rage in Hungary with

with various success. Ragotski, though frequently worsted, appeared still in arms, and ravaged the country, which became a scene of misery and desolation. In Poland the old cardinal primate owned Stanislaus, but died before the coronation, which was performed by the bishop of Cujavia. In the beginning of winter king Augustus had passed through Poland in disguise to the Muscovite army, which was put under his command in Lithuania; and, the campaign was protracted through the whole winter-season, notwithstanding the severity of the weather in that northern climate. In the spring the Swedish general Reinchild obtained a complete victory over the Saxon army, which was either cut in pieces, or taken with their camp, baggage, and artillery: yet, the war was not extinguished. The king of Sweden continued obstinately deaf to all proposals of peace, and was become as savage in his manners as brutal in his revenge.

§ XXXVII. At sea the arms of the allies were generally prosperous. Philip of Spain being obstinately bent upon retaking Gibraltar, sent marechal de Theslé to renew the siege, while De Pointis was ordered to block up the place by sea with his squadron. These French officers carried on the siege with such activity, that the prince of Hesse dispatched an express to Lisbon with a letter, desiring Sir John Leake to sail immediately to his assistance. This admiral having been reinforced from England by Sir Thomas Dilkes, with five ships of the line and a body of troops, set sail immediately; and, on the tenth day of March descried five ships of war hauling out of the bay of Gibraltar. These were commanded by De Pointis in person, to whom the English admiral gave chase. One of them struck, after having made a very slight resistance; and, the rest ran ashore to the westward of Marbella, where they were destroyed. The remaining part of the French squadron had been blown from their anchors, and taken shelter in the bay of Malaga; but, now they slipped their cables, and made the best of their way to Toulon. The marechal de Theslé, in consequence of this disaster, turned the siege of Gibraltar into a blockade, and withdrew the greater part of his forces. While Sir John Leake was employed in this expedition, Sir George Byng, who had been ordered to cruise in soundings for the protection of trade, took a ship of forty guns from the enemy, together with twelve privateers, and seven vessels richly laden from the West-Indies.

§ XXXVIII. But the most eminent atchievement of this summer was the reduction of Barcelona, by the celebrated earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who sailed from St. Helen's in the latter end of May with the English fleet, having on board a body of five thousand land-forces; and, on the twentieth of June arrived at Lisbon, where they were joined by Sir John Leake and the Dutch admiral Allemonde. In a council of war, they determined to put to sea with eight and forty ships of the line, which should be stationed between Cape Spartel and the bay of Cadiz, in order to prevent the junction of the Toulon and Brest squadrons. The prince of Hesse-Darmstadt arriving from Gibraltar, assured king Charles, that the province of Catalonia and the kingdom of Valencia were attached to his interest; and, his majesty being weary of Portugal, resolved to accompany the earl of Peterborough to Barcelona. He accordingly embarked with him on board of the Ranelagh; and, the fleet sailed on the twenty-eighth day of July, the earl of Galway having reinforced them

with two regiments of English dragoons. At Gibraltar they took on board the English guards, and three old regiments, in lieu of which they left two new-raised battalions. On the eleventh day of August they anchored in the bay of Altea, where the earl of Peterborough published a manifesto in the Spanish language, which had such an effect, that all the inhabitants of the place, the neighbouring villages, and adjacent mountains, acknowledged king Charles as their lawful sovereign. They seized the town of Denia for his service; and, he sent thither a garrison of four hundred men under the command of major-general Ramos. On the twenty-second they arrived in the bay of Barcelona: the troops were disembarked to the eastward of the city, where they encamped in a strong situation; and were well received by the country-people. King Charles landed amidst the acclamations of an infinite multitude from the neighbouring towns and villages, who threw themselves at his feet, exclaiming, "Long live the king!" and exhibited all the marks of the most extravagant joy. The inhabitants of Barcelona were well affected to the house of Austria, but overawed by a garrison of five thousand men under the duke de Popoli, Velasco, and other officers devoted to the interest of king Philip. Considering the strength of such a garrison, and the small number of Dutch and English troops, nothing could appear more desperate and dangerous than the design of besieging the place; yet this was proposed by the prince of Hesse-D'Armstadt, who served in the expedition as a volunteer, strongly urged by king Charles, and approved by the earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudesley Shovel. The city was accordingly invested on one side; but, as a previous step to the reduction of it, they resolved to attack the fort of Montjuic, strongly situated on a hill that commanded the city. The outworks were taken by storm, with the loss of the gallant prince of Hesse, who was shot through the body, and in a few hours expired: then the earl of Peterborough began to bombard the body of the fort; and, a shell chancing to fall into the magazine of powder, blew it up, together with the governor and some of the best officers: an accident which struck such a terror into the garrison, that they surrendered without further resistance.

§ XXXIX. This great point being gained, the English general erected his batteries against the town, with the help of the Miquelets and seamen: the bomb-ketches began to fire with such execution, that in a few days the governor capitulated; and, on the fourth day of October king Charles entered in triumph. All the other places in Catalonia declared for him, except Roses; so that the largest and richest province of Spain was conquered with an army scarce double the number of the garrison of Barcelona. King Charles wrote with his own hand a letter to the queen of England, containing a circumstantial detail of his affairs, the warmest expressions of acknowledgment, and the highest encomiums on her subjects, particularly the earl of Peterborough. In a council of war it was determined, that the king and the earl should continue in Catalonia with the land-forces: that Sir Cloudesley Shovel should return to England: that five and twenty English and fifteen Dutch ships of war should winter at Lisbon, under the command of Sir John Leake and the Dutch rear-admiral Wassenaer: and, that four English and two Dutch frigates should remain at Barcelona. Don Francisco de Velasco was transported to Malaga with about a thousand men of his garrison, the rest voluntarily engaged in the service of king Charles, and six other regiments were raised by the states of Catalonia. The count de Cifuentes,

fuentes, at the head of the Miquelets and Catalans attached to the house of Austria, secured Tarragona, Torrofa, Lerida, San-Mattheo, Gironne, and other places. Don Raphael Nevat, revolting from Philip with his whole regiment of horse, joined general Ramos at Denia, and made themselves masters of several places of importance in the kingdom of Valencia. Flushed with such unexpected success they penetrated to the capital of the same name, which they surprised, together with the marquis de Villa-Garcia, the viceroy, and the archbishop. These advantages, however, were not properly improved. The court of Charles was divided into factions, and so much time lost in disputes, that the enemy sent a body of six thousand men into the kingdom of Valencia, under the command of the Conde de las Torres, who forthwith invested San-Mattheo, guarded by colonel Jones at the head of five hundred Miquelets. This being a place of great consequence, on account of its situation, the earl of Peterborough marched thither with one thousand infantry and two hundred dragoons; and, by means of feigned intelligence artfully conveyed to the Conde, induced that general to abandon the siege with precipitation, in the apprehension of being suddenly attacked by a considerable army. He afterwards took possession of Nules, and purchasing horses at Castillon de la Plana, began to form a body of cavalry, which did good service in the sequel. Having assembled a little army, consisting of ten squadrons of horse and dragoons, and four battalions of regular troops, with about three thousand of militia, he marched to Molviedro, which was surrendered to him by the governor brigadier Mahoni. Between this officer and the Spanish general he excited such jealousies by dint of artifices not altogether justifiable even in war, that the duke of Arcos was more intent upon avoiding the supposed treachery of Mahoni than upon interrupting the earl's march to Valencia, where the inhabitants expressed uncommon marks of joy at his arrival. About this period a very obstinate action happened at St. Istevan de Litera, where the chevalier D'Asfeldt with nine squadrons of horse and dragoons, and as many battalions of French infantry, attacked colonel Wills at the head of a small detachment; but, this last being supported by lieutenant-general Cunningham, who was mortally wounded in the engagement, repulsed the enemy, though three times his number, with the loss of four hundred men killed upon the spot. The troops on both sides fought with the most desperate valour, keeping up their fire until the muzzles of their pieces met, and charging each other at the point of bayonet. The only misfortune that attended the English arms in the course of this year was the capture of the Baltic fleet homeward-bound, with their convoy of three ships of war, which were taken by the Dunkirk-squadron under the command of the count de St. Paul, though he himself was killed in the engagement. When an account of this advantage was communicated to the French king, he replied with a sigh, "Very well, I wish the ships were safe again in any English port, provided the count de St. Paul could be restored to life." After the death of the famous Du Bart, this officer was counted the best seaman in France.

§ XL. The kingdom of England was now wholly engrossed by the election of members for the new parliament. The Tories exerted themselves with great industry, and propagated the cry of the church's being in danger; a cry in which the Jacobites joined with great fervour: but, notwithstanding all their efforts, in word and writing, a majority of Whigs was returned; and

now the lord Godolphin, who had hitherto maintained a neutrality, thought proper openly to countenance that faction. By his interest co-operating with the influence of the duchess of Marlborough, Sir Nathan Wright was deprived of the great-seal, which was committed to Mr. William Cowper, with the title of lord-keeper. This was a lawyer of good extraction, superior talents, engaging manners, and eminence in his profession. He was staunch to Whig principles, and for many years had been considered as one of their best speakers in the house of commons. The new parliament meeting on the twenty-fifth day of October, a violent contest arose about the choice of a speaker. Mr. Bromley was supported by the Tories, and the Whigs proposed Mr. John Smith, who was elected by a majority of forty-three voices. The queen in her speech represented the necessity of acting vigorously against France, as a common enemy to the liberties of Europe: she commended the fortitude of the duke of Savoy, which she said was without example: she told them her intention was to expedite commissions for treating of an union with Scotland: she earnestly recommended an union of minds and affections among her people: she observed, that some persons had endeavoured to foment animosities, and even suggested in print, that the established church was in danger: she affirmed that such people were enemies to her and to the kingdom, and meant only to cover designs which they durst not publicly own, by endeavouring to distract the nation with unreasonable and groundless distrusts and jealousies: she declared she would always affectionately support and countenance the church of England, as by law established: that she would inviolably maintain the toleration: that she would promote religion and virtue, encourage trade, and every thing else that might make them a happy and flourishing people.

§ XLI. The majority in both houses now professed the same principles, and were well disposed to support the queen in all her designs. They first presented the usual addresses, in the warmest terms of duty and affection. Then the commons drew up a second, assuring her they would, to the utmost of their power, assist her in bringing the treaty of union to a happy conclusion. They desired that the proceedings of the last session of parliament, relating to the union and succession, might be laid before the house. The lords had solicited the same satisfaction; and her majesty promised to comply with their request. The lower-house having heard and decided in some cases of controverted elections, proceeded to take into consideration the estimates for the service of the ensuing year, and granted the supplies without hesitation. In the house of lords, while the queen was present, lord Haversham, at the end of a long speech, in which he reflected upon the conduct of the duke of Marlborough, both on the Moselle and in Brabant, moved for an address to desire her majesty would invite the presumptive heir to the crown of England, to come and reside in the kingdom. This motion was earnestly supported by the duke of Buckingham, the earls of Rochester, Nottingham, and Anglesey. They said there was no method so effectual to secure the succession, as that of the successor's being upon the spot, ready to assume and maintain his or her right against any pretender; and they observed, that in former times, when the throne of England was vacant, the first comer had always succeeded in his pretensions. The proposal was vehemently opposed by the Whigs, who knew
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it was disagreeable to the queen, whom they would not venture to disoblige. They argued, that a rivalry between the two courts might produce distractions, and be attended with very ill consequences; and observed, that the princess Sophia had expressed a full satisfaction in the assurances of the queen, who had promised to maintain her title. The question being put, was carried in the negative by a great majority. The design of the Tories in making this motion, was to bring the other party in disgrace, either with the queen or with the people. Their joining in the measure would have given umbrage to their sovereign; and, by opposing it, they ran the risque of incurring the public odium, as enemies to the protestant succession: but the pretence of the Tories was so thin, the nation saw through it; and the sole effect the motion produced, was the queen's resentment against the whole party. Burnet, bishop of Sarum, proposed that provision might be made for maintaining the public quiet, in the interval between the queen's decease, and the arrival of her successor: the motion was seconded by the lord-treasurer; and a bill brought in for the better security of her majesty's person and government, and of the succession to the crown of England. By this act, a regency was appointed of the seven persons that should possess the offices of archbishop of Canterbury, lord chancellor or lord-keeper, lord-treasurer, lord-president, lord privy-seal, lord high-admiral, and the lord-chief-justice of the queen's-bench. Their business was to proclaim the next successor through the kingdom of England, and join with a certain number of persons named as regents by the successor, in three lists, to be sealed up and deposited with the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord-keeper, and the minister residuary of Hanover. It was enacted, That these joint regencies should conduct the administration; and that the last parliament, even though dissolved, should reassemble, and continue sitting for six months after the decease of her majesty. The bill met with a warm opposition from the Tories, and did not pass the upper-house without a protest. It was still further obstructed in the house of commons even by some of the Whig-party, who were given to understand that the princess Sophia had expressed an inclination to reside in England. Exceptions were likewise taken to that clause in the bill, enacting that the last parliament should be reassembled. They affirmed, that this was inconsistent with part of the act by which the succession was at first settled; for, among other limitations, the parliament had provided, that when the crown should devolve to the house of Hanover, no man, who had either place or pension, should be capable of sitting in the house of commons. After tedious disputes and zealous altercation, they agreed that a certain number of offices should be specified as disqualifying places. This self-denying clause, and some other amendments, produced conferences between the two houses, and at length the bill passed by their mutual assent. Lord Haverham moved for an inquiry into the miscarriages of the last campaign, hoping to find some foundation for censure in the conduct of the duke of Marlborough. But the proposal was rejected as invidious; and the two houses presented an address to the queen, desiring she would preserve a good correspondence among all the confederates. They likewise concurred in repealing the act by which the Scots had been alienated, and all the northern counties alarmed with the apprehension of a rupture between the two nations. The lord Shannon and brigadier Stanhope arriving with an account of the expedition to Catalonia, the

the queen communicated the good news in a speech to both houses, expressing her hope that they would enable her to prosecute the advantages which her arms had acquired. The commons were so well pleased with the tidings, that they forthwith granted two hundred and fifty thousand pounds for her majesty's proportion in the expence of prosecuting the successes already gained by king Charles III. for the recovery of the monarchy of Spain to the house of Austria. On the fifteenth day of November, the queen gave the royal assent to an act for exhibiting a bill to naturalize the princess Sophia, and the issue of her body.

§ XLII. These measures being taken, the sixth day of December was appointed for enquiring into those dangers to which the Tories affirmed the church was exposed; and the queen attended in person to hear the debates on this interesting subject. The earl of Rochester compared the expressions in the queen's speech at the beginning of the session, to the law enacted in the reign of Charles II. denouncing the penalties of treason against those who should call the king a papist: for which reason, he said, he always thought him of that persuasion. He affirmed, that the church's danger arose from the act of security in Scotland, the absence of the successor to the crown, and the practice of occasional conformity. He was answered by lord Halifax, who, by way of recrimination, observed, that king Charles II. was a roman catholic, at least his brother declared him a papist after his death: that his brother and successor was a known roman catholic, yet the church thought herself secure; and those patriots who stood up in its defence were discountenanced and punished: nay, when that successor ascended the throne, and the church was apparently in the most imminent danger, by the high commission court and otherwise, the nation was then indeed generally alarmed; and every body knew who sat in that court, and entered deeply into the measures which were then pursued. Compton bishop of London declared that the church was in danger, from profaneness, irreligion, and the licentiousness of the press. He complained, that sermons were preached wherein rebellion was countenanced, and resistance to the higher powers encouraged. He alluded to a sermon preached before the lord mayor, by Mr. Hoadley, now bishop of Winchester. Burnet of Sarum said the bishop of London was the last man who ought to complain of that sermon; for if the doctrine it contained was not good, he did not know what defence his lordship could make for his appearing in arms at Nottingham. He affirmed the church would be always subject to profaneness and irreligion; but that they were not now so flagrant as they usually had been: he thought the society set up for reformation in London, and other cities, had contributed considerably to the suppression of vice; and he was sure the corporation for propagating the gospel had done a great deal towards instructing men in religion, by giving great numbers of books in practical divinity; by erecting libraries in country parishes; by sending many able divines to the foreign plantations, and founding schools to breed up children in the christian knowledge; though to this expence very little had been contributed by those who appeared so wonderfully zealous for the church. The archbishop of York expressed his apprehension of danger from the increase of dissenters; particularly from the many academies they had instituted: he moved that the judges might be consulted with respect to the laws that were in force against such seminaries, and by what means they might be suppressed.

pressed. Lord Wharton moved that the judges might also be consulted about means of suppressing schools and seminaries held by nonjurors; in one of which the sons of a noble lord in that house had been educated. To this sarcasm the archbishop replied, that his sons were indeed taught by Mr. Ellis, a sober, virtuous man; but when he refused the oath of abjuration, they were immediately withdrawn from his instructions. Lord Wharton proceeded to declare, that he had carefully perused a pamphlet intitled "The Memorial," which was said to contain a demonstration that the church was in danger; but all he could learn was, that the duke of Buckingham, the earls of Rochester and Nottingham, were out of place: that he remembered some of these noblemen sat in the high-commission court, and then made no complaint of the church's being in danger. Patrick bishop of Ely complained of the heat and passion manifested by the gentlemen belonging to the universities; and of the undutiful behaviour of the clergy towards their bishops. He was seconded by Hough of Litchfield and Coventry, who added, that the inferior clergy calumniated their bishops, as if they were in a plot to destroy the church, and had compounded to be the last of their order. Hooper of Bath and Wells expatiated on the invidious distinction implied in the terms "High church," and "Low church." The duke of Leeds asserted, that the church could not be safe, without an act against occasional conformity. Lord Somers recapitulated all the arguments which had been used on both sides of the question: he declared his own opinion was, that the nation was happy under a wise and just administration: that for men to raise groundless jealousies at that juncture, could mean no less than an intention to embroil the people at home, and defeat the glorious designs of the allies abroad. The debate being finished, the question was put, Whether the church of England was in danger? and carried in the negative by a great majority: then the house resolved, That the church of England as by law established, which was rescued from the extremest danger by king William III. of glorious memory, is now, by God's blessing, under the happy reign of her majesty, in a most safe and flourishing condition; and that whoever goes about to suggest or insinuate that the church is in danger, under her majesty's administration, is an enemy to the queen, the church, and the kingdom. Next day, the commons concurred in this determination, and joined the lords in an address to the queen, communicating this resolution, beseeching her to take effectual measures for making it public; and also for punishing the authors and spreaders of the seditious and scandalous reports of the church's being in danger. She accordingly issued a proclamation, containing the resolution of the two houses, and offering a reward for discovering the author of the memorial of the church of England, and for apprehending David Edwards, a professed papist, charged upon oath to be the printer and publisher of that libel.

§ XLIII. After a short adjournment, a committee of the lower-house presented the thanks of the commons to the duke of Marlborough, for his great services performed to her majesty and the nation in the last campaign, and for his prudent negotiations with her allies. This nobleman was in such credit with the people, that when he proposed a loan of five hundred thousand pounds to the emperor, upon a branch of his revenue in Silesia, the money was advanced immediately by the merchants of London. The kingdom was blessed with

with plenty: the queen was universally beloved: the people in general were zealous for the prosecution of the war: the forces were well payed: the treasury was punctual; and, though a great quantity of coin was exported for the maintenance of the war, the paper-currency supplied the deficiency so well, that no murmurs were heard, and the public credit flourished both at home and abroad. All the funds being established, one in particular, for two millions and a half by way of annuities, for ninety-nine years, at six and a half per cent; and all the bills having received the royal assent, the queen went to the house of peers on the nineteenth day of March, where having thanked both houses for the repeated instances of their affection which she had received, she prorogued the parliament to the twenty-first day of May following*. The new convocation, instead of imitating the union and harmony of the parliament, revived the divisions by which the former had been distracted, and the two houses seemed to act with more determined rancour against each other. The upper-house having drawn up a warm address of thanks to the queen, for her affectionate care of the church, the lower-house refused to concur; nor would they give any reason for their dissent. They prepared another in a different strain, which was rejected by the archbishop. Then they agreed to divers resolutions, asserting their right of having what they offered to the upper-house received by his grace and their lordships. In consequence of this dissension the address was dropped, and a stop put to all further communication between the two houses. The dean of Peterborough protested against the irregularities of the lower-house. The queen, in a letter to the archbishop, signified her resolution to maintain her supremacy, and the due subordination of presbyters to bishops. She expressed her hope that he and his suffragans should act conformably to her resolution, in which case they might be assured of the continuance of her favour and protection: she required him to impart this declaration to the bishops and clergy, and to prorogue the convocation to such time as should appear most convenient. When he communicated this letter to the lower-house, the members were not a little confounded; nevertheless, they would not comply with the prorogation, but continued to sit in defiance of her majesty's pleasure.

Burnet.
Boyer.
Lockhart.
Quincy.
Hist. of Europe.
Feuquieres.
Tindal.
Hist. of the D.
of Marlborough.
Burchet.
Lives of the Admirals.
Voltaire.

An. Ch. 1706. § XLIV. The eyes of Great Britain were now turned upon a transaction of the utmost consequence to the whole island; namely, the treaty for an union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. The queen having appointed the commissioners † on both sides, they met on the sixteenth day of April,

in

* Among other bills passed during this session, was an act for abridging and reforming some proceedings in the common law and in chancery.

† The English commissioners were, Thomas lord archbishop of Canterbury, William Cowper lord-keeper of the great seal, John lord archbishop of York, Sidney lord Godolphin lord high-treasurer of England, Thomas earl of Pembroke and Montgomery president of the council, John duke of Newcastle keeper of the privy-seal, William duke of Devonshire steward of the household, Charles duke of Somerset master of the horse, Charles duke of Bolton, Charles

earl of Sunderland, Evelyn earl of Kingston, Charles earl of Carlisle, Edward earl of Orford, Charles viscount Townshend, Thomas lord Wharton, Ralph lord Grey, John lord Powlet, John lord Somers, Charles lord Halifax, William Cavendish marquis of Hartington, John Manners marquis of Granby, Sir Charles Hedges and Robert Harley principal secretaries of state, John Smith, Henry Boyle chancellor of the exchequer, Sir John Holt chief-justice of the queen's-bench, Sir Thomas Trevor chief-justice of the common-pleas, Sir Edward Northey attorney-general, Sir Simon Harcourt solicitor-general, Sir John

Cock,

in the council-chamber of the Cockpit near Whitehall, which was the place appointed for the conferences. Their commissions being opened and read by the respective secretaries, and introductory speeches being pronounced by the lord-keeper of England and the lord-chancellor of Scotland, they agreed to certain preliminary articles, importing, That all the proposals should be made in writing, and every point, when agreed, reduced to writing: That no points should be obligatory, till all matters should be adjusted in such a manner as would be proper to be laid before the queen and the two parliaments for their approbation: That a committee should be appointed from each commission to revise the minutes of what might pass, before they should be inserted in the books by the respective secretaries; and that all the proceedings during the treaty should be kept secret. The Scots were inclined to a federal union, like that of the United Provinces: but the English were bent upon an incorporation, so as that no Scottish parliament should ever have power to repeal the articles of the treaty. The lord-keeper proposed, that the two kingdoms of England and Scotland should be for ever united into one realm, by the name of Great-Britain: That it should be represented by one and the same parliament; and, That the succession of this monarchy, failing heirs of her majesty's body, should be according to the limitations mentioned in the act of parliament passed in the reign of king William, intituled, An act for the further limitation of the crown, and the better securing the rights and liberties of the subject. The Scottish commissioners, in order to comply in some measure with the popular clamour of their nation, presented a proposal, implying that the succession to the crown of Scotland should be established upon the same persons mentioned in the act of king William's reign: That the subjects of Scotland should for ever enjoy all the rights and privileges of the natives in England, and the dominions thereunto belonging; and, That the subjects of England should enjoy the like rights and privileges in Scotland: That there should be a free communication and intercourse of trade and navigation between the two kingdoms, and plantations thereunto belonging; and that all laws and statutes in either kingdom, contrary to the terms of this union, should be repealed. The English commissioners declined entering into any considerations upon these proposals, declaring themselves fully convinced that nothing but an intire union would settle perfect and lasting friendship between the two kingdoms. The Scots acquiesced in this reply, and both sides proceeded in the treaty, without any other intervening dispute. They were twice visited by the queen, who exhorted them to accelerate the articles of a treaty that would prove so

Cook, and Stephen Waller doctor of laws. The Scottish commissioners were, James earl of Seafield lord-chancellor of Scotland, James duke of Queensberry lord privy-seal, John earl of Mar, and Hugh earl of London principal secretaries of state, John earl of Sutherland, John earl of Morton, David earl of Wemyss, David earl of Leven, John earl of Stair, Archibald earl of Roseberry, David earl of Glasgow, lord Archibald Campbell, Thomas Viscount Duplin, lord William Ross, Sir Hugh Dalrymple president of the session, Adam Cockburne of Ormiston

ford justice-clerk; Sir Robert Dundas of Arncliffe, Robert Stuart of Tillicultrie, lords of the session, Mr. Francis Montgomery one of the commissioners of the treasury, Sir David Dalrymple, one of her majesty's solicitors, Sir Alexander Ogilvie receiver-general, Sir Patrick Johnston provost of Edinburgh, Sir James Smollett of Bonhill, George Lockhart of Carnwath, William Morrison of Preslongrange, Alexander Grant, William Seton of Pittulden, John Clark of Pennycook, Hugh Montgomery, Daniel Stuart, and Daniel Campbell.

advantageous to both kingdoms. At length they were finished, arranged, and mutually signed, on the twenty-second of July, and next day presented to her majesty at the palace of St. James's, by the lord-keeper, in the name of the English commissioners; while at the same time a sealed copy of the instrument was likewise delivered by the lord-chancellor of Scotland; and each made a short oration on the subject, to which the queen returned a very gracious reply. That same day she dictated an order of council, that whoever should be concerned in any discourse or libel, or in laying wagers relating to the union, should be prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the law.

§ XLV. In this famous treaty it was stipulated, That the succession to the united kingdom of Great-Britain should be vested in the princess Sophia, and her heirs, according to the acts already passed in the parliament of England: That the united kingdom should be represented by one and the same parliament: That all the subjects of Great Britain should enjoy a communication of privileges and advantages: That they should have the same allowances, encouragements, and drawbacks; and be under the same prohibitions, restrictions, and regulations, with respect to commerce and customs: That Scotland should not be charged with the temporary duties on some certain commodities: That the sum of three hundred, ninety-eight thousand and eighty-five pounds ten shillings should be granted to the Scots, as an equivalent for such parts of the customs and excise charged upon that kingdom in consequence of the union, as would be applicable to the payment of the debts of England, according to the proportion which the customs and excise of Scotland bore to those of England: That, as the revenues of Scotland might increase, a further equivalent should be allowed for such proportion of the said increase as should be applicable to the payment of the debts of England: That the sum to be paid at present, as well as the monies arising from the future equivalents, should be employed in reducing the coin of Scotland to the standard and value of the English coin; in paying off the capital stock and interest due to the proprietors of the African company, which should be immediately dissolved; in discharging all the public debts of the kingdom of Scotland, and in promoting and encouraging manufactures and fisheries, under the direction of commissioners to be appointed by her majesty, and accountable to the parliament of Great-Britain: That the laws concerning public right, policy, and civil government, should be the same throughout the whole united kingdom; but that no alteration should be made in laws which concerned private right, except for evident utility of the subjects within Scotland: That the court of session, and all other courts of judicature in Scotland, should remain as then constituted by the laws of that kingdom, with the same authority and privileges as before the union; subject, nevertheless, to such regulations as should be made by the parliament of Great Britain: That all heritable offices, superiorities, heritable jurisdictions, offices for life, and jurisdictions for life, should be reserved to the owners, as rights of property, in the same manner as then enjoyed by the laws of Scotland: That the rights and privileges of the royal boroughs in Scotland, should remain intire after the union: That Scotland should be represented in the parliament of Great Britain, by sixteen peers and forty-five commoners, to be elected in such a manner as should be settled by the present parliament of Scotland: That all peers of Scotland, and the successors to their

honours

honours and dignities, should, from and after the union, be peers of Great Britain, and should have rank and precedence next and immediately after the English peers of the like orders and degrees at the time of the union; and before all peers of Great-Britain of the like orders and degrees, who might be created after the union: That they should be tried as peers of Great Britain, and enjoy all privileges of peers, as fully as enjoyed by the peers of England, except the right and privilege of sitting in the house of lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and particularly the right of sitting upon the trials of peers: That the crown, sceptre, and sword of state, the records of parliament, and all other records, rolls, and registers whatsoever, should still remain as they were, within that part of the united kingdom called Scotland: That all laws and statutes in either kingdom, so far as they might be inconsistent with the terms of these articles, should cease and be declared void by the respective parliaments of the two kingdoms. Such is the substance of that treaty of union which was so eagerly courted by the English ministry, and proved so unpalatable to the generality of the Scottish nation.

C H A P. IX.

§ I. *Battle of Ramillies, in which the French are defeated.* § II. *The siege of Barcelona raised by the English fleet.* § III. *Prince Eugene obtains a complete victory over the French at Turin.* § IV. *Sir Cloudesley Shovel sails with a reinforcement to Charles king of Spain.* § V. *The king of Sweden marches into Saxony.* § VI. *The French king demands conferences for a peace.* § VII. *Meeting of the Scottish parliament.* § VIII. *Violent opposition to the union.* § IX. *The Scots in general averse to the treaty.* § X. *Which is nevertheless confirmed in their parliament.* § XI. *Proceedings in the English parliament.* § XII. *The commons approve of the articles of the union.* § XIII. *The lords pass a bill for the security of the church of England. Arguments used against the articles of the union.* § XIV. *Which, however, are confirmed by act of parliament.* § XV. *The parliament revived by proclamation.* § XVI. *The queen gives audience to a Muscovite ambassador.* § XVII. *Proceedings in convocation.* § XVIII. *France threatened with total ruin.* § XIX. *The allies are defeated at Almanza.* § XX. *Unsuccessful attempt upon Toulon.* § XXI. *Sir Cloudesley Shovel wrecked on the rocks of Scilly. Weakness of the emperor on the Upper Rhine.* § XXII. *Interview between the king of Sweden and the duke of Marlborough.* § XXIII. *Inactive campaign in the Netherlands.* § XXIV. *Harley begins to form a party against the duke of Marlborough.* § XXV. *The nation discontented with the Whig ministry.* § XXVI. *Meeting of the first British parliament.* § XXVII. *Inquiry into the state of the war in Spain.* § XXVIII. *Gregg, a clerk in the secretary's office, detected in a correspondence with the French ministry.* § XXIX. *Harley resigns his employment.* § XXX. *The pretender embarks at Dunkirk for Scotland.* § XXXI. *His design is defeated.* § XXXII. *State of the nation at that period.* § XXXIII. *Parliament dissolved.* § XXXIV. *The French surprise Ghent and Bruges.* § XXXV. *They are routed at Oudenarde.* § XXXVI. *The allies invest Lisle.* § XXXVII. *They defeat a large body of French forces at Wynendale. The elector of Bavaria attacks Brussels.* § XXXVIII. *Lisle surrendered, Ghent taken, and Bruges abandoned.* § XXXIX. *Conquest of Minorca by general Stanhope.* § XL. *Rupture between the pope and the emperor.* § XLI. *Death of prince George of Denmark.* § XLII. *The new parliament assembled.* § XLIII. *Naturalization bill.* § XLIV. *Act of grace.* § XLV. *Dispute about the Muscovite ambassador compromised.*

§ I. **W**HILE this treaty was on the carpet at home, the allied arms prospered surprisingly in the Netherlands, in Spain, and in Piedmont. The French king had resolved to make very considerable efforts in these countries; and indeed, at the beginning of the campaign his armies were very formidable. He hoped, that by the reduction of Turin and Barcelona the war would be extinguished in Italy and Catalonia. He knew he could out-number any body of forces that prince Lewis of Baden should assemble on the Rhine; and, he resolved to reinforce his army in Flanders, so as to be in a condition to act offensively against the duke of Marlborough. This nobleman

nobleman repaired to Holland in the latter end of April; and conferred with the states-general. Then he assembled the army between Borchloen and Groef-Waren, and found it amounted to seventy-four battalions of foot, and one hundred and twenty-three squadrons of horse and dragoons, well furnished with artillery and pontoons. The court of France having received intelligence, that the Danish and Prussian troops had not yet joined the confederates, ordered the elector of Bavaria and the marechal de Villeroy to attack them before the junction could be effected. In pursuance of this order they passed the Deule on the nineteenth day of May, and posted themselves at Tirlemont, being superior in number to the allied army. There they were joined by the horse of the army, commanded by marechal Marfin, and encamped between Tirlemont and Judoigne. On Whitsunday, early in the morning, the duke of Marlborough advanced with his army in eight columns towards the village of Ramillies, being by this time joined by the Danes; and, he learned, that the enemy were in march to give him battle. Next day the French generals perceiving the confederates so near them, took possession of a strong camp, their right extending to the Tomb of Hautemont on the side of the Mehaigne; their left to Anderkirk; and, the village of Ramillies being near their center. The confederate army was drawn up in order of battle, with the right wing near Foltz on the brook of Yause, and the left by the village of Franquemies, which the enemy had occupied. The duke ordered lieutenant-general Schultz, with twelve battalions and twenty pieces of cannon to begin the action, by attacking Ramillies, which was strongly fortified with artillery. At the same time velt-marechal Overkirk, on the left, commanded colonel Wertmuller, with four battalions and two pieces of cannon, to dislodge the enemy's infantry posted among the hedges of Franquemies. Both these orders were successfully executed. The Dutch and Danish horse of the left wing charged with great vigour and intrepidity; but were so roughly handled by the troops of the French king's household, that they began to give way, when the duke of Marlborough sustained them with the body of reserve, and twenty squadrons drawn from the right, where a morass prevented them from acting. In the mean time, he in person rallied some of the broken squadrons, in order to renew the charge, when his own horse falling, he was surrounded by the enemy, and must have been either killed or taken prisoner, had not a body of infantry come seasonably to his relief. When he remounted his horse, the head of colonel Brienfield, his gentleman of the horse, was carried off by a cannon-ball while he held the duke's stirrup. Before the reinforcement arrived, the best part of the French mousquetaires were cut in pieces. All the troops posted in Ramillies were either killed or taken. The rest of the enemy's infantry began to retreat in tolerable order, under cover of the cavalry on their left wing, which formed themselves in three lines between Ossuz and Anderkirk; but, the English horse having found means to pass the rivulet which divided them from the enemy, fell upon them with such impetuosity, that they abandoned their foot, and were terribly slaughtered in the village of Anderkirk. They now gave way on all sides. The horse fled three different ways; but, were so closely pursued, that very few escaped. The elector of Bavaria and the marechal de Villeroy saved themselves with the utmost difficulty. Several waggons of the enemy's vanguard breaking down in a narrow pass, obstructed the way in such a manner, that

that the baggage and artillery could not proceed; nor could their troops defile in order. The victorious horse being informed of this accident, pressed on them so vigorously, that great numbers threw down their arms and submitted. The pursuit was followed thro' Judoigne till two o'clock in the morning, five leagues from the field of battle, and within two of Louvaine. In a word, the confederates obtained a complete victory. They took the enemy's baggage and artillery, about one hundred and twenty colours or standards, six hundred officers, six thousand private soldiers; and about eight thousand were killed or wounded. Prince Maximilian, and prince Monbason lost their lives; the major-generals Palavicini and Mezieres were taken, together with the marquisses de Bar, de Nonant, and de la Baume, son of the marechal de Tallard, monsieur de Montmorency, nephew to the duke of Luxembourg; and many other persons of distinction. The loss of the allies did not exceed three thousand men, including prince Lewis of Hesse and Mr. Bentinck, who were slain in the engagement. The French generals retired with precipitation to Brussels, while the allies took possession of Louvaine, and next day encamped at Bethlem. The battle of Ramillies was attended with the immediate conquest of all Brabant. The cities of Louvaine, Mechlin, Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges, submitted without resistance, and acknowledged king Charles. Ostend, though secured by a strong garrison, was surrendered after a siege of ten days. Menin, esteemed the most finished fortification in the Netherlands, and guarded by six thousand men, met with the same fate. The garrison of Dendermonde surrendered themselves prisoners of war; and Aeth submitted on the same conditions. The French troops were dispirited. The city of Paris was overwhelmed with consternation: Lewis affected to bear his misfortunes with calmness and composure: but, the constraint had such an effect upon his constitution, that his physicians thought it necessary to prescribe frequent bleeding, which he accordingly underwent. At his court no mention was made of military transactions: all was solemn, silent, and reserved.

§ II. Had the issue of the campaign in Catalonia been such as the beginning seemed to prognosticate, the French king might have in some measure consoled himself for his disgraces in the Netherlands. On the sixth day of April king Philip, at the head of a numerous army, undertook the siege of Barcelona, while the count de Thoulouse blocked it up with a powerful squadron. The inhabitants, animated by the presence of king Charles, made a vigorous defence; and, the garrison was reinforced with some troops from Gironne and other places. But, after the fort of Montjuic was taken, the place was so hard pressed, that Charles ran the utmost risque of falling into the hands of the enemy; for, the earl of Peterborough, who had marched from Valencia with two thousand men, found it impracticable to enter the city. Nevertheless, he maintained his post upon the hills; and, with surprising courage and activity kept the besiegers in continual alarm. At length, Sir John Leake sailed from Lisbon with thirty ships of the line; and, on the eighth day of May arrived in sight of Barcelona. The French admiral no sooner received intelligence of his approach, than he set sail for Toulon. In three days after his departure king Philip abandoned the siege, and retired in great disorder, leaving behind his tents, with the sick and wounded. On the side of Portugal the duke of Berwick was left with such an inconsiderable force as proved insufficient to defend the frontiers. The earl of Galway

Galway, with an army of twenty thousand men, undertook the siege of Alcantara; and, in three days the garrison, consisting of four thousand men, were made prisoners of war. Then he marched to Placentia, and advanced as far as the bridge of Almaras; but, the Portuguese would penetrate no farther until they should know the fate of Barcelona. When they understood the siege was raised, they consented to proceed to Madrid. Philip, guessing their intention, posted to that capital, and sent his queen with all his valuable effects to Burgos, whither he followed her in person, after having destroyed every thing that he could not carry away. About the latter end of June the earl of Galway entered the city without resistance; but, the Spaniards were extremely mortified to see an army of Portuguese, headed by an heretic, in possession of their capital. King Charles loitered away his time in Barcelona, until his competitor recovered his spirits, and received such reinforcements as enabled him to return to Madrid, with an army equal to that commanded by the earl of Galway. This general made a motion towards Arragon, in order to facilitate his conjunction with Charles, who had set out by the way of Saragossa, where he was acknowledged as sovereign of Arragon and Valencia. In the beginning of August he arrived at the Portuguese camp, with a small reinforcement; and, in a few days was followed by the earl of Peterborough, at the head of five hundred dragoons. The two armies were now pretty equal in point of number; but, as each expected further reinforcements, neither chose to hazard an engagement. The earl of Peterborough, who aspired to the chief command, and hated the prince of Lichtenstein, who enjoyed the confidence of king Charles, retired in disgust; and, embarking on board of an English ship of war, set sail for Genoa. The English fleet continued all the summer in the Mediterranean: they secured Carthage, which had declared for Charles: they took the town of Alicant by assault, and the castle by capitulation. Then sailing out of the Streights, one squadron was detached to the West-Indies, another ordered to lie at Lisbon, and the rest were sent home to England.

§ III. Fortune was not more propitious to the French in Italy than in Flanders. The duke of Vendome having been called to assume the command in Flanders after the battle of Ramillies, the duke of Orleans was placed at the head of the army in Piedmont, under the tutorage and direction of the marechal de Marfin. They were ordered to besiege Turin, which was accordingly invested in the month of May; and, the operations carried on till the beginning of September. Great preparations had been made for this siege. It was not undertaken until the duke of Savoy had rejected all the offers of the French monarch, which were sufficient to have shaken a prince of less courage and fortitude. The duke de la Feuillade having finished the lines of circumvallation and contravallation, sent his quarter-master general with a trumpet, to offer passports and a guard for the removal of the dutchess and her children. The duke of Savoy replied, that he did not intend to remove his family; and, that the marechal might begin to execute his master's orders whenever he should think fit: but, when the siege began with uncommon fury, and the French fired red-hot balls into the place, the two dutchesses, with the young prince and princesses, quitted Turin, and retired to Quierasco, from whence they were conducted through many dangers into the territories of Genoa. The duke himself forsook his capital, in order to put himself at the head of his cavalry; and, was pursued from

from place to place by five and forty squadrons, under the command of the count D'Aubeterre. Notwithstanding the very noble defence which was made by the garrison of Turin, who destroyed fourteen thousand of the enemy during the course of the siege, the defences were almost ruined, their ammunition began to fail, and they had no prospect of relief but from prince Eugene, who had numberless difficulties to encounter before he could march to their assistance. The duke of Vendome, before he left Italy, had secured all the fords of the Adige, the Mincio, and the Oglio, and formed such lines and intrenchments as he imagined would effectually hinder the Imperial general from arriving in time to relieve the city of Turin. But the prince surmounted all opposition, passed four great rivers in despite of the enemy; and reached the neighbourhood of Turin on the thirteenth day of August. There being joined by the duke of Savoy, he passed the Po between Montcalier and Cavignan. On the fifth day of September they took a convoy of eight hundred loaded mules: next day they passed the Doria, and encamped with the right on the bank of that river before Pianessa, and the left on the Stura before the Veneria. The enemy were intrenched, having the Stura on their right, the Doria on their left, and the convent of capuchins, called Notre Dame de la Campagne, in their center. When prince Eugene approached Turin, the duke of Orleans proposed to march out of the intrenchments, and give him battle; and this proposal was seconded by all the general-officers, except Marfin, who, finding the duke determined, produced an order from the French king, commanding the duke to follow the marechal's advice. The court of Versailles was now become afraid of hazarding an engagement against those who had so often defeated their armies; and this officer had private instructions to keep within the trenches. On the seventh day of September the confederates marched up to the intrenchments of the French, in eight columns, through a terrible fire from forty pieces of artillery, and were formed in order of battle within half-cannon shot of the enemy. Then they advanced to the attack with surprising resolution, and met with such a warm reception as seemed to stop their progress. Prince Eugene perceiving this check, drew his sword, and putting himself at the head of the battalions on the left, forced the intrenchments at the first charge. The duke of Savoy met with the same success in the center, and on the right near Luscingo. The horse advanced thro' the intervals of the foot, left for that purpose; and breaking in with vast impetuosity, completed the confusion of the enemy, who were defeated on all hands, and retired with precipitation to the other side of the Po, while the duke of Savoy entered his capital in triumph. The duke of Orleans exhibited repeated proofs of the most intrepid courage; and received several wounds in the engagement. Marechal de Marfin fell into the hands of the victors, his thigh being shattered with a ball, and died in a few hours after the amputation. Of the French army about five thousand men were slain on the field of battle: a great number of officers, and upwards of seven thousand men were taken, together with two hundred and fifty-five pieces of cannon, one hundred and eighty mortars, an incredible quantity of ammunition, all the tents and baggage, five thousand beasts of burthen, ten thousand horses belonging to thirteen regiments of dragoons, and the mules of the commissary-general so richly laden, that this part of the booty alone was valued at three millions of livres. The loss of the confederates

federates did not exceed three thousand men killed or disabled in the action, besides about the same number of the garrison of Turin, which had fallen since the beginning of the siege. This was such a fatal stroke to the interest of Lewis, that madame de Maintenon would not venture to make him fully acquainted with the state of his affairs. He was told, that the duke of Orleans had raised the siege of Turin at the approach of prince Eugene; but he knew not that his own army was defeated and ruined. The spirits of the French were a little comforted in consequence of an advantage gained about this time, by the count de Medavy-grancey, who commanded a body of troops left in the Mantuan territories. He surprised the prince of Hesse in the neighbourhood of Castiglione, and obliged him to retire to the Adige with the loss of two thousand men; but this victory was attended with no consequence in their favour. The duke of Orleans retreated into Dauphiné, while the French garrisons were driven out of every place they occupied in Piedmont and Italy, except Cremona, Valenza, and the castle of Milan, which were blocked up by the confederates.

§ IV. Over and above these disasters which the French sustained in the course of this campaign, they were miserably alarmed by the project of an invasion from Britain, formed by the marquis de Guiscard, who, actuated by a family-disgust, had abandoned his country, and become a partisan of the confederates. He was declared a lieutenant-general in the emperor's army, and came over to London, after having settled a correspondence with the malcontents in the southern parts of France. He insinuated himself into the friendship of Henry St. John, secretary of war, and other persons of distinction. His scheme of invading France was approved by the British ministry; and he was promoted to the command of a regiment of dragoons destined for that service. About eleven thousand men were embarked under the conduct of earl Rivers, with a large train of artillery; and the combined squadrons, commanded by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, set sail from Plymouth on the thirteenth day of August. Next day they were forced into Torbay by contrary winds; and there they held a council of war to concert their operations, when they discovered, that Guiscard's plan was altogether chimerical, or at least founded upon such slight assurances and conjectures, as could not justify their proceeding to execution. An express was immediately dispatched to the admiralty, with the result of this council; and, in the mean time, letters arrived at court from the earl of Galway, after his retreat from Madrid to Valencia, soliciting succours with the most earnest intreaties. The expedition to France was immediately postponed; and Sir Cloudesley Shovel was ordered to make the best of his way for Lisbon, there to take such measures as the state of the war in Spain should render necessary. Guiscard and his officers being set on shore, the fleet sailed with the first fair wind, and towards the latter end of October arrived at Lisbon. On the twenty-eighth day of the next month the king of Portugal died, and his eldest son and successor being but eighteen years of age, was even more than his father influenced by a ministry, which had private connexions with the court of Versailles. Nevertheless, Sir Cloudesley Shovel and earl Rivers, being pressed by letters from king Charles and the earl of Galway, failed to their assistance in the beginning of January; and on the twenty-eighth arrived at Alicant, from whence the earl of Rivers proceeded by land to Valencia, in order to assist at a general council of war. The operations of the ensuing campaign being concerted, and the

army joined by the reinforcement from England, earl Rivers disliking the country, returned with the admiral to Lisbon.

§ V. Poland was at length delivered from the presence of the king of Sweden, who in the beginning of September suddenly marched through Lusatia into Saxony; and in a little time layed that whole electorate under contribution. Augustus being thus cut off from all resource, resolved to obtain peace on the Swede's own terms, and engaged in a secret treaty for this purpose. In the mean time the Poles and Muscovites attacked the Swedish forces at Kalish in Great Poland; and by dint of number routed them with great slaughter. Notwithstanding this event, Augustus ratified the treaty, by which he acknowledged Stanislaus as true and rightful king of Poland, reserving to himself no more than the empty title of sovereign. The confederates were not a little alarmed to find Charles in the heart of Germany; and the French court did not fail to court his alliance: but he continued on the reserve against all their solicitations. Then they implored his mediation for a peace; and he answered, that he would interpose his good offices, as soon as he should know they would be agreeable to the powers engaged in the grand alliance.

§ VI. The pride of Lewis was now humbled to such a degree as might have excited the compassion of his enemies. He employed the elector of Bavaria to write letters in his name to the duke of Marlborough and the deputies of the states-general, containing proposals for opening a congress. He had already tampered with the Dutch, in a memorial presented by the marquis D'Alegre. He likewise besought the pope to interpose in his behalf. He offered to cede either Spain and the West-Indies, or Milan, Naples, and Sicily to king Charles; to give up a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands; and to indemnify the duke of Savoy for the ravages that had been committed in his dominions. Though his real aim was peace, yet he did not despair of being able to excite such jealousies among the confederates, as might shake the basis of their union. His hope was not altogether disappointed. The court of Vienna was so much alarmed at the offers he had made, and the reports circulated by his emissaries, that the emperor resolved to make himself master of Naples before the allies should have it in their power to close with the proposals of France. This was the true motive of his concluding a treaty with Lewis in the succeeding winter, by which the Milanese was entirely evacuated, and the French king at liberty to employ those troops in making strong efforts against the confederates in Spain and the Netherlands. The Dutch were intoxicated with success, and their pensionary Heinsius intirely influenced by the duke of Marlborough, who found his account in the continuance of the war, which at once gratified his avarice and ambition; for, all his great qualities were obscured by the sordid passion of accumulating wealth. During the whole war the allies never had such an opportunity as they now enjoyed, to bridle the power of France effectually, and secure the liberties of the empire; and indeed, if their real design was to establish an equal balance between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, it could not have been better effected than by dividing the Spanish monarchy between these two potentates. The accession of Spain, with all its appendages, to either, would have destroyed the æquilibrium which the allies proposed to establish. But, other motives contributed to a continuation of the war. The powers of the confederacy were fired with the ambition of making conquests; and England

and considered the privilege of trading to the English plantations.

in particular thought herself intitled to an indemnification for the immense sums she had expended. Animated by these concurring considerations, queen Anne and the states-general rejected the offers of France; and declared, that they would not enter into any negotiation for peace, except in concert with their allies.

§ VII. The Tories of England began to meditate schemes of opposition against the duke of Marlborough. They looked upon him as a selfish nobleman, who sacrificed the interest of the nation in protracting a ruinous war for his own private advantage. They saw their country oppressed with an increasing load of taxes, which they apprehended would in a little time become an intolerable burden; and they did not doubt but at this period such terms might be obtained as would fully answer the great purpose of the confederacy. This, indeed, was the prevailing opinion among all the sensible people of the nation who were not particularly interested in the prosecution of the war, either by being connected with the general, or in some shape employed in the management of the finances. The Tories were likewise instigated by a party-spirit against Marlborough, who, by means of his wife, was in full possession of the queen's confidence, and openly patronized the Whig faction. But, the attention of people in general was now turned upon the Scottish parliament, which took into consideration the treaty of union lately concluded between the commissioners of both kingdoms. On the third day of October the duke of Queensberry, as high-commissioner, produced the queen's letter, in which she expressed her hope, that the terms of the treaty would be acceptable to her parliament of Scotland. She said, an intire and perfect union would be the solid foundation of a lasting peace: it would secure their religion, liberty, and property, remove the animosities that prevailed among themselves, and the jealousies that subsisted between the two nations. It would increase their strength, riches, and commerce: the whole island would be joined in affection, and free from all apprehension of different interests: it would be enabled to resist all its enemies, support the protestant interest every where, and maintain the liberties of Europe. She renewed her assurance of maintaining the government of their church; and told them, that now they had an opportunity of taking such steps as might be necessary for its security after the union. She demanded the necessary supplies. She observed, that the great success with which God Almighty had blessed her arms, afforded the nearer prospect of a happy peace, with which they would enjoy the full advantages of this union; that they had no reason to doubt but the parliament of England would do all that should be necessary on their part, to confirm the union; and she recommended calmness and unanimity in deliberating on this great and weighty affair, of such consequence to the whole island of Great-Britain.

§ VIII. Hitherto the articles of the union had been industriously concealed from the knowledge of the people: but, the treaty being recited in parliament, and the particulars divulged, such a flame was kindled through the whole nation, as had not appeared since the restoration. The cavaliers or Jacobites had always foreseen, that this union would extinguish all their hopes of a revolution in favour of a pretender. The nobility found themselves degraded in point of dignity and influence, by being excluded from their seats in parliament. The trading part of the nation beheld their commerce saddled with heavy duties and restrictions, and considered the privilege of trading to the English plantations

as a precarious and uncertain prospect of advantage. The barons or gentlemen were exasperated at a coalition, by which their parliament was annihilated and their credit destroyed. The people in general exclaimed, that the dignity of their crown was betrayed: that the independency of their nation had fallen a sacrifice to treachery and corruption: that whatever conditions might be speciously offered, they could not expect they would be observed by a parliament in which the English had such a majority. They exaggerated the dangers to which the constitution of their church would be exposed from a bench of bishops, and a parliament of episcopalians. This consideration alarmed the presbyterian ministers to such a degree, that they employed all their power and credit in wakening the resentment of their hearers against the treaty, which produced an universal ferment among all ranks of people. Even the most rigid puritans joined the cavaliers in expressing their detestation of the union; and, laying aside their mutual animosities, promised to co-operate in opposing a measure so ignominious and prejudicial to their country. In parliament the opposition was headed by the dukes of Hamilton and Athol, and the marquis of Annandale. The first of these noblemen had wavered so much in his conduct, that it is difficult to ascertain his real political principles. He was generally supposed to favour the claim of the pretender; but he was afraid of embarking too far in his cause, and avoided violent measures in the discussion of this treaty, lest he should incur the resentment of the English parliament, and forfeit the estate he possessed in that kingdom. Athol was more forward in his professions of attachment to the court of St. Germain's; but, he had less ability, and his zeal was supposed to have been inflamed by resentment against the ministry. The debates upon the different articles of the treaty were carried on with great heat and vivacity; and many shrewd arguments were used against this scheme of an incorporating union. One member affirmed, that it would furnish a handle to any aspiring prince to overthrow the liberties of all Britain; for, if the parliament of Scotland could alter, or rather subvert its constitution, this circumstance might be a precedent for the parliament of Great-Britain to assume the same power: that the representatives for Scotland would, from their poverty, depend upon those who possessed the means of corruption; and, having expressed so little concern for the support of their own constitution, would pay very little regard to that of any other. "What! (said the duke of Hamilton) shall we in half an hour give up what our forefathers maintained with their lives and fortunes for many ages? Are here none of the descendants of those worthy patriots, who defended the liberty of their country against all invaders; who assisted the great king Robert Bruce to restore the constitution, and revenge the falsehood of England and usurpation of Baliol? Where are the Douglasses and Campbells? Where are the peers, where are the barons, once the bulwark of the nation? Shall we yield up the sovereignty and independency of our country, when we are commanded by those we represent, to preserve the same, and assured of their assistance to support us?" The duke of Athol protested against an incorporating union, as contrary to the honour, interest, fundamental laws, and constitution of the kingdom of Scotland, the birthright of the peers, the rights and privileges of the barons and boroughs, and to the claim of right, property, and liberty of the subjects. To this protest nineteen peers and forty-six commoners adhered. The earl marshal entered a protest, importing, that no person being successor to the crown of

of England should inherit that of Scotland, without such previous limitations as might secure the honour and sovereignty of the Scottish crown and kingdom, the frequency and power of parliament, the religion, liberty, and trade of the nation, from English or any foreign influence. He was seconded by six and forty members. With regard to the third article of the union, stipulating, that both kingdoms should be represented by one and the same parliament, the country-party observed, that by assenting to this expedient, they did in effect sink their own constitution, while that of England underwent no alteration: that in all nations there are fundamentals which no power whatever can alter: that the rights and privileges of parliament being one of these fundamentals among the Scots, no parliament, or any other power could ever legally prohibit the meeting of parliaments, or deprive any of the three estates of its right of sitting or voting in parliament, or give up the rights and privileges of parliament: but, that by this treaty the parliament of Scotland was intirely abrogated, its rights and privileges sacrificed, and those of the English parliament substituted in their place. They argued, that though the legislative power in parliament was regulated and determined by a majority of voices; yet the giving up the constitution, with the rights and privileges of the nation, was not subject to suffrage, being founded on dominion and property; and therefore could not be legally surrendered without the consent of every person who had a right to elect and be represented in parliament. They affirmed, that the obligation layed on the Scottish members to reside so long in London in attendance on the British parliament, would drain Scotland of all its money, impoverish the members, and subject them to the temptation of being corrupted. Another protest was entered by the marquis of Annandale against an incorporating union, as being odious to the people, subversive of the constitution, sovereignty, and claim of right, and threatening ruin to the church as by law established. Fifty-two members joined in this protestation. Almost every article produced the most inflammatory disputes. The lord Belhaven enumerated the mischiefs which would attend the union, in a pathetic speech that drew tears from the audience, and is at this day looked upon as a prophecy by great part of the Scottish nation. Addresses against the treaty were presented to parliament by the convention of boroughs, the commissioners of the general-assembly, the company trading to Africa and the Indies, as well as from several shires, stewartries, boroughs, towns, and parishes, in all the different parts of the kingdom, without distinction of Whig or Tory, episcopalian or presbyterian. The earl of Buchan for the peers, Lockhart of Carnwath for the barons, Sir Walter Stuart in behalf of the peers, barons, and boroughs; the earls of Errol and Marischal for themselves, as high-constable and earl-marshal of the kingdom, protested severally against the treaty of union.

§ IX. While this opposition raged within doors, the resentment of the people rose to transports of fury and revenge. The more rigid presbyterians, known by the name of Cameronians, chose officers, formed themselves into regiments, provided horses, arms, and ammunition, and marching to Dumfries, burned the articles of the union at the market-cross, justifying their conduct in a public declaration. They made a tender of their attachment to duke Hamilton, from whom they received encouragement in secret. They reconciled themselves to the episcopalians and the cavaliers.

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They resolved to take the route to Edinburgh, and dissolve the parliament; while the duke of Athole undertook to secure the pass of Stirling with his Highlanders, so as to open the communication between the western and northern parts of the kingdom. Seven or eight thousand men were actually ready to appear in arms at the town of Hamilton, and march directly to Edinburgh under the duke's command; when that nobleman altered his opinion, and dispatched private couriers through the whole country, requiring the people to defer their meeting till further directions. The more sanguine cavaliers accused his grace of treachery; but in all likelihood he was actuated by prudential motives. He alledged, in his own excuse, that the nation was not in a condition to carry on such an enterprize, especially as the English had already detached troops to the border, and might in a few days waft over a considerable reinforcement from Holland. During this commotion among the Cameronians, the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow were filled with tumults. Sir Patrick Johnston provost of Edinburgh, who had been one of the commissioners for the union, was besieged in his own house by the populace, and would have been torn in pieces, had not the guards dispersed the multitude. The privy-council issued a proclamation against riots, commanding all persons to retire from the streets whenever the drum should beat; ordering the guards to fire upon those who should disobey this command, and indemnifying them from all prosecution for maiming or slaying the lieges. These guards were placed all round the house in which the peers and commons were assembled, and the council received the thanks of the parliament for having thus provided for their safety. Notwithstanding these precautions of the government, the commissioner was constantly saluted with the curses and imprecations of the people as he passed along: his guards were pelted; and some of his attendants wounded with stones as they sat by him in the coach, so that he was obliged to pass through the streets at the full gallop.

§ X. Against all this national fury, the dukes of Queensberry and Argyle, the earls of Montrose, Seafeld, and Stair, and the other noblemen attached to the union, acted with equal prudence and resolution. They argued strenuously against the objections that were started in the house. They magnified the advantages that would accrue to the kingdom from the privilege of trading to the English plantations, and being protected in their commerce by a powerful navy; as well as from the exclusion of a popish pretender, who they knew was odious to the nation in general. They found means, partly by their promises, and partly by corruption, to bring over the earls of Roxburgh and Marchmont, with the whole squadrons, who had hitherto been unpropitious to the court. They disarmed the resentment of the clergy, by promoting an act to be inserted in the union, declaring the presbyterian discipline to be the only government of the church of Scotland, unalterable in all succeeding times, and a fundamental article of the treaty. They soothed the African company with the prospect of being indemnified for the losses they had sustained. They amused individuals with the hope of sharing the rest of the equivalent. They employed emissaries to allay the ferment among the Cameronians, and disunite them from the cavaliers, by canting, praying, and demonstrating the absurdity, sinfulness, and danger, of such a coalition. These remonstrances were reinforced by the sum of twenty thousand pounds, which

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the queen privately lent to the Scottish treasury, and which was now distributed by the ministry in such a manner as might best conduce to the success of the treaty. By these practices they diminished, though they could not silence, the clamour of the people, and obtained a considerable majority in parliament, which out-voted all opposition. Not but that the duke of Queensberry at one time despaired of succeeding, and being in continual apprehension for his life, expressed a desire of adjourning the parliament, until by time and good management he should be able to remove those difficulties that then seemed to be unformountable. But the lord-treasurer Godolphin, who foresaw that the measure would be intirely lost by delay, and was no judge of the difficulties, insisted upon his proceeding. It was at this period that he remitted the money, and gave directions for having forces ready at a call, both in England and Ireland. At length the Scottish parliament approved and ratified all the articles of the union, with some small variation. Then they prepared an act for regulating the election of the sixteen peers and forty-five commoners to represent Scotland in the British parliament. This being touched with the sceptre, the three estates proceeded to elect their representatives. The remaining part of the session was employed in making regulations concerning the coin, in examining the accounts of their African company, and providing for the due application of the equivalent, which was scandalously misapplied. On the twenty-fifth day of March the commissioner adjourned the parliament, after having in a short speech taken notice of the honour they had acquired in concluding an affair of such importance to their country. Having thus accomplished the great purpose of the court, he set out for London, in the neighbourhood of which he was met by above forty noblemen in their coaches, and about four hundred gentlemen on horseback. Next day he waited upon the queen at Kensington, from whom he met with a very gracious reception. Perhaps there is not another instance upon record of a ministry's having carried a point of this importance against such a violent torrent of opposition, and contrary to the general sense and inclination of a whole exasperated people. The Scots were persuaded that their trade would be destroyed, their nation oppressed, and their country ruined, in consequence of the union with England; and indeed their opinion was supported by very plausible arguments. The majority of both nations believed that the treaty would produce violent convulsions, or at best prove ineffectual. But we now see it has been attended with none of the calamities that were prognosticated; that it quietly took effect, and fully answered all the purposes for which it was intended. Hence we may learn, that many great difficulties are surmounted, because they are not seen by those who direct the operation; and that many schemes which theory deems impracticable, will yet succeed in the experiment.

§ XI. The English parliament assembling on the third day of December, the queen, in her speech to both houses, congratulated them on the glorious successes of her arms. She desired the commons would grant such supplies as might enable her to improve the advantages of this successful campaign. She told them that the treaty of union, as concluded by the commissioners of both kingdoms, was at that time under the consideration of the Scottish parliament; and she recommended dispatch in the public affairs, that both friends and enemies might

might be convinced of the firmness and vigour of their proceedings. The parliament was perfectly well disposed to comply with all her majesty's requests. Warm addresses were presented by both houses. Then they proceeded to the consideration of the supply, and having examined the estimates in less than a week, voted near six millions for the service of the ensuing year. Nevertheless, in examining the accounts, some objections arose. They found that the extraordinary supplies for the support of king Charles of Spain, amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds more than the sums provided by parliament. Some members argued that very ill consequences might ensue, if a ministry could thus run the nation in debt, and expect the parliament should pay the money. The courtiers answered, that if any thing had been raised without necessity or ill applied, it was reasonable that those who were in fault should be punished: but, as this expence was incurred to improve advantages, at a time when the occasion could not be communicated to parliament, the ministry was rather to be applauded for their zeal, than condemned for their liberality. The question being put, the majority voted that those sums had been expended for the preservation of the duke of Savoy, for the interest of king Charles against the common enemy, and for the safety and honour of the nation. When the speaker presented the money-bills, he told her, that as the glorious victory obtained by the duke of Marlborough at Ramillies was fought before it could be supposed the armies were in the field, so it was no less surprising that the commons had granted supplies to her majesty, before the enemy could well know that the parliament was sitting. The general was again honoured with the thanks of both houses. The lords, in an address, besought the queen to settle his honours on his posterity. An act was passed for this purpose; and, in pursuance of another address from the commons, a pension of five thousand pounds out of the post-office was settled upon him and his descendents. The lords and commons having adjourned themselves to the last day of December, the queen closed the year with triumphal processions. As the standards and colours taken at Blenheim had been placed in Westminster-hall, so now those that had been brought from the field of Ramillies were put up in Guildhall, as trophies of that victory. About this time, the earls of Kent, Lindsey, and Kingston, were raised to the rank of marquisses. The lords Wharton, Poulet, Godolphin, Cholmondely, were created earls. Lord Walden, son and heir apparent to the earl of Suffolk, obtained the title of earl of Bindon; the lord-keeper Cowper and Sir Thomas Pelham were ennobled as barons.

§ XII. The parliament being assembled after their short recess, the earl of Nottingham moved for an address to the queen, desiring her majesty would order the proceedings of the commissioners for the union, as well as those of the Scottish parliament on the said subject, to be laid before them. He was seconded by the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Rochester; and answered by the earl of Godolphin, who told them they needed not doubt but that her majesty would communicate those proceedings, as soon as the Scottish parliament should have discussed the subject of the union. The lords Wharton, Somers, and Hallifax, observed, that it was for the honour of the nation that the treaty of union should first come ratified from the parliament of Scotland; and that then, and not before, it would be a proper time for the lords to take it

it into consideration. On the twenty-eighth day of January, the queen in person told both houses, that the treaty of union, with some additions and alterations, was ratified by an act of the Scottish parliament: that she had ordered it to be laid before them, and hoped it would meet with their concurrence and approbation. She desired the commons would provide for the payment of the equivalent, in case the treaty should be approved. She observed to both houses, that now they had an opportunity of putting the last hand to a happy union of the two kingdoms; and that she should look upon it as a particular happiness, if this great work, which had been so often attempted without success, could be brought to perfection in her reign. When the commons formed themselves into a committee of the whole house, to deliberate on the articles of the union, and the Scottish act of ratification, the Tory party, which was very weak in that assembly, began to start some objections. Sir John Packington disapproved of this incorporating union, which he likened to a marriage with a woman against her consent. He said it was an union carried on by corruption and bribery within doors, by force and violence without: that the promoters of it had basely betrayed their trust, in giving up their independent constitution, and he would leave it to the judgment of the house, to consider whether or no men of such principles were fit to be admitted into their house of representatives. He observed, that her majesty, by the coronation-oath, was obliged to maintain the church of England as by law established; and likewise bound by the same oath to defend the presbyterian kirk of Scotland in one and the same kingdom. Now (said he) after this union is in force, who shall administer this oath to her majesty? It is not the business of the Scots, who are incapable of it, and no well-wishers to the church of England. It is then only the part of the bishops to do it; and can it be supposed that those reverend persons will, or can act a thing so contrary to their own order and institution, as thus to promote the establishment of the presbyterian church-government in the united kingdom. He added, that the church of England being established *jure divino*, and the Scots pretending that the kirk was also *jure divino*, he could not tell how two nations that clashed in so essential a point could unite: he therefore thought it proper to consult the convocation about this critical point. A motion was made, that the first article of the treaty, which implies a peremptory agreement to an incorporating union should be postponed; and that the house should proceed to the consideration of the terms of the intended union, contained in the other articles. This proposal being rejected, some Tory members quitted the house; and all the articles were examined and approved without further opposition. The Whigs were so eager in the prosecution of this point, that they proceeded in a very superficial manner, and in such precipitation as furnished their enemies with a plausible pretence to affirm that they had not considered the treaty with the coolness and deliberation which an affair of this importance required.

§ XIII. Before the lords began to investigate the articles of the union, they, at the instance of the archbishop of Canterbury, brought in a bill for the security of the church of England, to be inserted as a fundamental and essential part of that treaty. It passed through both houses without opposition, and received the royal assent. On the fifteenth day of February, the debates concerning the union began in the house of lords, the queen being present, and the bishop

of Sarum chairman of the committee. The earls of Rochester, Anglesey, and Nottingham, argued against the union; as did the bishop of Bath and Wells. Lord Haversham, in a premeditated harrangue, said the question was, Whether two nations independent in their sovereignties, that had their distinct laws and interests, their different forms of worship, church-government and order, should be united into one kingdom? He supposed it an union made up of so many mismatched pieces, of such jarring incongruous ingredients, that should it ever take effect, it would carry the necessary consequences of a standing power and force, to keep them from falling asunder and breaking in pieces every moment. He repeated what had been said by lord Bacon, that a unity pieced up by direct admission of contrarieties in the fundamental points of it, is like the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image, which were made of iron and clay: they may cleave together, but would never incorporate. He dissented from the union for the sake of the good old English constitution, in which he dreaded some alteration from the additional weight of sixty-one Scottish members, and these too returned by a Scottish privy-council. He took notice, that above one hundred Scottish peers, and as many commons, were excluded from sitting and voting in parliament, though they had as much right of inheritance to sit there, as any English peer had of sitting in the parliament of England. He expressed his apprehension of this precedent; and asked what security any peer of England had for his right and privilege of peerage, which those lords had not. He said, if the bishops would weaken their own cause, so far as to give up the two great points of episcopal ordination and confirmation; if they would approve and ratify the act for securing the presbyterian church-government in Scotland, as the true protestant religion and purity of worship; they must give up that which had been contended for between them and the presbyterians for thirty years, and been defended by the greatest and most learned men in the church of England. He objected to the exempting articles, by which heritable offices and superiorities were reserved. He affirmed that the union was contrary to the sense of the Scottish nation: that the murmurs of the people had been so loud as to fill the whole kingdom; and so bold as to reach even to the doors of the parliament: that the parliament itself had suspended their beloved clause in the act of security for arming the people: that the government had issued a proclamation, pardoning all slaughter, bloodshed, and maiming, committed upon those who should be found in tumults. From these circumstances he concluded, that the Scottish nation was averse to an incorporating union, which he looked upon as one of the most dangerous experiments to both nations. The lord North and Grey complained of the small and unequal proportion of the land-tax imposed upon Scotland. The earl of Nottingham said it was highly unreasonable that the Scots, who were by the treaty let into all the branches of the English trade, and payed so little towards the expence of the government, should moreover have such a round sum by way of equivalent. The same topics were insisted upon by the lords North and Grey, Guernsey, Granville, Stowell, and Abingdon. The earl of Nottingham, after having opposed every article separately, concluded with words to this effect, "As Sir John Maynard said to the late king at the revolution, that having buried all his cotemporaries in Westminster-hall, he was afraid, if his majesty had not come in that very juncture of time,"

" he

" he might have likewise outlived the very laws; so, if this union do pass, as I have no reason to doubt but it will, I may justly affirm I have outlived all the laws, and the very constitution of England: I therefore pray to God to avert the dire effects which may probably ensue from such an incorporating union."

§ XIII. These arguments and objections were answered by the lord-treasurer Godolphin, the earls of Sunderland and Wharton, the lords Townshend, Halifax, and Somers, the bishops of Oxford, Norwich, and Sarum. They observed, that such an important measure could not be effected without some inconveniencies; but that these ought to be borne in consideration of the greatness of the advantage: that the chief dangers to which the church was exposed, arose from France and popery; and this union would effectually secure it against these evils: that Scotland lay on the weakest side of England, which could not be defended but by an expensive army. Should a war break out between the two nations, and Scotland be conquered, yet even in that case it would be necessary to keep it under with a standing army, which any enterprising prince might model for his ambitious purposes, and joining with the Scots, enslave his English dominions: that any union after a conquest would be compulsive, consequently of short duration; whereas now it was voluntary: that with regard to ecclesiastical affairs, all heats and animosities might be allayed by soft and gentle management. The cantons of Switzerland, though they professed different religions, were yet united in one general body; and the diet of Germany was composed of princes and states, among whom three different persuasions prevailed; so that two sorts of discipline might very well subsist under one legislature. If there was any danger on either side, it threatened the Scots much more than the English, as five hundred and thirteen members would certainly be too hard for forty-five; and in the house of lords, six and twenty bishops would always preponderate against sixteen peers from Scotland. Notwithstanding all the opposition made by the lords of the Tory interest, every article was approved by a great majority, though not without a good number of protestations; and a bill of ratification was prepared in the lower house by Sir Simon Harcourt the solicitor-general, in such an artful manner as to prevent all debates. All the articles, as they passed in Scotland, were recited by way of preamble, together with the acts made in both parliaments, for the security of their several churches; and in conclusion there was one clause by which the whole was ratified and enacted into a law. By this contrivance, those who were desirous of starting new difficulties, found themselves disabled from pursuing their design. They could not object to the recital, which was barely matter of fact; and they had not strength sufficient to oppose the general enacting clause. On the other hand, the Whigs promoted it with such zeal, that it passed by a majority of one hundred and fourteen, before the others had recollected themselves from the surprize which the structure of the bill had occasioned. It made its way through the house of lords with equal dispatch; and, when it received the royal sanction, the queen expressed the utmost satisfaction. She said she did not doubt but it would be remembered and spoke of hereafter, to the honour of those who had been instrumental in bringing it to such a happy conclusion. She desired that her subjects of both kingdoms should from henceforward behave with all possible respect and kind-

Burnet.
Boyer.
Quincy.
Torcy.
Tindal.
Fauquieres.
Hist. of Europe.
Hist. of the D.
of Marlborough.
Conduct of the
Dutchess of
Marlborough.
Lockhart.
Ker.
Friend.
Voltaire.

ness towards one another, that so it might appear to all the world they had hearts disposed to become one people.

An. Ch. 1707.

§ XV. As the act of union did not take place till the first of May, a great number of traders in both kingdoms resolved to make advantage of this interval. The English proposed to export into Scotland such commodities as intitled them to a drawback, with a view to bring them back after the first of May. The Scots, on the other hand, as their duties were much lower than those in England, intended to import great quantities of wine, brandy, and other merchandize, which they could sell at a greater advantage in England after the union, when there would be a free intercourse between the two nations. Some of the ministers had embarked in this fraudulent design, which alarmed the merchants of England to such a degree, that they presented a remonstrance to the commons. Resolutions were immediately taken in the house against these practices, and a bill was prepared; but the lords apprehending that it in some measure infringed the articles of the union, and that it might give umbrage to the Scottish nation, it was dropped. The frauds had been in a good measure prevented by the previous resolutions of the house; and the first day of May was now at hand; so that the bill was thought unnecessary. On the twenty-fourth day of April, the queen prorogued the parliament, after having given them to understand, that she would continue by proclamation the lords and commons already assembled, as members in the first British parliament on the part of England, pursuant to the power vested in her by the acts of parliament of both kingdoms, ratifying the treaty of union. The parliament was accordingly revived by proclamation, and another issued to convoke the first parliament of Great Britain for the twenty-third day of October. The Scots repaired to London, where they were well received by the queen, who bestowed the title of duke on the earls of Roxburgh and Montrose. She likewise granted a commission for a new privy-council in that kingdom, to be in force till the next session of parliament, that the nation might not be disgusted by too sudden an alteration of outward appearances. The first of May was appointed as a day of public thanksgiving; and congratulatory addresses were sent up from all parts of England: but, the university of Oxford prepared no compliment; and the Scots were wholly silent on this occasion.

§ XVI. In the course of this session the commons, in an address to the queen, desired she would resettle the islands of St. Christopher's and Nevis in the West-Indies, which had been ravaged by the enemy. They likewise resolved, That an humble address should be presented to her majesty, praying, she would concert measures for suppressing a body of pyrates who had made a settlement on the island of Madagascar, as also for recovering and preserving the antient possessions, trade, and fishery in Newfoundland. The French refugees likewise delivered a remonstrance to the queen, recapitulating the benefits which the persecuted protestants in France had reaped from the assistance of her royal progenitors, acknowledging their own happiness in living under her gentle government, among a people by whom they had been so kindly entertained when driven from their native country; and imploring her majesty's interposition and good offices in favour of their distressed and persecuted brethren abroad. She graciously received this address, declaring, she had always great compassion for the

the unhappy circumstances of the protestants in France : that she would communicate her thoughts on this subject to her allies : and she expressed her hope that such measures might be taken as should effectually answer the intent of their petition. In the month of May she granted an audience to an ambassador extraordinary from the czar of Muscovy, who delivered a letter from his master, containing complaints of king Augustus, who had maltreated the Russian troops sent to his assistance, concluded a dishonourable peace with Charles king of Sweden, without the knowledge of his allies, and surrendered count Patkul the Muscovite minister, as a deserter, to the Swedish monarch, contrary to the law of nations, and even the practice of barbarians. He therefore desired her Britannic majesty would use her good offices for the enlargement of the count, and the other Russian prisoners detained at Stockholm ; and, that she would take into her protection the remains of the Russian auxiliaries upon the Rhine, that they might either enter into the service of the allies, or be at liberty to return in safety to their own country. The queen actually interposed in behalf of Patkul ; but her intercession proved ineffectual, and that unhappy minister was put to death with all the circumstances of wanton barbarity. As many severe and sarcastic writings had lately appeared, in which the Whigs and ministry were reviled, and reflections hinted to the prejudice of the queen's person, the government resolved to make examples of the authors and publishers of these licentious productions. Dr. Joseph Browne was twice pilloried for a copy of verses, intituled, " The country parson's advice to the lord-keeper," and a letter which he afterwards wrote to Mr. secretary Harley. William Stephens, rector of Sutton in Surrey, underwent the same sentence, as author of a pamphlet, called, " A letter to the author of the memorial of the church of England." Edward Ward was fined and set in the pillory, for having written a burlesque poem on the times, under the title of " Hudibras redivivus ;" and the same punishment was inflicted upon William Pittes, author of a performance, intituled, " The case of the church of England's memorial fairly stated."

§ XVII. The lower house of convocation still continued to wrangle with their superiors ; and though they joined the upper house in a congratulatory address to the queen, on the success of her arms, they resolved to make application to the house of commons against the union. The queen been apprised of their design, desired the archbishop to prorogue them for three weeks, before the expiration of which, the act of union had passed in parliament. The lower house delivered a representation to the bishops, in which they affirmed, no such prorogation had ever been ordered during the session of parliament. The bishops found in their records seven or eight precedents of such prorogations, and above thirty instances of the convocation's having sat sometimes before, and sometimes after a session of parliament, nay, sometimes even when the parliament was dissolved. The queen, informed of these proceedings, wrote a letter to the archbishop, intimating, that she looked upon the lower house as guilty of an invasion of her royal supremacy : and, that if any thing of the same nature should be attempted for the future, she would use such means for punishing offenders as the law warranted. The prolocutor absented himself from the convocation, the archbishop pronounced sentence of contumacy against him. The lower house in a protestation declared this sentence unlawful and altogether null. Nevertheless, the prolocutor made a full submission, with which the arch-

archbishop was satisfied; and the sentence was repealed. About this period the earl of Sunderland was appointed one of the secretaries of state, in the room of Sir Charles Hedges. This change was not effected without great opposition from Harley, who was in his heart an enemy to the duke of Marlborough and all his adherents; and had already, by his secret intrigues, made considerable progress in a scheme for superseding the influence of the dutchess.

§ XVIII. The French king at this juncture seemed to be intirely abandoned by his former good fortune. He had sustained such a number of successive defeats, as had drained his kingdom of people; and his treasury was almost exhausted. He endeavoured to support the credit of his government by issuing mint-bills, in imitation of the bank-notes of England; but, notwithstanding all his precautions, they passed at a discount of three and fifty per cent. The lands lay uncultivated; the manufactures could be no longer carried on; and the subjects perished with famine. The allies, on the other hand, seemed to prosper in every quarter. They had become masters of the greatest part of the Netherlands, in consequence of the victory at Ramillies: the army of king Charles was considerably reinforced; and a scheme was formed for the conquest of Toulon, by the troops of the emperor and the duke of Savoy, supplied with a large sum of money by queen Anne, and assisted by the combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel. In a word, France seemed to be reduced to the verge of destruction, from which nothing in all probability could have saved her, but the jealousy and misconduct of the confederates. Lewis, by virtue of his capitulation with the emperor in Italy, was enabled to send such reinforcements into Spain, as turned the fortune of the war in that country; while the distractions in the council of king Charles prevented that unanimity and concurrence, without which no success can be expected. The earl of Peterborough declared against an offensive war, on account of the difficulty of finding subsistence in Castile; and advised Charles to trust to the expedition against Toulon. This opinion he sent from Italy, to which he had withdrawn.

§ XIX. Charles, however, was persuaded to penetrate once more to Madrid, and give battle to the enemy wherever they should appear. On the thirteenth day of March the army was assembled at Caudela, to the number of sixteen thousand men, under the auspices of the marquis das Minas, to whom the earl of Galway was second in command. They marched towards Yecla, and undertook the siege of Viena; but, having received intelligence that the duke of Berwick was in the neighbourhood, they advanced on the fourteenth day of April in four columns towards the town of Almanza, where the enemy were drawn up in order of battle, their number being considerably superior to that of the confederates. The battle began about two in the afternoon, and the whole front of each army was fully engaged. The English and Dutch squadrons on the left, sustained by the Portuguese horse of the second line, were overpowered after a gallant resistance. The center, consisting chiefly of battalions from Great-Britain and Holland, obliged the enemy to give way, and drove their first upon their second line; but, the Portuguese cavalry on the right being broken at the first charge, their foot betook themselves to flight; so that the English and Dutch troops being left naked on the flanks, were surrounded and attacked on every side. In this dreadful emergency, they formed themselves
into

into a square, and retired from the field of battle. By this time the men were quite spent with fatigue, and all their ammunition exhausted: they were ignorant of the country, abandoned by their horse, destitute of provision, and cut off from all hope of supply. Moved by these dismal considerations they capitulated, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war, to the amount of thirteen battalions. The Portuguese, and part of the English horse, with the infantry that guarded the baggage, retreated to Alcira, where they were joined by the earl of Galway, with about five and twenty hundred dragoons which he had brought from the field of battle. About three thousand men of the allied army were killed upon the spot, and among that number brigadier Killigrew, and many officers of distinction. The earl of Galway, who charged in person at the head of Guiscard's dragoons, received two deep cuts in the face. The marquis das Minas was run through the arm, and saw his concubine, who fought in the habit of an Amazon, killed by his side: the lords Tyrawley, Mark Ker, and colonel Clayton, were wounded: all their artillery, together with an hundred and twenty colours and standards, and about ten thousand men, were taken; so that no victory could be more complete, though it was not purchased without the loss of two thousand men slain in the action, including some officers of eminence. The duke of Berwick, who commanded the troops of king Philip, acquired a great addition of fame by his conduct and behaviour before, and during the engagement; but his authority was superseded by the duke of Orleans, who arrived in the army immediately after the battle. This prince seemed to entertain some private views of his own; for he took no effectual step to improve the victory. He began a private negotiation with the earl of Galway, during which the two armies lay inactive on the banks of the Cinca; and he concluded the campaign with the siege of Lerida, which was surrendered by capitulation on the second day of November: then the troops on both sides went into winter-quarters. The earl of Galway and the marquis das Minas embarked at Barcelona for Lisbon, and general Carpenter remained commander of the English forces quartered in Catalonia, which was now the only part of Spain that remained to king Charles.

§ XX. The attempt upon Toulon by the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene might have succeeded, if the emperor, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of the maritime powers, had not divided his army in Italy, by detaching a considerable body through the ecclesiastical state towards Naples, of which he took possession without any difficulty. Besides, ten thousand recruits destined for the Imperial forces in Italy, were detained in Germany, from an apprehension of the king of Sweden, who remained in Saxony, and seemed to be upon very indifferent terms with the emperor. With the assistance of the English and Dutch fleets the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene passed the Var on the eleventh day of July, at the head of an army of thirty thousand men, and marched directly towards Toulon, whither the artillery and ammunition were conveyed on board of the combined squadrons. They took possession of the eminences that commanded the city, and the ordnance being landed, erected batteries. From these they began to cannonade and bombard the city, while the fleet attacked and reduced two forts at the entrance of the mole; and co-operated in the siege with their great guns and bomb-ketches. The garrison was numerous, and defended the place with great vigour. They sunk ships in the entrance to the

the mole: they kept up a prodigious fire from the ramparts: they made desperate sallies; and even drove the besiegers from one of their posts with great slaughter. The French king, alarmed at this design of his enemies, ordered troops to march towards Toulon from all parts of his dominions. He countermanded the forces that were on their route to improve the victory of Almanza: a great part of the army under Villars on the Rhine was detached to Provence, and the court of Versailles declared, that the duke of Burgundy should march at the head of a strong army to the relief of Toulon. The duke of Savoy being apprised of these preparations, seeing no hope of reducing the place, and being apprehensive that his passage would be intercepted, resolved to abandon his enterprize. The artillery being reembarked, with the sick and wounded, he decamped in the night, and retreated to his own country without molestation. Then he undertook the reduction of Suza, the garrison of which surrendered at discretion. By this conquest he not only secured the key to his own dominions, but also opened to himself a free passage into Dauphiné.

§ XXI. Sir Cloudesley Shovel having left a squadron with Sir Thomas Dilkes for the Mediterranean service, set sail for England with the rest of the fleet, and was in soundings on the twenty-second day of October. About eight o'clock at night his own ship, the Association, struck upon the rocks of Scilly, and perished with every person on board. This was likewise the fate of the Eagle and the Romney: the Firebrand was dashed in pieces on the rocks; but the captain and four and twenty men saved themselves in the boat: the Phoenix was driven on shore: the Royal Anne was saved by the presence of mind and uncommon dexterity of Sir George Byng and his officers: the St. George, commanded by the lord Dursley, struck upon the rocks, but a wave set her afloat again. The admiral's body being cast ashore was stripped and buried in the sand; but afterwards discovered and brought into Plymouth, from whence it was conveyed to London and interred in Westminster-abbey. Sir Cloudesley Shovel was born of mean parentage in the county of Suffolk; but raised himself to the chief command at sea by his industry, valour, skill, and integrity. On the Upper Rhine the Allies were unprosperous. The prince of Baden was dead, and the German army so inconsiderable, that it could not defend the lines of Buhl against the marechal de Villars, who broke through this work, esteemed the rampart of Germany, reduced Raftadt, defeated a body of horse, layed the dutchy of Wirtemberg under contribution, took Stutgard and Schorndorf; and routed three thousand Germans intrenched at Lorch, under the command of general Janus, who was made prisoner. In all probability, this active officer would have made great progress towards the restoration of the elector of Bavaria, had not he been obliged to stop in the middle of his career, in consequence of his army's being diminished by sending off detachments to Provence. The Imperial army retired towards Hailbron, and the command of it was, at the request of the emperor and allies, assumed by the elector of Hanover, who restored military discipline, and acted with uncommon prudence and circumspection; but he had not force sufficient to undertake any enterprize of importance.

§ XXII. In the month of April the duke of Marlborough set out from the Hague for Leipfick with a letter from the queen to Charles XII. of Sweden, whose designs were still so mysterious, that the confederates could not help being

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alarmed at his being in the heart of Germany. The duke was pitched upon as the most proper ambassador, to soothe his vanity and penetrate into his real intention*. He found this original character, not simple, but fordid in his appearance and oeconomy, savage in his deportment, ferocious, illiterate, stubborn, implacable, and reserved. The English general assailed him on the side of his vanity, the only part by which he was accessible. "Sire (said he) I present to your majesty a letter, not from the chancery, but from the heart of the queen my mistress, and written with her own hand. Had not her sex prevented her from taking so long a journey, she would have crossed the sea to see a prince admired by the whole universe. I esteem myself happy in having the honour of assuring your majesty of my regard; and I should think it a great happiness, if my affairs would allow me to learn under so great a general as your majesty, what I want to know in the art of war." Charles was pleased with this overstrained compliment, which seems to have been calculated for a raw, unintelligent barbarian, unacquainted with the characters of mankind. He professed particular veneration for queen Anne, as well as for the person of her ambassador, and declared he would take no steps to the prejudice of the grand alliance. Nevertheless, the sincerity of this declaration has been questioned. The French court is said to have gained over his minister count Piper to their interest. Certain it is, he industriously sought occasion to quarrel with the emperor, and treated him with great insolence, until he submitted to all his demands. The treaty being concluded upon the terms he thought proper to impose, he had no longer the least shadow of pretence to continue his disputes with the court of Vienna; and therefore began his march for Poland, which was by this time over-run by the czar of Muscovy.

§ XXIII. The duke of Marlborough returning from Saxony, assembled the allied army at Anderlach near Brussels, about the middle of May; and, understanding that the elector of Bavaria and the duke of Vendome, who commanded the French forces, had quitted their lines, he advanced to Soignies, with a design to engage them in the plain of Flerus. But receiving certain intelligence, that the enemy were greatly superior to the allies in number, by the help of draughts from all their garrisons, he retreated towards Brussels, and took post at Mildert; while the French advanced to Gemblours. Both armies lay inactive until the enemy sent off a large detachment towards Provence. Then the duke of Marlborough and general Overkirk resolved to attack them in their fortified camp at Gemblours. But, they retreated with such celerity from one post to another, that the confederates could not come up with them until they were safely encamped with their right at Pont a Tresin, and their left under the cannon of Lisle, covered with the river Schelde, and secured by intrenchments. The allies chose their camp at Helchin, and foraged under the cannon of Tournay, within a league of the enemy; but nothing could induce them to hazard an engagement; and both armies went into winter-quarters at the latter end of

* When the duke arrived in his coach at the quarters of count Piper, of whom he had demanded an audience, he was given to understand, that the count was busy, and obliged to wait half an hour before the Swedish minister came down to receive him. When he appeared at last, the

duke alighted from his coach, put on his hat, passed the count without saluting him, and went aside to the wall, where having stayed some time, he returned, and accosted him with the most polite address.

October. The duke of Marlborough set out for Franckfort, where he conferred with the electors of Mentz, Hanover, and Palatine, about the operations of the next campaign: then he returned to the Hague, and having concerted the necessary measures with the deputies of the states-general, embarked for England in the beginning of November. The queen's private favour was now shifted to a new object. The dutchess of Marlborough was supplanted by Mrs. Masham, her own kinswoman, whom she had rescued from indigence and obscurity. This favourite succeeded to that ascendancy over the spirit of her sovereign, which the dutchess had formerly possessed. She was more humble, pliable, and obliging, than her first patroness, who had played the tyrant, and thwarted the queen in some of her most respected maxims. Her majesty's prepossession in favour of the Tories and high-churchmen, was no longer innocently condemned, and violently opposed. The new confidante conformed to all her prejudices, and encouraged all her designs with assent and approbation. In political intrigues she acted as associate, or rather auxiliary to Mr. Secretary Harley, who had insinuated himself into the queen's good graces; and determined to sap the credit of the duke of Marlborough and the earl of Godolphin. His aim was to unite the Tory interest under his own auspices, and expel the Whigs from the advantages they possessed under the government. His chief coadjutor in this scheme was Henry St. John, afterwards lord Bolingbroke, a man of warm imagination and elegant taste, penetrating, eloquent, ambitious, and enterprising, whose talents were rather specious than solid, and whose principles were loose and fluctuating. He was at first contented to act in an inferior capacity, subservient to the designs of the secretary; but, when he understood the full extent of his own parts and influence, he was fired with the ambition of eclipsing his principal, and from the sphere of his minister, raised himself to the character of his rival. These politicians, with the assistance of Sir Simon Harcourt, a colleague of uncommon ability and credit, exerted their endeavours to rally and reconcile the disunited Tories, who were given to understand, that the queen could no longer bear the tyranny of the Whigs: that she had been always a friend in her heart to the Tory and high-church party: and that she would now exhibit manifest proofs of her inclination. She accordingly bestowed the bishopricks of Chester and Exeter upon Sir William Dawes and Dr. Blackall, who, though otherwise of unblemished characters, had openly condemned the revolution.

§ XXV. The people in general began to be sick of the Whig ministry, whom they had formerly caressed. To them they imputed the burthens under which they groaned; burthens which they had hitherto been animated to bear by the pomp of triumph and uninterrupted success. At present they were discouraged by the battle of Almanza, the miscarriage of the expedition against Toulon, the loss of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and the fate of four ships of the line, destroyed or taken by a squadron under the command of messieurs Forbin and Du Gue Trouin, two of the most enterprising sea-officers in the French service. No new advantage had been obtained in the Netherlands: France, instead of sinking under the weight of the confederacy, seemed to rise with fresh vigour from every overthrow: the English traders had lately sustained repeated losses for want of proper convoys: the coin of the nation was visibly diminished, and the public credit began to decline. The Tories did not fail to inculcate

culcate and exaggerate these causes of discontent, and the ministry were too remiss in taking proper steps for the satisfaction of the nation. Instead of soothing by gentle measures and equal administration, the Scots, who had expressed such aversion to the union, they treated them in such a manner, as served to exasperate the spirits of that people. A stop was put to their whole commerce for two months before it was diverted into the new channel. Three months elapsed before the equivalent was remitted to that kingdom, and it was afterwards applied with the most shameful partiality. Seizures of wines and other merchandize imported from thence into England, were made in all the northern parts, with an affectation of severity and disdain: so that the generality of the Scottish nation loudly exclaimed against the union and the government. The Jacobites were again in commotion. They held conferences: they maintained a correspondence with the court of St. Germain's: a great number of the most rigid Whigs entered so far into their measures, as to think a revolution was absolutely necessary to retrieve the liberties, independence, and commerce of their country: the pretender's birth-day was publicly celebrated in many different parts of the kingdom; and every thing seemed to portend an universal revolt. Ireland continued quiet under the administration of the earl of Pembroke, whom the queen had appointed lord-lieutenant of that kingdom. A parliament having met at Dublin in the month of July, presented addresses of congratulation to her majesty on the late union of the two kingdoms. The commons having inspected the public accounts, resolved, That the kingdom had been put to excessive charge by means of great arrears of rent returned by the late trustees, as due out of the forfeited estates, which returns were false and unjust: and, That an humble representation should be layed before her majesty on this subject. They passed another laudable resolution in favour of their own manufactures. They granted the necessary supplies, and having finished several bills for the royal assent, were prorogued on the twenty-ninth day of October.

§ XXVI. It was on the twenty-third of the same month that the first parliament of Great Britain assembled at Westminster, when the queen in her speech to both houses palliated the miscarriages in Provence and in Spain; representing the necessity of making further efforts against the common enemy; and exhorted them to be upon their guard against those who endeavoured to sow jealousies in the commonwealth. The commons in their address expressed the continuance of their former zeal and devotion to her majesty's government; but, in the house of lords the earl of Wharton expatiated upon the scarcity of money, the decay of trade, the mismanagement of the navy. He was seconded by lord Somers and the leaders of the Tory party, who proposed, that previous to every measure, they should consider the state of the nation. The design of Wharton and Somers was to raise the earl of Orford once more to the head of the admiralty; and the Tories, who did not perceive their drift, hoped in the course of the inquiry to fix the blame of all mismanagement upon the Whig ministers. A day being fixed for this examination, the house received a petition from the sheriffs and merchants of London, complaining of great losses by sea, for want of cruizers and convoys; and these complaints were proved by witnesses. The report was sent to the lord-admiral, who answered all the articles separately: then the Tories moved for an address, in which the

blame of the miscarriages might be layed upon the ministry and cabinet-council; but the motion was over-ruled, and the queen was presented with a bare representation of the facts, and desired that she would take the proper measures for preventing such evils for the future. The commons made some progress in an inquiry of the same nature; and brought in a bill for the better securing the trade of the kingdom. They cheerfully granted the supplies for the service of the ensuing year. They prepared another bill for repealing the Scottish act of security, and that about peace and war, which had excited such jealousy in the English nation. They resolved, That there should be but one privy-council in the kingdom of Great-Britain: That the militia of Scotland should be put on the same footing with that of England: That the powers of the justices of the peace should be the same through the whole island: That the lords of justiciary in Scotland should go circuits twice in the year: That the writs for electing Scottish members to serve in the house of commons, should be directed, and returns made in the same manner as practised in England. An act being formed on these resolutions, they brought in a bill for preserving the trade with Portugal: then they considered the state of the war in Spain. When the queen passed these bills, she recommended an augmentation in the aids and auxiliaries granted to the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy.

§ XXVII. This intimation produced a debate in the house of lords, on the affairs of Spain. The services of the earl of Peterborough were extolled by the earl of Rochester and lord Haverham, who levelled some oblique reflections at the earl of Galway. Several lords enlarged upon the necessity of carrying on the war until king Charles should be fully established upon the throne of Spain. The earl of Peterborough said, they ought to contribute nine shillings in the pound rather than make peace on any other terms: he declared himself ready to return to Spain, and serve even under the earl of Galway. The earl of Rochester repeated a maxim of the old duke of Schomberg, That attacking France in the Netherlands was like taking a bull by the horns. He therefore proposed, that the allies should stand on the defensive in Flanders, and detach from thence fifteen or twenty thousand men into Catalonia. He was seconded by the earl of Nottingham, but warmly opposed by the duke of Marlborough, who urged, that the great towns in Brabant which he had conquered, could not be preserved without a considerable number of men: and, that if the French should gain any advantage in Flanders from their superiority in point of number, the discontented party in Holland, which was very numerous, and bore with impatience the burthen of the war, would not fail crying aloud for peace. Being challenged by Rochester, to shew how troops could be procured for the service of Italy and Spain, he assured the house, that measures had been already concerted with the emperor, for forming an army of forty thousand men under the duke of Savoy, and for sending powerful succours to king Charles. This declaration finished the debate, which issued in an affectionate address to her majesty. The lords resolved, That no peace could be safe and honourable for her majesty and her allies, if Spain and the Spanish West-Indies were suffered to continue in the power of the house of Bourbon. They presented an address, in which they desired she would press the emperor to send powerful succours to Spain, under the command of prince Eugene, with all possible expedition, to make good his contract with the duke of Savoy, and strengthen the army on the

the Rhine, which was now happily put under the conduct of that wise and valiant prince the elector of Hanover. The commons concurred in this remonstrance, in consequence of which the queen desired the emperor to bestow the command in Spain upon prince Eugene. The court of Vienna, however, did not comply with this request; but sent thither count Staremberg, who, of all the German generals, was next to the prince in military reputation. The commons now proceeded to consider of ways and means, and actually established funds for raising the supply, which amounted to the enormous sum of six millions.

§ XXVIII. At this period Mr. Harley's character incurred suspicion from the treachery of William Gregg, an inferior clerk in his office, who was detected in a correspondence with monsieur Chamillard the French king's minister. When his practices were detected, he made an ample confession, and pleading guilty to his indictment at the Old-Bailey, was condemned to death for high-treason. At the same time, John Bara and Alexander Valiere were committed to Newgate, for corresponding with the enemy; and Claude Baud, secretary to the duke of Savoy's minister, was, at the request of his master, apprehended for traitorous practices against her majesty and her government. A committee of seven lords being appointed to examine these delinquents, made a report to the house, which was communicated to the queen in an address, importing, that Gregg had discovered secrets of state to the French minister: that Alexander Valiere and John Bara had managed a correspondence with the governors and commissaries of Calais and Boulogne; and, in all probability, discovered to the enemy the stations of the British cruizers, the strength of their convoys, and the times at which the merchant-ships proceeded on their voyages: that all the papers in the office of Mr. secretary Harley had been for a considerable time exposed to the view of the meanest clerks; and that the perusal of all the letters to and from the French prisoners, had been chiefly trusted to Gregg, a person of a very suspicious character, and known to be extremely indigent. The queen granted a reprieve to this man, in hope of his making some important discovery: but he really knew nothing of consequence to the nation. He was an indigent Scot, who had been employed as a spy in his own country, and now offered his services to Chamillard, with a view of being rewarded for his treachery: but he was discovered before he had reaped any fruits from his correspondence. As he had no secrets of importance to impart, he was executed at Tyburn, where he delivered a paper to the sheriff, in which he declared Mr. Harley intirely ignorant of all his treasonable connections, notwithstanding some endeavours that were made to engage him in an accusation of that minister.

§ XXIX. The queen had refused to admit the earl of Peterborough into her presence, until he should have vindicated his conduct, of which king Charles had complained in divers letters. He was eagerly desirous of a parliamentary inquiry. His military proceedings, his negotiations, his disposal of the remittances, were taken into consideration by both houses: but he produced such a number of witnesses and original papers to justify every transaction, that his character triumphed in the inquiry, which was dropped before it produced any resolution in parliament. Then they took cognizance of the state of affairs in Spain, and found there had been a great deficiency in the English troops

at the battle of Almanza. This, however, was explained so much to their satisfaction, that they voted an address to the queen, thanking her for having taken measures to restore the affairs in Spain, and provide foreign troops for that service. The bill for rendering the union more complete met with a vigorous opposition in the house of lords, from the court-party, on account of the clause enacting, That, after the first of May, there should be but one privy-council in the kingdom of Great Britain. The ministry finding it was strenuously supported by all the Tories, and a considerable number of the other faction, would have compromised the difference, by proposing that the privy-council of Scotland should continue to the first day of October. They hinted this expedient in hope of being able to influence the ensuing elections: but their design being palpable, the motion was over-ruled, and the bill received the royal assent: a court of exchequer, however, was erected in Scotland upon the model of that in England. The execution of Gregg, and the examination of Valiere and Bara, who had acted as smugglers to the coast of France, under the protection of Harley, to whom they engaged for intelligence, affected the credit of that minister, who was reviled and traduced by the emissaries of the Whig ministers. The duke of Marlborough and the earl of Godolphin being apprised of his secret practices with Mrs. Masham, wrote to the queen that they could serve her no longer, should Mr. Harley continue in the post of secretary. Being summoned to the cabinet-council, they waited on her in person, and expostulated on the same subject. She endeavoured to appease their resentment with soft persuasion, which had no effect; and, when they retired from court, to the astonishment of all the spectators, she repaired in person to the council. There Mr. secretary Harley began to explain the cause of their meeting, which was some circumstance relating to foreign affairs. The duke of Somerset said he did not see how they could deliberate on such matters while the general and treasurer were absent: the other members observed a sullen silence; so that the council broke up, and the queen found herself in danger of being abandoned by her ministers. Next day her majesty sent for the duke of Marlborough, and told him that Harley should immediately resign his office, which was conferred upon Mr. Henry Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer: but she deeply resented the deportment of the duke and the earl of Godolphin, from whom she intirely withdrew her confidence. Sir Simon Harcourt attorney-general, Sir Thomas Mansel comptroller of the household, and Mr. St. John, relinquished their several posts upon the disgrace of Harley.

§ XXX. The kingdom was at this period alarmed with a threatened invasion from France. The court of St. Germain's had sent over one colonel Hooke with credentials to Scotland, to learn the situation, number, and ability, of the pretender's friends in that country. This minister, by his misconduct, produced a division among the Scottish Jacobites. Being a creature of the duke of Perth, he attached himself wholly to the duke of Athole, and those other zealous partisans who were bent upon receiving the pretender without conditions; and he neglected the duke of Hamilton, the earl Marischal, and other adherents of that house, who adopted the more moderate principles avowed by the earl of Middleton. At his return to France, he made such a favourable report of the disposition and power of the Scottish nation, that Lewis resolved to equip an armament and send over the pretender to that kingdom. His pre-
tence

tence was to establish that prince on the throne of his ancestors : but his real aim was to make a division from the Netherlands, and excite a revolt in Great Britain, which should hinder queen Anne from exerting herself against France on the continent. He began to make preparations for this expedition at Dunkirk, where a squadron was assembled under the command of the chevalier de Fourbin ; and a body of land-forces were embarked with monsieur de Gace, afterwards known by the appellation of the marechal de Matignon. The pretender, who had assumed the name of the chevalier de St. George, was furnished with services of gold and silver plate, sumptuous tents, rich cloaths for his life-guards, splendid liveries, and all sorts of necessaries, even to profusion. Lewis, at parting, presented him with a sword studded with valuable diamonds, and repeated what he had formerly said to this adventurer's father : " He hoped he should never see him again." The pope contributed to the expence of this expedition, and accommodated him with divers religious mottos, which were wrought upon his colours and standards. Queen Anne being informed of these preparations, and the design of the French monarch, communicated to the commons the advices which she had received from Holland and the Netherlands, touching the destination of the Dunkirk armament ; and both houses concurred in an address, assuring her they would assist her majesty with their lives and fortunes, against the pretended prince of Wales, and all her other enemies. Then they passed a bill, enacting, That the oath of abjuration should be tendered to all persons, and such as refused to take it should be in the condition of convicted recusants. By another, they suspended the Habeas corpus act till October, with relation to persons apprehended by the government on suspicion of treasonable practices. The pretender and his adherents were proclaimed traitors and rebels ; and a bill was passed, discharging the clans of Scotland from all vassalage to those chiefs who should take up arms against her majesty. Transports were hired to bring over ten British battalions from Ostend ; and a large fleet being equipped with incredible diligence, sailed from Deal towards Dunkirk, under the conduct of Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, and lord Dursley. The French imagined that Leake had sailed to Lisbon, and that Britain was unprovided of ships of war ; so that they were amazed and confounded when this fleet appeared off Mardyke : a stop was immediately put to the embarkation of their troops : frequent expresses were dispatched to Paris : the count de Fourbin represented to the French king the little probability of succeeding in this enterprize, and the danger that would attend the attempt : but he received positive orders to embark the forces, and set sail with the first favourable wind.

§ XXXI. The British fleet being forced from their station by severe weather on the fourteenth day of March, the French squadron sailed on the seventeenth from the road of Dunkirk ; but the wind shifting, it anchored in Newport-pits, till the nineteenth in the evening, when they set sail again with a fair breeze, steering their course for Scotland. Sir George Byng having received advice of their departure, from an Ostend vessel sent out for that purpose by major-general Cadogan, gave chase to the enemy, after having detached a squadron under admiral Baker to convoy the troops that were embarked at Ostend for England. On the tenth day of March, the queen went to the house of peers, where, in a speech to both houses, she told them that the

the French fleet had sailed; that Sir George Byng was in pursuit of them; and that ten battalions of her troops were expected every day in England. This intimation was followed by two very warm addresses from the lords and commons, in which they repeated their assurances of standing by her against all her enemies; exhorted her to persevere in supporting the common cause, notwithstanding this petty attempt to disturb her dominions; and levelled some severe insinuations against those who endeavoured to foment jealousies between her majesty and her most faithful servants. Addresses on the same occasion were sent up from different parts of the kingdom; so that the queen seemed to look with contempt upon the designs of the enemy. Several regiments of foot, with some squadrons of cavalry, began their march for Scotland; while the earl of Leven, commander in chief of the forces in that country, and governor of the castle of Edinburgh, hastened thither to put that fortress in a posture of defence, and to make the proper dispositions to oppose the pretender at his landing. But the vigilance of Sir George Byng rendered all these precautions unnecessary. He sailed directly to the frith of Edinburgh, where he arrived almost as soon as the enemy, who immediately took the advantage of a land breeze, and bore away with all the sail they could carry. The English admiral gave chase; and the Salisbury, one of their ships, was boarded and taken. At night monsieur de Fourbin altered his course; so that next day they were out of reach of the English squadron. The pretender desired they would proceed to the northward, and land him at Inverness, and Fourbin seemed willing to gratify his request; but the wind changing, and blowing in their teeth with great violence, he represented the danger of attempting to prosecute the voyage; and, with the consent of the chevalier de St. George and his general, returned to Dunkirk, after having been tossed about a whole month in very tempestuous weather. In the mean time, Sir George Byng sailed up to Leith road, where he received the freedom of the city of Edinburgh in a golden box, as a testimony of gratitude for his having delivered them from the dreadful apprehensions under which they laboured.

§ XXXII. Certain it is, the pretender could not have chosen a more favourable opportunity for making a descent upon Scotland. The people in general were disaffected to the government on account of the union: the regular troops under Leven did not exceed five and twenty hundred men, and even great part of these would in all probability have joined the invader: the castle of Edinburgh was destitute of ammunition, and would in all appearance have surrendered at the first summons; in which case the Jacobites must have been masters of the equivalent money lodged in that fortress: a good number of Dutch ships loaded with cannon, small arms, ammunition, and a large sum of money, had been driven on shore in the shire of Angus, where they would have been seized by the friends of the pretender, had the French troops been landed; and all the adherents of that house were ready to appear in arms. In England, such a demand was made upon the bank, by those who favoured the invasion, and those who dreaded a revolution, that the public credit seemed to be in danger. The commons resolved, That whoever designedly endeavoured to destroy or lessen the public credit, especially at a time when the kingdom was threatened with an invasion, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour, and an enemy to her majesty and the kingdom. The lord-treasurer signified

signified to the directors of the bank, that her majesty would allow, for six months, an interest of six per cent. upon their bills, which was double of the usual rate; and considerable sums of money were offered to them by this nobleman, as well as by the duke of Marlborough, Newcastle, and Somerset. The French, Dutch, and Jewish merchants, whose interest was in a peculiar manner connected with the safety of the bank, exerted themselves for its support; and the directors having called in twenty per cent. upon their capital stock, were enabled to answer all the demands of the timorous and disaffected. All the nobleman and persons of distinction in Scotland, suspected of an attachment to the court of St. Germain's, were apprehended, and either imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, or brought up to London, to be confined in the Tower or in Newgate. Among these was the duke of Hamilton, who found means to make his peace with the Whig ministers; and, in a little time, the other prisoners were admitted to bail *.

§ XXXIII. On the first day of April, the parliament was prorogued, and afterwards dissolved by proclamation. Writs were issued out for new elections, together with a proclamation, commanding all the peers of North-Britain to assemble at Holyrood-house in Edinburgh, on the seventeenth day of June, to elect sixteen peers to represent them in the ensuing British parliament, pursuant to the twenty-second article of the treaty of union. After the dissolution of the parliament, the lords Griffin, Clermont, two sons of the earl of Middleton, and several Scottish and Irish officers, who had been taken on board of the Salisbury, were brought to London, and imprisoned in the Tower or in Newgate. Lord Griffin being attainted by outlawry, for high-treason committed in the reign of king William, was brought to the bar in the court of king's-bench, and a rule made for his execution: but he was reprieved from month to month, until he died of a natural death in prison. The privy-council of Scotland was dissolved, the duke of Queensberry created a British peer, by the title of baron of Rippon, marquis of Beverley, and duke of Dover; and the office of secretary at war, vacant by the resignation of Henry St. John, was bestowed upon Robert Walpole, a gentleman who had rendered himself considerable in the house of commons, and whose conduct we shall have occasion to mention more at large in the sequel. About the same time a proclamation was issued for distributing prizes in certain proportions,

* Three Camisars, or protestants from the Cevennois, having made their escape, and repaired to London, acquired about this time the appellation of French prophets, from their enthusiastic gesticulations, effusions, and convulsions, and even formed a sect of their countrymen. The French refugees, scandalized at their behaviour, and authorized by the bishop of London, as superior of the French congregations, resolved to inquire into the mission of these pretended prophets, whose names were Elias Marion, John Cavallier, and Durand Page. They were declared impostors and counterfeiters. Notwithstanding this decision, which was confirmed by the bishops, they continued their assemblies

in Soho, under the countenance of Sir Richard Bulkley and John Lacy. They reviled the ministers of the established church; they denounced judgments against the city of London, and the whole British nation; and published their predictions, composed of unintelligible jargon. Then they were prosecuted at the expence of the French churches, as disturbers of the public peace, and false prophets. They were sentenced to pay a fine of twenty marks each, and stand twice on a scaffold, with papers on their breasts denoting their offence: a sentence which was executed accordingly at Charing-cross and the Royal Exchange.

Burnet.
Hare.
Boyer.
Lockhart.
Feuquieres.
Daniel.
Hist. of the D.
of Marlbo-
rough.
Cond. of the
Dutchess of
Marlborough.
Friend.
Burchet.
Tindal.
Lives of the
Admirals.
Voltaire.

An. Ch. 1708.

to the different officers and seamen of the royal navy; a regulation that still prevails.

§ XXXIV. The French king, not at all discouraged by the miscarriage of his projected invasion, resolved to improve the advantages he had gained on the continent during the last campaign; and indeed he made efforts that were altogether incredible, considering the consumptive state of his finances. He assembled a prodigious army in the Netherlands, under the command of the duke of Burgundy, assisted by Vendome, and accompanied by the duke of Berry and the chevalier de St. George. The elector of Bavaria was destined to the command of the troops upon the Rhine, where he was seconded by the duke of Berwick; and the marechal de Villeroy was sent to conduct the forces in Dauphiné. About the latter end of March, the duke of Marlborough repaired to the Hague, where he was met by prince Eugene, and these two celebrated generals conferred with the pensionary Heinsius, and the deputies of the states-general. Then they made an excursion to Hanover, where they prevailed upon the elector to be satisfied with acting upon the defensive in his command on the Rhine, and spare part of his forces, that the confederates might be enabled to make vigorous efforts in the Netherlands. The prince proceeded to Vienna, and the duke returned to Flanders, where he assembled the army towards the latter end of May. On the twenty-fifth day of that month, the duke of Vendome marched to Soignies, and posted himself within three leagues of the confederates, who were encamped at Billighen and Halle. The duke of Marlborough having received intelligence that the enemy were on their march by Bois-Seigneur-Isaac to Braine-la-Leu, concluded their intention was to take post on the banks of the Deule, to hinder the allies from passing that river, and to occupy Louvaine. He therefore commanded the army to march all night, and on the third day of June encamped at Terbank, general Overkirk fixing his quarters in the suburbs of Louvaine, while the French advanced no farther than Genap and Braine-la-Leu. As they were more numerous than the confederates, and headed by a prince of the blood, the generals of the allies at first expected that they would hazard a battle: but their scheme was to retrieve by stratagem the places they had lost in Flanders. The elector of Bavaria had rendered himself extremely popular in the great towns: the count de Bergeyck, who had great interest among them, was devoted to the house of Bourbon: the inhabitants of the great cities were naturally inconstant and mutinous, and particularly dissatisfied with the Dutch government. The French generals resolved to profit by these circumstances. A detachment of their troops, under the brigadiers la Faille and Pasteur, surprised the city of Ghent, in which there was no garrison; and, at the same time, the count de la Motte, with a strong body of forces, appeared before Bruges, which was surrendered to him without opposition: then he made a fruitless attempt upon Damme, and marched to the little fort of Plassendahl, which he took by assault. The duke of Marlborough was no sooner apprised of the enemy's having sent a strong detachment towards Tubize, than he marched from Terbank, passed the canal, and encamped at Anderlech. The French crossed the Senne at Halle and Tubize, and the allies resolved to attack them next morning; but they passed the Dender in the night with great expedition; and the duke of Marlborough next day encamped at Asche, where he was joined by prince Eugene, who had marched with

with a considerable reinforcement of Germans from the Moselle. The enemy understanding that this general was on his march, determined to reduce Oudenarde, the only pass on the Schelde possessed by the allies; and invested it on the ninth day of July, hoping to subdue it before the allies could be reinforced. The duke of Marlborough was immediately in motion, and made a surprising march from Asche, as far as Herfelingen, where he was joined by the reinforcement. Then he took possession of the strong camp at Lessines, which the French had intended to occupy in order to cover the siege of Oudenarde.

§ XXXV. Thus disappointed, the French generals altered their resolution, abandoned Oudenarde, and began to pass the Schelde at Gavre. The two generals of the confederates were bent upon bringing them to an engagement. Cadogan was sent with sixteen battalions and eight squadrons to repair the roads, and throw bridges over the Schelde below Oudenarde. The army was in motion at eight o'clock, and marched with such expedition, that by two in the afternoon the horse had reached the bridges over which Cadogan and his detachment were passing. The enemy had posted seven battalions in the village of Heynem, situated on the banks of the Schelde, and the French household-troops were drawn up in order of battle on the adjacent plain, opposite to a body of troops under major-general Rantzaw, who were posted behind a rivulet that ran into the river. The duke of Vendome intended to attack the confederates when one half of their army should have passed the Schelde; but he was thwarted by the duke of Burgundy, who seemed to be perplexed and irresolute. He had ordered the troops to halt in their march to Gavre, as if he had not yet formed any resolution; and now he recalled the squadrons from the plain, determined to avoid a battle. Vendome remonstrated against this conduct, and the dispute continued till three in the afternoon, when the greater part of the allied army had passed the Schelde without opposition. Then the duke of Burgundy declared for an engagement, and Vendome submitted to his opinion with great reluctance, as the opportunity was now lost and the army unformed. Major-general Grimaldi was ordered to attack Rantzaw with the horse of the king's household, who finding the rivulet marshy, refused to charge, and retired to the right. Mean while Cadogan attacked the village of Heynem, which he took, with three of the seven battalions by which it was guarded. Rantzaw passing the rivulet, advanced into the plain, and drove before them several squadrons of the enemy. In this attack, the electoral prince of Hanover, his present majesty, charged at the head of Bulau's dragoons with great intrepidity. His horse was shot under him, and colonel Luschky killed by his side. Divers French regiments were intirely broken, and a good number of officers and standards fell into the hands of the Hanoverians. The confederates continued still passing the river; but few or none of the infantry were come up till five in the afternoon, when the duke of Argyle arrived with twenty battalions, which immediately sustained a vigorous assault from the enemy. By this time the French were drawn up in order of battle; and the allies being formed as they passed the river, both armies were engaged through the whole extent of their lines about seven in the evening. Europe had not for many years produced two such noble armies: above one hundred general officers appeared in the field, and two hundred and fifty colonels fought at the head of their respective regiments. The number of the French exceeded that of the

allies by twelve thousand : but their generals were divided ; their forces ill disposed, and their men dispirited by the uninterrupted success of their adversaries. They seemed from the beginning averse to an engagement, and acted in hurry and trepidation. Nevertheless, the action was maintained until general Overkirk and count Tilly, who commanded on the left of the allies, obliged the fight of the enemy to give ground ; and the prince of Orange with count Oxenstern attacked them in flank with the Dutch infantry. Then they began to give way, and retired in great confusion. The duke of Vendome alighting from his horse, rallied the broken battalions, called the officers by name, conjured them to maintain the honour of their country, and animated the men with his voice and example. But, notwithstanding all his endeavours, they were forced back among the inclosures in great confusion. Some regiments were cut in pieces : others desired to capitulate ; and, if the darkness had not interposed, their whole army would have been ruined. The night coming on, so that it became impossible to distinguish friends from enemies, the two generals ordered the troops to cease firing, and the enemy took this opportunity of escaping, by the road which leads from Oudenarde to Ghent. The duke of Vendome seeing the French forces flying in the utmost terror and precipitation, formed a rear-guard of about five and twenty squadrons and as many battalions, with which he secured the retreat. To this precaution the safety of their army was entirely owing ; for at day-break the duke of Marlborough sent a large detachment of horse and foot under the lieutenant-generals Bulau and Lumley, to pursue the fugitives ; but the hedges and ditches that skirted the road were lined with the French grenadiers in such a manner, that the cavalry could not form, and they were obliged to desist. The French reached Ghent about eight in the morning, and marching through the city, encamped at Lovendegen on the canal. There they thought proper to cast up intrenchments, upon which they planted their artillery which they had left at Gavre with their heavy baggage. About three thousand were slain on the field of battle : two thousand deserted, and about seven thousand were taken, including a great number of officers, together with ten pieces of cannon, above an hundred standards and colours, and four thousand horses. The loss of the allies did not amount to two thousand men ; nor was one officer of distinction killed on their side during the whole engagement. After the confederates had rested two days on the field of battle, a detachment was ordered to level the French lines between Ypres and the Lys : another was sent to raise contributions as far as Arras, and struck terror even into the city of Paris. While the allies plundered the province of Picardy, a detachment from the French army, under the chevalier de Rozen, made an irruption into Dutch Flanders ; broke through the lines of Bervliet, which had been left unguarded, and made a descent upon the island of Casandt, which they laid under contribution.

§ XXXVI. The generals of the allies now undertook an enterprize which, in the opinion of the French generals, favoured of rashness and inconsiderate self-sufficiency. This was the siege of Lisle, the strongest town in Flanders, provided with all necessaries, store of ammunition, and a garrison reinforced by one and twenty battalions of the best troops in France, commanded by marechal de Boufflers in person. But these were not the principal difficulties which the allies encountered. The enemy had cut off the communication be-

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tween them and their magazines at Antwerp and Sas-Van-Ghent ; so that they were obliged to bring their convoys from Ostend along a narrow causeway, exposed to the attack of an army more numerous than that with which they sat down before Lisle. On the thirteenth of August, it was invested on one side by prince Eugene, and on the other by the prince of Orange-Nassau, stadtholder of Friesland ; while the duke of Marlborough encamped at Helchin, to cover the siege. The trenches were opened on the twenty-second day of August, and carried on with that vigour and alacrity which is always inspired by victory and success. The dukes of Burgundy and Vendome being now joined by the duke of Berwick, resolved, if possible, to relieve the place ; and made several marches and counter-marches for this purpose. Marlborough being apprised of their intention, marched out of his lines to give them battle, being reinforced by a considerable body of troops from the siege, including Augustus, king of Poland, and the landgrave of Hesse as volunteers : but the enemy declined an engagement, and the allies returned to their camp, which they fortified with an intrenchment. On the seventh day of September, the besiegers took by assault the counterscarp of Lisle, after an obstinate action, in which they lost a thousand men. The French generals continued to hover about the camp of the confederates, which they actually cannonaded ; and the duke of Marlborough again formed his army in order of battle : but their design was only to harass the allies with continual alarms, and interrupt the operations of the siege. They endeavoured to surprise the town of Aeth, by means of a secret correspondence with the inhabitants ; but the conspiracy was discovered before it took effect. Then they cut off all communication between the besiegers and the Schelde, the banks of which they fortified with strong intrenchments, and a prodigious number of cannon ; so that now all the stores and necessaries were sent to the camp of the confederates from Ostend. On the twenty-first day of September prince Eugene, who was in the trenches, seeing the troops driven by the enemy from a lodgment they had made on the counterscarp of the Tenaile, rallied and led them back to the charge ; but being wounded over the left eye with a musket-shot, he was obliged to retire, and for some days the duke of Marlborough sustained the whole command, both in the siege and of the covering army. On the twenty-third, the Tenaile was stormed, and a lodgment made along the covered-way. Marechal Boufflers having found means to inform the duke of Vendome that his ammunition was almost expended, this general detached the chevalier de Luxemburg with a body of horse and dragoons to supply the place with gun-powder, every man carrying a bag of forty pounds upon the crupper. They were discovered in passing through the camp of the allies, and pursued to the barrier of the town, into which about three hundred were admitted ; but a great number were killed by the confederates, or miserably destroyed by the explosion of the powder which they carried.

§ XXXVII. The next attempt of the French generals was to intercept a convoy from Ostend. The count de la Motte marched from Ghent with about two and twenty thousand men to attack this convoy, which was guarded by six thousand of the allies, commanded by major-general Webb, who made such an admirable disposition by the wood of Wynendale, and received the enemy with such a close fire, that, after a very warm action that lasted two hours, they

they retired in the utmost confusion, notwithstanding their great superiority in number, leaving six thousand men killed upon the field of battle; the loss of the allies not exceeding nine hundred and twelve officers and soldiers. This was the most honourable exploit performed during the whole war, and of such consequence to the confederates, that if the convoy had been taken, the siege must have been raised. The duke of Vendome ordered the dykes between Bruges and Newport to be cut, so as to lay the whole country under water, in hope of destroying the communication between Ostend and the camp of the confederates; and, after a regular siege, he took colonel Caulfield and a body of British troops posted in the village of Lessinghen, by whose means the convoys had been forwarded to the duke of Marlborough. On the twenty-second of October, marechal Boufflers desired to capitulate for the town of Lisle: next day the articles were signed: on the twenty-fifth the allies took possession of the place, and the marechal retired into the citadel with the remains of his garrison, which, from twelve thousand, was reduced to less than the half of that number. A negotiation was begun for the surrender of the citadel: but Boufflers made such extravagant demands as were rejected with disdain. Hostilities were renewed on the twenty-ninth day of the month; and the earl of Stair was detached to provide corn for the army in the districts of Furnes and Dixmuyde. During these transactions, velt-marechal Overkirk died at Rouffelaer, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, after having, in above thirty campaigns, exhibited innumerable proofs of uncommon courage, ability, and moderation. The duke of Vendome did not yet despair of obliging the confederates to abandon their enterprize: the French ministers at Rome and Venice publicly declared the allied army was cooped up in such a manner, that it must either raise the siege or be famished. The elector of Bavaria, with a detachment of ten thousand men, marched to Brussels and attacked the counterscarp with incredible fury; but was repulsed by the garrison under the command of general Paschal, and retired with precipitation, when he understood that the duke of Marlborough was in motion to relieve the place. This nobleman and prince Eugene no sooner understood the danger to which Brussels was exposed, than they marched with the covering-army to the Schelde, which they passed on pontoons without opposition, notwithstanding the formidable works which the French had raised. They now abandoned them with precipitation, to the surprize of the confederates, who had laid their account with the loss of a thousand men in the attack. Having passed the river between Eskenaffe and Hauterive, as well as at other places, they marched to Oudenarde, where they received intelligence that the elector had retreated. Then prince Eugene returned to Lisle, and the duke of Marlborough proceeded to Brussels, where he was received with joy and acclamation. He afterwards took post at Oudenarde, so as to maintain a communication with prince Eugene.

§ XXXVIII. The besiegers having made lodgments and raised batteries on the second counterscarp of the citadel, sent a message to Boufflers, intimating, that if he would surrender before the opening of the batteries, he should have an honourable capitulation; otherwise he and his garrison must be made prisoners of war. He chose to avoid the last part of the alternative: hostages were exchanged on the eighth day of December, and the articles signed on the tenth; when the marechal and his garrison marched out with the honours of war,

war, and were conducted to Doway. In this great enterprize, spirit and perseverance made amends for want of foresight and skill, which was flagrant on the side of the confederates; though their success was owing in a great measure to the improvidence and misconduct of the besieged. The French generals never dreamed that the allies would attempt any thing of consequence after the reduction of Lille, considering the advanced season of the year, and therefore they returned to Paris, after having distributed their army into winter-quarters. But their indefatigable antagonists were determined to strike another stroke of importance before their forces should separate. On the twentieth day of December they invested the city of Ghent on all sides; and on the thirtieth, when the batteries were ready to open, the count de la Motte, who commanded the garrison, desired to capitulate. On the third day of the next month he marched out with thirty battalions and sixteen squadrons, which were conducted to Tournay; while the duke of Argyle, with six British battalions, took possession of the town and citadel. Then the enemy abandoned Bruges, Plassendahl, and Lessingen; and the generals of the allies having settled the plan of winter-quarters, repaired to Holland, leaving the forces under the command of count Tilly. The French king was confounded and dismayed at these conquests in the Netherlands. Nor was he easy on the side of Dauphiné, where, in spite of all the vigilance and activity of Villars, the duke of Savoy made himself master of the important fortresses of Exilles, La Perouse, the valley of St. Martin, and Fenestrelles; so that by the end of the campaign he had secured a barrier to his own frontiers, and opened a way into the French provinces, after having made a diversion in favour of king Charles, by obliging the enemy to send a strong detachment from Rouffillon to the assistance of Villars.

§XXXIX. The campaign in Catalonia was productive of a great event. Count Guido de Staremberg arrived at Barcelona on the last day of April; but the Imperial troops brought from Italy by admiral Leake, did not land in time to relieve Tortosa, which the duke of Orleans besieged and took, together with Denia, the garrison of which were made prisoners of war, contrary to the articles of capitulation. These losses, however, were abundantly made up to the allies by the conquest of Sardinia and Minorca. Sir John Leake, having taken on board a handful of troops, under the conduct of the marquis D'Alconzel, set sail for Cagliari, and summoned the viceroy to submit to king Charles. As he did not send an immediate answer, the admiral began to bombard the city, and the inhabitants compelled him to surrender at discretion. The greater part of the garrison enlisted themselves in the service of Charles. The deputies of the states being assembled by the marquis D'Alconzel, acknowledged that prince as their sovereign, and agreed to furnish his army with thirty thousand sacks of corn, which were accordingly transported to Catalonia, where there was a great scarcity of provision. Major-general Stanhope having planned the conquest of Minorca, and concerted with the admiral the measures necessary to put it in execution, obtained from count Staremberg a few battalions of Spaniards, Italians, and Portuguese, embarked at Barcelona with a fine train of British artillery, accompanied by brigadier Wade and colonel Petit, an engineer of great reputation. They landed on the island about two miles from St. Philip's fort, on the twenty-sixth of August, with about eight hundred marines, which augmented.

mented their number to about three thousand. Next day they erected batteries; and general Stanhope ordered a number of arrows to be shot into the place, to which papers were affixed, written in the Spanish and French languages, containing threats, that all the garrison should be sent to the mines, if they would not surrender before the batteries were finished. The garrison consisted of a thousand Spaniards and six hundred French marines, commanded by colonel la Jonquiere, who imagined that the number of the besiegers amounted to at least ten thousand; so artfully had they been drawn up in sight of the enemy. The batteries began to play, and in a little time demolished four towers that served as outworks to the fort: then they made a breach in the outward wall, through which brigadier Wade, at the head of the grenadiers, stormed a redoubt, with such extraordinary valour as struck the besieged with consternation. On the second or third day they thought proper to beat a parley, and capitulate, on condition, That they should march out with the honours of war: That the Spaniards should be transported to Murcia, and the French to Toulon. These last, however, were detained by way of reprisal for the garrison of Denia. The Spanish governor was so mortified when he learned the real number of the besiegers, that on his arrival at Murcia he threw himself out of a window in despair, and was killed upon the spot. La Jonquiere was confined for life, and all the French officers incurred their master's displeasure. Fort St. Philip being thus reduced, to the amazement of all Europe, and the garrison of Port Fornelles having surrendered themselves prisoners to the admirals Leake and Whitaker, the inhabitants gladly submitted to the English government, for king Philip had oppressed and deprived them of their privileges; and general Stanhope appointed colonel Petit governor of Fort St. Philip, and deputy-governor of the whole island. After this important conquest he returned to the army in Spain, where an unsuccessful attempt to surprise Tortosa finished the operations of the campaign.

§ XL. The British fleet not only contributed to the reduction of Minorca, but likewise overawed the pope, who had endeavoured to form a league of the princes in Italy against the emperor. This pontiff had manifested his partiality to the house of Bourbon in such a palpable manner, that his Imperial majesty ordered monsieur de Bonneval to march with the troops that were in Italy, reinforced by those belonging to the duke of Modena, and invade the duchy of Ferrara. He accordingly took possession of Comacchio and some other places, pretending they were allodial estates belonging to the duke of Modena, and fiefs of the emperor, to which the holy see had no lawful claim. The viceroy of Naples was forbid to remit any money to Rome; and the council of the kingdom drew up a long memorial, containing the pretensions of his catholic majesty, which struck at the very foundation of the pope's temporal power. His holiness wrote a long remonstrance to the emperor on the injustice of those proceedings, and declared, that he would assert this cause though he should lose his life in the contest. He forthwith began to raise an army, and revived a plan of forming a league among the princes and states of Italy for their mutual defence. Sir John Leake had received orders to bombard Civita Vecchia, in resentment for the pope's having countenanced the pretender's expedition to Great-Britain; but as the emperor and the duke of Savoy hoped to effect an accommodation with the court of Rome, they prevailed upon the English admiral to suspend hostilities until they should have tried the method of negotiation. The

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marquis de Prie, a Piedmontese nobleman, was sent as ambassador to Rome; but, the pope would not receive him in that quality. Elated with the promises of France, he set the emperor at defiance; and his troops having surprised a body of Imperialists, were so barbarous as to cut them all in pieces. The duke of Savoy having ended the campaign, the troops of the emperor which had served under that prince, were ordered to march into the papal territories, and drove the forces of his holiness before them, without any regard to number. Bologna capitulated; and Rome began to tremble with the apprehension of being once more sacked by a German army. Then the pope's courage failed: he was glad to admit the marquis de Prie as envoy from the emperor. He consented to disband his new levies; to accommodate the Imperial troops with winter-quarters in the papal territories; to grant the investiture of Naples to king Charles; and allow at all times a passage to the Imperial troops through his dominions. On the Upper Rhine the electors of Bavaria and Hanover were so weak, that they could not undertake any thing of consequence against each other. In Hungary the disputes still continued between the emperor and the malcontents. Poland was at length delivered from the oppression exercised by the king of Sweden, who marched into the Ukraine against the czar of Muscovy, notwithstanding the submissions with which that monarch endeavoured to appease his indignation. During the course of this year the English merchants sustained no considerable losses by sea: the cruisers were judiciously stationed, and the trade was regularly supplied with convoys. In the West-Indies commodore Wager destroyed the admiral of the galleons, and took the rear-admiral on the coast of Carthage. Had the officers of his squadron done their duty, the greatest part of the fleet would have fallen into his hands. At his return to Jamaica two of his captains were tried by a court-martial, and dismissed from the service.

§XLI. The court of England was about this time not a little disquieted, by the consequences of an outrage committed on the person of the count de Matueof the Muscovite ambassador. He was publicly arrested at the suit of a laceman, and maltreated by the bailiffs, who dragged him to prison, where he continued until he was bailed by the earl of Feversham. Incensed at this insult, he demanded redress of the government, and was seconded in his remonstrances by the ministers of the emperor, the king of Prussia, and several other foreign potentates. The queen expressed uncommon indignation against the authors of this violence, who were immediately apprehended, and orders were given to prosecute them with the utmost severity of the law. Matueof repeated his complaints with great acrimony; and Mr. secretary Boyle assured him, in the queen's name, that he should have ample satisfaction. Notwithstanding this assurance, he demanded a pass for himself and his family, refused the ordinary presents at his departure, and retired to Holland. From thence he transmitted a memorial with a letter from the czar to the queen, insisting upon her punishing with death all the persons concerned in violating the law of nations upon the person of his ambassador. Such punishment being altogether inconsistent with the laws of England, the queen and her ministry were extremely perplexed, and held several councils to deliberate upon the measures proper to be taken on such an occasion. On the twenty-eighth day of October prince George of Denmark died of an asthma and dropsy, with which he had been

long afflicted. He was a prince of an amiable rather than a shining character, brave, good-natured, modest, and humane, but devoid of great talents and ambition. He had always lived in harmony with the queen, who, during the whole term of their union, and especially in his last illness, approved herself a pattern of conjugal truth and tenderness. At his death the earl of Pembroke was created lord high-admiral, the earl of Wharton promoted to the government of Ireland, and lord Somers appointed president of the council. Notwithstanding these promotions of the Whig noblemen, the duke of Marlborough declined apace in his credit with the queen, who privately consulted and reposed her chief confidence in Mr. Harley, though he had no visible concern in the administration.

§ XLII. The new parliament, in which the Whig interest still preponderated, was assembled on the sixteenth day of November, when they were given to understand by a commission under the great seal, that the archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor, the lord-treasurer, the lord-steward, and the master of the horse, were appointed to represent the person of her majesty, whom decency would not permit to appear in the house so soon after the death of her consort. Sir Richard Onslow being chosen speaker of the lower house with the queen's approbation, the chancellor, in a speech to both houses, recommended the vigorous prosecution of the war, telling them her majesty hoped, they would enable her to make a considerable augmentation for preserving and improving the advantages which the allies had gained in the Netherlands: that she desired they would prepare such bills as might confirm and render the union effectual: and, that if they would propose means for the advancement of trade and manufacture, she would take pleasure in enacting such provisions. Both houses having presented addresses of condolence and congratulation, on the death of prince George, and the success of her majesty's arms during the last campaign, the commons took cognizance of controverted elections, which were decided with shameful partiality for the Whig faction. Then they proceeded to consider the different branches of the supply: they approved of an augmentation of ten thousand men, which was judged necessary for the more vigorous prosecution of the war: and, they voted above seven millions for the service of the ensuing year. The bank agreed to circulate two millions five hundred thousand pounds in exchequer bills for the government, on condition, that the term of their continuance should be prolonged for one and twenty years; and their stock of two millions, two hundred and one thousand one hundred and seventy-one pounds, should be doubled by a new subscription. The two-third subsidy was appropriated for the interest of the money raised by this expedient.

§ XLIII. Great debates having arisen about Scottish elections, the house considered the petitions and representations that were delivered, touching the incapacity of the eldest sons of Scottish peers, excluded from sitting in the parliament of Great-Britain. Counsel being heard upon the subject, that incapacity was confirmed; and new writs were issued, that new members might be elected for the shires of Aberdeen and Linlithgow, in the room of William lord Haddo, and James lord Johnstown. Petitions were likewise presented to the house of lords by some Scottish peers, concerning their right of voting, and signing proxies. After warm debates, the house upon a division determined, that a Scottish lord created a peer of Great-Britain, should no longer retain his vote

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in Scotland: and, that the noblemen who were in the castle of Edinburgh had a right to sign proxies, after having taken the oaths to the government. The Scottish peers and commoners that sat in the British parliament, were divided into two factions. The duke of Queensberry was in great credit with the queen and the lord-treasurer, by whose interest he was appointed secretary of state for Scotland. His influence in elections was so great, that all offices in that kingdom were bestowed according to his recommendation. He was opposed by the dukes of Hamilton, Montrose, and Roxburgh, who were supported by the earl of Sunderland and lord Somers; so that the whole interest in that country was engrossed by one or other member of the ministry. A bill for a general naturalization of all protestants was brought into the house, and notwithstanding violent opposition from the Tories both among the lords and commons, was enacted into a law. The Whigs argued for this bill, as a measure that would encourage industry, improve trade and manufacture, and repair the waste of men which the war had occasioned; but one of their chief motives was to throw an addition of foreigners into the balance against the landed interest. The Tories pleaded, that a confux of aliens might prove dangerous to the constitution: that they would retain a fondness for their native countries, and in times of war act as spies and enemies: that they would insinuate themselves into places of trust and profit; become members of parliament, and by frequent intermarriages contribute to the extinction of the English race: that they would add to the number of the poor, already so expensive; and share the bread of the labourers and tradesmen of England.

§ XLIV. An inquiry being set on foot in both houses concerning the late intended invasion of Scotland, lord Haversham and the other Tory members endeavoured to demonstrate, that proper precautions had not been taken for the security of that kingdom, even after the ministry had received undoubted intelligence of the pretender's design; and, that since the attempt had miscarried, many persons of quality had been apprehended, and severely used by the government, on pretended suspicion of high-treason; though, in all probability, the aim of the ministry in confining those persons, was to remove all possibility of their opposing the court at the ensuing elections for members of parliament. These assertions were supported by many incontestable facts and shrewd arguments, notwithstanding which, the majority were so little disposed to find fault, that the inquiry issued in a joint-address to the queen, containing resolutions, That timely and effectual care had been taken to disappoint the designs of her majesty's enemies both at home and abroad. A bill, however, was brought into the house of lords, under the title of "An act for improving the union of the two kingdoms." It related to trials for treason in Scotland, which by this law were regulated according to the manner of proceeding in England, with some small variation. The Scottish members opposed it as an encroachment upon the form of their laws; and they were joined by those who had layed it down as a maxim to oppose all the court-measures: nevertheless, the bill passed thro' both houses, and received the royal assent. Yet, in order to sweeten this unpalatable medicine, the queen consented to an act of grace, by which all treasons were pardoned, except those committed on the high-seas: an exception levelled at those who had embarked with the pretender. Major-general Webb, who had been defrauded of his due honour, in a partial representation of the battle of

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Quincy.
Lives of the
Admirals.
Hare.
Voltaire.

Wynendale, transmitted by Cardonnel secretary to the duke of Marlborough, was now thanked by the house of commons for the great and eminent services which he had performed in that engagement. This motion was made by the Tories; and the Whigs did not fail to procure a compliment of the same nature to the duke of Marlborough, even before he returned to England. When the news of Ghent's being taken arrived, the lords and commons congratulated the queen on this last great effort of a glorious campaign; and the duke, at his arrival, was thanked in the name of the peers, by the lord-chancellor. As he was supposed to have brought over proposals of peace, the two houses, in an address, desired the queen would insist on the demolition of Dunkirk, which was a nest of pirates that infested the ocean, and did infinite prejudice to the commerce of England. The queen promised to comply with their request. But she was not a little surprised at the next address they presented, humbly intreating, that she would have such indulgence to the hearty desires of her subjects, as to entertain thoughts of a second marriage. She told them, that the provision she had made for the protestant succession would always be a proof how much she had at heart the future happiness of the kingdom; but, the subject of this address was of such a nature, that she was persuaded they did not expect a particular answer.

§ XLV. The laws having been found insufficient to punish capitally the authors of the insult offered to the Muscovite ambassador, a bill was brought into the house of commons for preserving the privileges of ambassadors and other foreign ministers; and passed through both houses: as did another to prevent the laying of wagers relating to the public, a practice which had been carried to a degree of infatuation; and by which many unwary persons fell a sacrifice to crafty adventurers. On the fourteenth day of March the commons voted the sum of one hundred and three thousand two hundred and three pounds, for the relief of the inhabitants of Nevis and St. Christopher's, who had suffered by the late invasion; and on the twenty-first day of April the parliament was prorogued. The Muscovite ambassador continued to write expostulatory letters to Mr. secretary Boyle, who at last owned, that the laws of the kingdom did not admit of such punishment as he demanded. An information was tried at the court of queen's-bench for her majesty against Thomas Morton laceman, and thirteen other persons concerned in the insult, of which they were found guilty; and the special matter of the privileges of ambassadors was to be argued next term before the judges. Mean while, the queen, by way of satisfaction to the czar, condescended to make solemn excuses by her ambassador; to repair Matueof's honour by a letter, and indemnify him for all his costs and damages: concessions with which the czar and his ambassador declared themselves well satisfied. The convocation had been summoned, chosen, and returned with the new parliament; but as the old spirit was supposed to prevail in the lower house, the queen, by writ to the archbishop, ordered him to prorogue it from time to time, until the session of parliament was finished.

An. Ch. 1709.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

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§ I. **T**HE French king was by this time reduced to such a state of humiliation by the losses of the last campaign, and a severe winter which completed the misery of his subjects, that he resolved to sacrifice all the considerations of pride and ambition, as well as the interest of his grandson, to his desire of peace, which was now become so necessary and indispensable. He dispatched the president Rouillé privately to Holland, with general proposals of peace, and the offer of a good barrier to the states-general, still entertaining hopes of being able to detach them from the confederacy. This minister conferred in secret with Buys and Vanderdussen, the pensionaries of Amsterdam and Gouda at Moerdyke, from whence he was permitted to proceed to Woerden, between Leyden and Utrecht. The states immediately communicated his proposals

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Admiral.
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posals to the courts of Vienna and Great-Britain. Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough arrived at the Hague in April, and conferred with the grand pensionary Heinsius, Buys, and Vanderdussen, on the subject of the French proposals, which were deemed unsatisfactory. Rouillé immediately dispatched a courier to Paris for further instructions; and the duke of Marlborough returned to England to make the queen acquainted with the progress of the negotiation. Lewis, in order to convince the States of his sincerity, sent the marquis de Torcy, his secretary for foreign affairs, to the Hague with fresh offers, to which the deputies would make no answer until they knew the sentiments of the queen of Great-Britain. The duke of Marlborough crossed the seas a second time, accompanied by the lord viscount Townshend, as ambassador-extraordinary, and joint-plenipotentiary: Prince Eugene being likewise at the Hague, the conferences were begun. The French minister declared, that his master would consent to the demolition of Dunkirk: that he would abandon the pretender, and dismiss him from his dominions: that he would acknowledge the queen's title and the protestant succession: that he would renounce all pretensions to the Spanish monarchy, and cede the places in the Netherlands which the States-general demanded for their barrier: that he would treat with the emperor on the footing of the treaty concluded at Ryswick, and even demolish the fortifications of Strasburg. The ministers of the allies, rendered proud and wanton by success, and seeing their own private interest in the continuation of the war, insisted upon the restitution of the Upper and Lower Alsace to the empire: upon the French monarch's restoring Strasburg in its present condition: upon his ceding the town and castellany of Lisle, demolishing Dunkirk, New Brisac, Fort Louis, and Hunningen. In a word, their demands were so insolent, that Lewis would not have suffered them to be mentioned in his hearing, had not he been reduced to the last degree of distress. One can hardly read them without feeling a sentiment of compassion for that monarch, who had once given law to Europe, and been so long accustomed to victory and conquest. Notwithstanding the discouraging dispatches he had received from the president Rouillé, after his first conferences with the deputies, he could not believe that the Dutch would be so blind to their own interest, as to reject the advantages in commerce, and the barrier which he had offered. He could not conceive, that they would choose to bear the burthen of excessive taxes in prosecuting a war, the events of which would always be uncertain, rather than enjoy the blessings of peace, security, and advantageous commerce: he flattered himself, that the allies would not so far deviate from their purposed aim of establishing a balance of power, as to throw such an enormous weight into the scale of the house of Austria, which cherished all the dangerous ambition and arbitrary principles, without the liberality and sentiment, peculiar to the house of Bourbon. In proportion as they rose in their demands Lewis fell in his condescension. His secretary of state, the marquis de Torcy, posted in disguise to Holland, on the faith of a common blank passport. He solicited, he soothed, he supplicated, and made concessions in the name of his sovereign. He found the States were wholly guided by the influence of prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough. He found these generals elated, haughty, overbearing and implacable. He in private attacked the duke of Marlborough on his weakest side: he offered to that nobleman a large sum of money, provided he would effect a peace on certain conditions.

conditions. The proposal was rejected. The duke found his enemies in England increasing, and his credit at court in the wane; and he knew that nothing but a continuation of the war, and new victories, could support his influence in England. Torcy was sensible that his country was utterly exhausted: that Lewis dreaded nothing so much as the opening of the campaign; and he agreed to those articles upon which they insisted as preliminaries. The French king was confounded at these proposals: he felt the complicated pangs of grief, shame, and indignation. He rejected the preliminaries with disdain. He even deigned to submit his conduct to the judgment of his subjects. His offers were published, together with the demands of the allies. His people interested themselves in the glory of their monarch. They exclaimed against the cruelty and arrogance of his enemies. Though impoverished and half-starved by the war, they resolved to expend their whole substance in his support; and rather to fight his battles without pay, than leave him in the dire necessity of complying with such dishonourable terms. Animated by these sentiments, they made such efforts as amazed the whole world. The preliminaries being rejected by the French king, Rouillé was ordered to quit Holland in four and twenty hours; and the generals of the confederates resolved to open the campaign without farther hesitation.

§ II. Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough proceeded to Flanders, and towards the end of June the allied army encamped in the plain of Lille, to the number of one hundred and ten thousand fighting men. At the same time, the marechal Villars, accounted the most fortunate general in France, assembled the French forces in the plain of Lens, where he began to throw up intrenchments. The confederate generals having observed his situation, and perceiving he could not be attacked with any probability of success, resolved to undertake the siege of Tournay, the garrison of which Villars had imprudently weakened. Accordingly they made a feint upon Ypres, in order to deceive the enemy, and convert all their attention to that side, while they suddenly invested Tournay on the twenty-seventh day of June. Though the garrison did not exceed twelve weakened battalions, and four squadrons of dragoons, the place was so strong, both by art and nature, and lieutenant de Surville the governor was such an excellent officer, that the siege was protracted, contrary to the expectation of the allies, and cost them a great number of men, notwithstanding all the precautions that could be taken for the safety of the troops. As the besiegers proceeded by the method of sap, their miners frequently met with those of the enemy under ground, and fought with bayonet and pistol. The volunteers on both sides presented themselves to these subterraneous combats, in the midst of mines and countermines ready primed for explosion. Sometimes they were kindled by accident, and sometimes sprung by design; so that great numbers of those brave men were stifled below; and whole battalions blown into the air, or buried in the rubbish. On the twenty eighth day of July, the besiegers having effected a practicable breach, and made the necessary dispositions for a general assault, the enemy offered to capitulate: the town was surrendered upon conditions, and the garrison retired to the citadel. Surville likewise entered into a treaty about giving up the citadel; and the articles being sent to the court of Versailles, Lewis would not ratify them, except upon condition that there should be a general cessation in the Netherlands.

lands till the fifth day of September. Hostilities were renewed on the eighth day of August, and prosecuted with uncommon ardour and animosity. On the thirtieth, Surville desired to capitulate on certain articles, which were rejected by the duke of Marlborough, who gave him to understand that he had no terms to expect, but must surrender at discretion. At length, his provision being quite exhausted, he was obliged to surrender himself and his garrison prisoners of war, though they were permitted to return to France, on giving their parole that they would not act in the field until a like number of the allies should be released.

§ III. The next object that attracted the eyes of the confederates, was the city of Mons, which they resolved to besiege with all possible expedition. They passed the Schelde on the third day of September, and detached the prince of Hesse to attack the French lines, from the Haisne to the Sombre, which were abandoned at his approach. On the seventh day of September, Marechal de Boufflers arrived in the French camp at Quievrain, content to act in an inferior capacity to Villars, although his superior in point of seniority. The duke of Marlborough having received advice that the French were on the march to attack the advanced body under the prince of Hesse, decamped from Havre, in order to support that detachment. On the ninth the allies made a motion to the left, by which the two armies were brought so near each other, that a mutual cannonading ensued. The French army, amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand men, were posted behind the woods of La Merte and Tanieres, in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet. The confederates, nearly of the same number, encamped with the right near Sart and Bleron, and the left on the edge of the wood of Lagniere; the head-quarters being at Blaregnies. The enemy, instead of attacking the allies, began to fortify their camp, which was naturally strong, with triple intrenchments. In a word, they were so covered with lines, hedges, intrenchments, cannon, and trees laid across, that they seemed to be quite inaccessible. Had the confederates attacked them on the ninth, the battle would not have been so bloody, and the victory would have been more decisive; for they had not then begun to secure the camp: but they postponed the engagement until they should be reinforced by eighteen battalions which had been employed in the siege of Tournay; and, in the mean time, the French fortified themselves with incredible diligence and dispatch. On the eleventh day of September, early in the morning, the confederates, favoured by a thick fog, erected batteries on each wing, and in the centre; and about eight o'clock the weather clearing up, the attack began. Eighty-six battalions on the right, commanded by general Schuylenburg, the duke of Argyle, and other generals, and supported by two and twenty battalions under count Lottum, attacked the left of the enemy with such vigour, that notwithstanding their lines and barricadoes, they were in less than an hour driven from their intrenchments, into the woods of Sart and Tanieres. The prince of Orange and baron Fagel, with six and thirty Dutch battalions, advanced against the right of the enemy, posted in the wood of la Merte, and covered with three intrenchments. Here the battle was maintained with the most desperate courage on both sides. The Dutch obliged the French to quit the first intrenchment; but were repulsed from the second with great slaughter. The prince of Orange per-
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sisted in his efforts with incredible perseverance and intrepidity; even after two horses had been killed under him, and the greater part of his officers either slain or disabled. The French fought with an obstinacy of courage that bordered on despair, till seeing their lines forced, their left wing and centre giving way, and their general Villars dangerously wounded, they made an excellent retreat towards Baray, under the conduct of Boufflers, and took post between Quefnoy and Valenciennes. The field of battle they abandoned to the confederates, with about forty colours and standards, sixteen pieces of artillery, and a good number of prisoners: but this was the dearest victory they had ever purchased. Above twenty thousand of their best troops were killed in the engagement; whereas the enemy did not lose half the number, and retired at leisure, perfectly recovered of that apprehension with which they had been for some years inspired and overawed by the successes of their adversaries. On the side of the allies, count Lottum, general Tettau, count Oxienstern, and the marquis of Tullibardine were killed, with many other officers of distinction. Prince Eugene was slightly wounded on the head: lieutenant-general Webb received a shot in the groin. The duke of Argyle, who distinguished himself by extraordinary feats of valour, escaped unhurt, but several musket-balls penetrated through his cloaths, hat, and periwig. In the French army, the chevalier de St. George charged twelve times with the household troops, and in the last was wounded with a sword in the arm. The marechal Villars confidently asserted, that if he himself had not been disabled, the confederates would have certainly been defeated.

§ IV. Considering the situation of the French, the number of their troops, and the manner in which they were fortified, nothing could be more rash and imprudent than the attack, which cost the lives of so many gallant men, and was attended with so little advantage to the conquerors. Perhaps the duke of Marlborough thought a victory was absolutely necessary to support his sinking interest at the court of Great Britain. His intention was to have given battle before the enemy had intrenched themselves; but prince Eugene insisted upon delaying the action until the reinforcement should arrive from Tournay: and the extraordinary carnage is imputed to the impetuosity of the prince of Orange, whose aim, through this whole war, was to raise himself into consideration with the states-general, by signal acts of military prowess. The French having retired to Valenciennes, the allies were left at liberty to besiege Mons, which capitulated about the end of October: and both armies were distributed in winter-quarters. The campaign on the Rhine produced nothing but one sharp action, between a detachment of the French army commanded by the count de Borgh, and a body of troops under count Merci, who had passed the Rhine in order to penetrate into Franche-comté. He was worsted in this encounter, with the loss of two thousand men, obliged to repass the river, and retired to Fribourg. In Piedmont, velt-marechal Thaur commanded the confederates, in the room of the duke of Savoy, who refused to take the field until some differences which had arisen between the emperor and him should be adjusted. Thaur's design was to besiege Briançon, but the duke of Berwick had taken such precautions as frustrated his intention, though part of the troops under the French general were employed in suppressing an insurrection of the Camisars, and other malcontents in the Vivarez. These were intirely de-

feated in a pitched battle; and Abraham, one of their leaders, being taken, was broke alive upon the wheel: three and twenty were hanged, and the other prisoners sent to the gallies. The pope delayed acknowledging king Charles, under various pretences, in hope that the campaign would prove favourable to the house of Bourbon; till at length the emperor giving him to understand that his army should take up their winter-quarters in the ecclesiastical state, his holiness solemnly owned Charles as king of Spain, Naples, and Sicily.

§ V. The military operations in Spain and Portugal were unfavourable to the allies. On the seventh of May, the Portuguese and English were defeated at Caya, by the Spaniards under the command of the marechal de Bay. The castle of Alicant, guarded by two English regiments, had been besieged, and held out during the whole winter. At length the chevalier d'Asfeldt ordered the rock to be undermined, and having lodged two hundred barrels of gunpowder, gave Syburg the governor to understand, that two of his officers might come out, and see the condition of the works. This offer being accepted, he in person accompanied them to the mine: told them he could not bear the thoughts of seeing so many brave men perish in the ruins of a place they had so gallantly defended; and allowed them four and twenty hours to consider on the resolution they should take. Syburg continued deaf to his remonstrances; and, with an obstinacy that favoured more of stupidity than of valour, determined to stand the explosion. When the centinels that were posted on the side of the hill, gave notice, by a preconcerted signal, that fire was set to the mine, the governor ordered the guard to retire, and walked out to the parade, accompanied by several officers. The mine being sprung, the rock opened under their feet, and they falling into the chasm, it instantly closed and crushed them to death. Notwithstanding this dreadful incident, colonel d'Albon, who succeeded to the command, resolved to defend the place to the last extremity. Sir Edward Whitaker sailed from Barcelona to the relief of the place; but the enemy had erected such works as effectually hindered the troops from landing. Then general Stanhope, who commanded them, capitulated with the Spanish general for the garrison, which marched out with all the honours of war, and was transported to Minorca, where the men were put into quarters of refreshment. On the frontiers of Catalonia, general Staremberg maintained his ground, and even annoyed the enemy. He passed the Segra and reduced Balaguer; having left a strong garrison in the place, he repassed the river, and sent his forces into winter-quarters. The most remarkable event of this summer, was the battle of Pultowa, in which the king of Sweden was entirely defeated by the czar of Muscovy, and obliged to take refuge at Bender, a town of Moldavia, in the Turkish dominions. Augustus immediately marched into Poland against Stanislaus, and renounced his own resignation, as if it had been the effect of compulsion. He formed a project with the kings of Denmark and Prussia, to attack the Swedish territories in three different places: but the emperor and maritime powers prevented the execution of this scheme, by entering into a guaranty for preserving the peace of the empire. Nevertheless, the king of Denmark declared war against Sweden, and transported an army over the Sound to Schonen; but they were attacked and defeated by the Swedes, and obliged to reembark with the utmost precipitation. The war still continued

tinued to rage in Hungary, where, however, the revolters were routed in many petty engagements.

§ VI. Though the events of the summer had been less unfavourable to France than Lewis had reason to expect, he saw that peace was as necessary as ever to his kingdom; but he thought he might now treat with some freedom and dignity. His minister Torcy maintained a correspondence with Mr. Petkum resident of the duke of Holstein at the Hague: he proposed to this minister, that the negotiation should be renewed; and demanded passes, by virtue of which the French plenipotentiaries might repair in safety to Holland. In the mean time, the French king withdrew his troops from Spain, on pretence of demonstrating his readiness to oblige the allies in that particular; though this measure was the effect of necessity, which obliged him to recall those troops for the defence of his own dominions. The states-general refused to grant passes to the French ministers; but they allowed Petkum to make a journey to Versailles. In the interim king Philip published a manifesto, protesting against all that should be transacted at the Hague to his prejudice. Far from yielding Spain and the Indies to his competitor, he declared his intention of driving Charles from those places that were now in his possession. He named the duke of Alba and count Bergheyck for his plenipotentiaries, and ordered them to notify their credentials to the maritime powers: but no regard was paid to their intimation. Philip tampered likewise with the duke of Marlborough, and the marquis de Torcy renewed his attempts upon that general: but all his application and address proved ineffectual. Petkum brought back from Versailles a kind of memorial, importing, That those motives which influenced the French, before the campaign was opened, no longer subsisted: That the winter season naturally produced a cessation of arms, during which he would treat of a general and reasonable peace, without restricting himself to the form of the preliminaries which the allies had pretended to impose: That, nevertheless, he would still treat on the foundation of those conditions to which he had consented, and send plenipotentiaries to begin the conferences with those of the allies, on the first day of January. The states-general inveighed against this memorial, as a proof of the French king's insincerity; though he certainly had a right to retract those offers they had formerly rejected. They came to a resolution, that it was absolutely necessary to prosecute the war with vigour; and they wrote pressing letters on this subject to all their allies.

§ VII. The parliament of Great-Britain being assembled on the fifteenth day of November, the queen in her speech told both houses, That the enemy had endeavoured, by false appearances, and deceitful insinuations of a desire after peace, to create jealousies among the allies: That God Almighty had been pleased to bless the arms of the confederates with a most remarkable victory, and other successes, which had laid France open to the impression of the allied arms, and consequently rendered peace more necessary to that kingdom than it was at the beginning of the campaign. She insisted upon the expediency of prosecuting the advantages she had gained; by reducing that exorbitant and oppressive power which had so long threatened the liberties of Europe. The parliament were as eager and compliant as ever. They presented congratulatory addresses: they thanked the duke of Marlborough for his signal services;

while great part of the nation reproached him with having wantonly sacrificed so many thousand lives to his own private interest and reputation. In less than a month, the commons granted upwards of six millions for the service of the ensuing year; and established a lottery, with other funds, to answer this enormous supply. On the thirteenth day of December, Mr. Dolben, son to the late archbishop of York, complained to the house, of two sermons preached and published by Dr. Henry Sacheverel, rector of St. Saviour's in Southwark, as containing positions contrary to revolution-principles, to the present government, and the protestant succession. Sacheverel was a clergyman of narrow intellects, and an over-heated imagination. He had acquired some popularity among those who distinguished themselves by the name of High-churchmen; and took all occasions to vent his animosity against the dissenters. At the summer-assizes at Derby, he had held forth in that strain before the judges: on the fifth day of November, in St. Paul's church, he, in a violent declamation, defended the doctrine of non-resistance; inveighed against the toleration and dissenters; declared the church was dangerously attacked by her enemies; and slightly defended by her false friends: he sounded the trumpet for the church, and exhorted the people to put on the whole armour of God. Sir Samuel Garrard the lord-mayor, countenanced this harrangue, which was published under his protection, extolled by the Tories, and circulated all over the nation. The complaint of Mr. Dolben, against Sacheverel was seconded in the house of commons, by Sir Peter King, and other members. The most violent paragraphs were read: the sermons were voted scandalous and seditious libels. Sacheverel being brought to the bar of the house, acknowledged himself the author of both, and mentioned the encouragement he had received from the lord-mayor to print that which was intitled, "The perils of false brethren." Sir Samuel, who was a member, denied he had ever given him such encouragement. The doctor being ordered to withdraw, the house resolved he should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours; and Mr. Dolben was ordered to impeach him at the bar of the house of lords, in the name of all the commons of England. A committee was appointed to draw up articles, and Sacheverel was taken into custody. At the same time, in order to demonstrate their own principles, they resolved, That the reverend Mr. Benjamin Hoadly, rector of St. Peter's Poor, for having often justified the principles on which her majesty and the nation proceeded in the late happy revolution, had justly merited the favour and recommendation of the house; and they presented an address to the queen, beseeching her to bestow some dignity in the church on Mr. Hoadly, for his eminent services both to the church and state. The queen returned a civil answer, though she payed no regard to their recommendation. Hoadly was a clergyman of sound understanding, unblemished character, and uncommon moderation, who, in a sermon preached before the lord-mayor of London, had demonstrated the lawfulness of resisting wicked and cruel governors; and vindicated the late revolution. By avowing such doctrines, he incurred the resentment of the high-churchmen, who accused him of having preached up rebellion. Many books were written against the maxims he professed. These he answered; and, in the course of the controversy, acquitted himself with superior temper, judgment, and solidity.

dity of argument. He, as well as bishop Burnet, and several other prelates, had been treated with great virulence in Sacheverel's sermon; and the lord-treasurer was scurrilously abused under the name of Volpone.

§ VIII. The doctor being impeached at the bar of the upper-house, petitioned that he might be admitted to bail; but this indulgence was refused, and the commons seemed bent upon prosecuting him with such severity as gave disgust to men of moderate principles. Mean while the Tories were not idle. They boldly affirmed that the Whigs had formed a design to pull down the church; and that this prosecution was intended to try their strength, before they would proceed openly to the execution of their project. These assertions were supported, and even credited by great part of the clergy, who did not fail to alarm and inflame their hearers; while emissaries were employed to raise a ferment among the populace, already prepared with discontent, arising from a scarcity which prevailed in almost every country of Europe. These ministers magnified the dangers to which the church was exposed, from dissenters, whigs, and lukewarm prelates. These they represented as the authors of a ruinous war, which in a little time would produce universal famine; and, as the immediate encouragers of those Palatine refugees who had been brought over to the number of six thousand, and maintained by voluntary contributions, until they could be conveniently transported into Ireland, and the plantations in America. The charity bestowed upon those unhappy strangers exasperated the poor of England, who felt severely the effects of the dearth, and helped to fill up the measure of popular discontent. The articles against Dr. Sacheverel being exhibited, his person was committed to the deputy-usher of the black-rod; and the lords admitted him to bail. Then he drew up an answer to the charge, in which he denied some articles, and others he endeavoured to justify or extenuate. The commons having sent up a replication, declaring they were ready to prove the charge, the lords appointed the twenty-seventh day of February for the trial, in Westminster-hall.

§ IX. The eyes of the whole kingdom were turned upon this extraordinary trial. It lasted three weeks, during which all other business was suspended; and the queen herself was every day present, though in quality of a private spectator. The managers for the commons were Sir Joseph Jekyl, Mr. Eyre solicitor-general, Sir Peter King recorder of the city of London, lieutenant-general Stanhope, Sir Thomas Parker, and Mr. Robert Walpole treasurer of the navy. The doctor was defended by Sir Simon Harcourt and Mr. Phipps, and assisted by Dr. Atterbury, Dr. Smallridge, and Dr. Friend. A vast multitude attended him every day to and from Westminster-hall, striving to kiss his hand, and praying for his deliverance, as if he had been a martyr and confessor. The queen's sedan was beset by the populace, exclaiming, "God bless your majesty and the church. We hope your majesty is for Dr. Sacheverel." They compelled all persons to lift their hats to the doctor, as he passed in his coach to the Temple, where he lodged; and, among these some members of parliament, who were abused and insulted. They destroyed several meeting-houses, plundered the dwelling-houses of eminent dissenters; and threatened to pull down those of the lord chancellor, the earl of Wharton, and the bishop of Sarum. They even proposed to attack the Bank; so that the directors were obliged to send to Whitehall for assistance. The horse and foot guards

guards were immediately sent to disperse the rioters, who fled at their approach. Next day the guards were doubled at Whitehall, and the trained bands of Westminster continued in arms during the whole trial. The commons intreated the queen, in an address, to take effectual measures for suppressing the present tumults, set on foot and fomented by papists, nonjurors, and other enemies to her title and government. She expressed a deep sense of their care and concern, as well as a just resentment at these tumultuous and violent proceedings. She published a proclamation for suppressing the tumults; and several persons being apprehended, were afterwards tried for high-treason. Two of them were convicted and sentenced to die; but neither suffered. The commons presented another address of thanks to her majesty, for her gracious answer to their first remonstrance. They took this occasion to declare, that the prosecution of the commons against Dr. Henry Sacheverel proceeded only from the indispensable obligation they lay under to vindicate the late happy revolution, the glory of their royal deliverer, her own title and administration, the present establishment and protestant succession, together with the toleration and the quiet of the government. When the doctor's counsel had finished his defence, he himself recited a speech, wherein he solemnly justified his intentions towards the queen and her government; and spoke in the most respectful terms of the revolution, and the protestant succession. He maintained the doctrine of non-resistance in all cases whatsoever, as a maxim of the church in which he was educated; and, by many pathetical expressions, endeavoured to excite the compassion of the audience. He was surrounded by the queen's chaplains, who encouraged and extolled him as the champion of the church; and he was privately favoured by the queen herself, who could not but relish a doctrine so well calculated for the support of regal authority.

§ X. On the tenth day of March, the lords being adjourned to their own house, the earl of Nottingham proposed the following question, "Whether, in prosecutions by impeachments for high crimes and misdemeanours, by writing or speaking, the particular words supposed to be criminal, are necessary to be expressly specified in such impeachments?" The judges being consulted, were unanimously of opinion, that, according to law, the grounds of an indictment or impeachment ought to be expressly mentioned in both. One of the lords having suggested, that the judges had delivered their opinions according to the rules of Westminster-hall, and not according to the usage of parliament, the house resolved, that in impeachments they should proceed according to the laws of the land, and the law and usage of parliaments. On the sixteenth day of the month, the queen being in the house incognito, they proceeded to consider whether or not the commons had made good the articles exhibited against Dr. Sacheverel. The earl of Wharton observed, that the doctor's speech was a full confutation and condemnation of his sermon: that all he had advanced about non-resistance and unlimited obedience was false and ridiculous: that the doctrine of passive obedience, as urged by the doctor, was not reconcileable to the practice of churchmen: that if the revolution was not lawful, many in that house, and vast numbers without, were guilty of blood, murder, rapine, and injustice; and that the queen herself was no lawful sovereign, since the best title she had to the crown was her parliamentary title founded upon the revolution. He

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was answered by the lord Haverſham in a long ſpeech. Lord Ferrers ſaid, if the doctor was guilty of ſome fooliſh unguarded expreſſions, he ought to have been tried at common law. The earl of Scarborough obſerved, the revolution was a nice point, and above the law : he moved that they ſhould adjourn the debate, and take time to conſider before they gave judgment. Doctor Hooper biſhop of Bath and Wells allowed the neceſſity and legality of reſiſtance in ſome extraordinary caſes ; but was of opinion, that this maxim ought to be concealed from the knowledge of the people, who are naturally too apt to reſiſt : that the revolution was not to be boaſted of, nor made a precedent ; but that a mantle ought to be thrown over it, and it ſhould be called a vacancy or abdication. He ſaid the original compact were dangerous words, not to be mentioned without great caution : that thoſe who examined the revolution too nicely, were no friends to it ; and that there ſeemed to be a neceſſity for preaching up non-reſiſtance and paſſive obedience at that time, when reſiſtance was juſtified. The duke of Argyle affirmed, that the clergy in all ages had delivered up the rights and privileges of the people, preaching up the king's power, in order to govern him the more eaſily ; and therefore they ought not to be ſuffered to meddle with politics. The earl of Angleſey owned the doctor had preached nonſenſe ; but ſaid that was no crime. The duke of Leeds diſtinguiſhed between reſiſtance and revolution ; for, had not the laſt ſucceeded, it would have certainly been rebellion, ſince he knew of no other but hereditary right. The biſhop of Salisbury juſtified reſiſtance from the book of Maccabees : he mentioned the conduct of queen Elizabeth, who aſſiſted the Scots, the French, and the ſtates-general, in reſiſting their different ſovereigns, and was ſupported in this practice both by her parliaments and her convocations. He obſerved that king Charles I. had aſſiſted the citizens of Rochelle in their rebellion : that Manwaring incurred a ſevere cenſure from the parliament, for having broached the doctrine of the divine right of kings ; and that though this became a favourite maxim after the reſtoration, yet its warmeſt aſſerters were the firſt who pleaded for reſiſtance when they thought themſelves oppreſſed. The archbiſhop of York, the duke of Buckingham, and other leaders of the Tory-intereſt, declared that they never read ſuch a piece of madneſs and nonſenſe as Sacheverel's ſermon ; but they did not think him guilty of a miſdeemeanour. Next day, Dr. Wake biſhop of Lincoln accuſed Sacheverel of having made a ſtrange and falſe representation of the deſign for a comprehension, which had been ſet on foot by archbiſhop Sancroft, and promoted by the moſt eminent divines of the church of England. He was of opinion that ſome ſtep ſhould be taken for putting a ſtop to ſuch preaching, as, if not timely corrected, might kindle heats and animoſities that would endanger both church and ſtate. Dr. Trimnel biſhop of Norwich expatiated upon the inſolence of Sacheverel, who had arraigned archbiſhop Grindal, one of the eminent reformers, as a perfidious prelate, for having favoured and tolerated the diſcipline of Geneva. He enlarged upon the good effects of the toleration. He took notice of Sacheverel's preſumption in publiſhing inflammatory prayers, declaring himſelf under perſecution, while he was proſecuted for offending againſt the law, by thoſe who in common juſtice ought to be thought the faireſt accuſers, and before their lordſhips, who were juſtly acknowledged to be the moſt impartial judges. In diſcuſſing the fourth article, the biſhop of Salisbury ſpoke with great vehemence

mence against Sacheverel, who, by inveighing against the revolution, toleration, and union, seemed to arraign and attack the queen herself; since her majesty had so great a share in the first; had often declared she would maintain the second; and that she looked upon the third as the most glorious event of her reign. He affirmed, that nothing could be more plain than the doctor's reflecting upon her majesty's ministers; and that he had so well marked out a noble peer there present, by an ugly and scurrilous epithet which he would not repeat, that it was not possible to mistake his meaning. Some of the younger peers could not help laughing at this undesigned sarcasm upon the lord-treasurer, whom Sacheverel had reviled under the name of Volpone: they exclaimed, "Name him, name him;" and, in all probability, the zealous bishop, who was remarkable for absence of mind and unguarded expressions, would have gratified their request, had not the chancellor interposing, declared that no peer was obliged to say more than he should think proper.

§ XI. After obstinate disputes and much virulent altercation, Sacheverel was found guilty by a majority of seventeen voices; and four and thirty peers entered a protest against this decision. He was prohibited from preaching for the term of three years: his two sermons were ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, in presence of the lord mayor and the two sheriffs of London and Middlesex. The lords likewise voted that the executioner should commit to the same fire the famous decree passed in the convocation of the university of Oxford, asserting the absolute authority and indefeasible right of princes. A like sentence was denounced by the commons upon a book intitled, "Collections of passages referred to by Dr. Sacheverel, in his answer to the articles of impeachment." These he had selected from impious books lately published, and they were read by his counsel as proofs that the church was in danger. The lenity of the sentence passed upon Sacheverel, which was in a great measure owing to the dread of popular resentment, his friends considered as a victory obtained over a Whig faction, and they celebrated their triumph with bonfires and illuminations. On the fifth day of April, the queen ordered the parliament to be prorogued, after having, in her speech to both houses, expressed her concern for the necessary occasion which had taken up great part of their time towards the latter end of the session. She declared that no prince could have a more true and tender concern for the welfare and prosperity of the church than she had, and should always have; and she said it was very injurious to take a pretence from wicked and malicious libels, to insinuate that the church was in danger by her administration.

§ XII. The French king seeing the misery of his people daily increase, and all his resources fail, humbled himself again before the allies, and by the means of Petkum, who still corresponded with his ministers, implored the states-general, that the negotiation might be resumed. In order to facilitate their consent, he dispatched a new project of pacification, in which he promised to renounce his grandson, and to comply with all their other demands, provided the electors of Cologne and Bavaria should be re-established in their estates and dignities. These overtures being rejected, another plan was offered, and communicated to the plenipotentiaries of the emperor and queen of Great-Britain. Then Petkum wrote a letter to the marquis de Torcy, intimating, that the allies required his most christian majesty should declare in plain and expressive terms, that

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that he consented to all the preliminaries, except the thirty-seventh article, which stipulated a cessation of arms, in case the Spanish monarchy should be delivered to king Charles in the space of two months. He said, the allies would send passports to the French ministers to treat of an equivalent for that article. Lewis was even forced to swallow this bitter draught. He signified his consent, and appointed the marechal D'Uxelles and the abbé Polignac his plenipotentiaries. They were not suffered, however, to enter Holland, but were met by the deputies Buys and Vanderdussen at Gertruydenberg. Mean while, the states desired the queen of England to send over the duke of Marlborough to assist them with his advice on these conferences. The two houses of parliament seconded their request in a joint address to her majesty, who told them she had already given directions for his departure; and said, she was glad to find they concurred with her in a just sense of the duke's eminent services. Both the letter and the address were procured by the interest of Marlborough, to let the queen see how much that nobleman was considered both at home and abroad. But she was already wholly alienated from him in her heart, and these expedients served only to increase her disgust.

§ XIII. The French ministers were subjected to every species of mortification. They were in a manner confined to a small fortified town, and all their conduct narrowly watched. Their accommodation was mean; their letters were opened; and they were daily insulted by injurious libels. The Dutch deputies would hear of no relaxation, and no expedient for removing the difficulties that retarded the negotiation. In vain the plenipotentiaries declared, that the French king could not with decency, or the least regard to his honour, wage war against his own grandson: the deputies insisted upon his effecting the cession of Spain and the Indies to the house of Austria; and submitting to every other article specified in the preliminaries. Nay, they even reserved to themselves a power of making ulterior demands after the preliminaries should be adjusted. Lewis proposed, that some small provision should be made for the duke of Anjou, which might induce him to relinquish Spain the more easily. He mentioned the kingdom of Arragon; and this hint being disagreeable to the allies, he demanded Naples and Sicily. When they urged, that Naples was already in possession of the house of Austria, he restricted the provision to Sicily and Sardinia. He offered to deliver up four cautionary towns in Flanders, as a security for Philip's evacuating Spain; and even promised to supply the confederates with a monthly sum of money, to defray the expence of expelling that prince from his dominions, should he refuse to resign them with a good grace. The substance of all the conferences was communicated to lord Townshend and count Zinzendorf, the Imperial plenipotentiary; but the conduct of the deputies was regulated by the pensionary Heinsius, who was firmly attached to prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, more averse than ever to a pacification. The negotiation lasted from the nineteenth day of March to the twenty-fifth of July, during which term the conferences were several times interrupted, and a great many dispatches and new proposals arrived from Versailles. At length, the plenipotentiaries returned to France, after having sent a letter to the pensionary, in which they declared, that the proposals made by the deputies were unjust and impracticable; and complained of the unworthy treatment to which they had been exposed. Lewis resolved to hazard another

campaign, not without hope, that there might be some lucky incident in the events of war, and that the approaching revolution in the English ministry, of which he was well apprised, would be productive of a more reasonable pacification. The states-general resolved, That the enemy had departed from the foundation on which the negotiation had begun, and studied pretences to evade the execution of the capital points, the restitution of Spain and the Indies; and in short, that France had no other view than to sow and create jealousy and disunion among the allies. Lord Townshend, in a memorial assured them, that the queen intirely approved their resolution, and all the steps they had taken in the course of the negotiation; and, that she was firmly resolved to prosecute the war with all possible vigour, until the enemy should accept such terms of peace as might secure the tranquillity of the christian world.

§ XIV. The conferences did not retard the operations of the campaign. Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough set out from the Hague on the fifteenth day of March for Tournay, in order to assemble the forces which were quartered on the Maese, in Flanders, and Brabant. On the twentieth of April they suddenly advanced to Pont a-Vendin, in order to attack the lines upon which the French had been at work all the winter, hoping by these to cover Doway and other frontier towns, which were threatened by the confederates. The troops left for the defence of the lines retired without opposition. The allies having layed bridges over the Scarpe, the duke of Marlborough with his division passed that river, and encamped at Vitri. Prince Eugene remained on the other side and invested Doway, the enemy retiring towards Cambray. Marechal Villars still commanded the French army, which was extremely numerous and well appointed, considering the distress of that kingdom. Indeed, the number was augmented by this distress; for, many thousands saved themselves from dying of hunger by carrying arms in the service. The marechal having assembled all his forces, passed the Schelde, and encamped at Bouchain, declaring, that he would give battle to the confederates: an alteration was immediately made in the disposition of the allies, and proper precautions taken for his reception. He advanced in order of battle; but having viewed the situation of the confederates, he marched back to the heights of St. Laurence, where he fixed his camp. His aim was by continual alarms to interrupt the siege of Doway, which was vigorously defended by a numerous garrison, under the command of monsieur Albergotti, who made a number of successful sallies, in which the besiegers lost a great number of men. They were likewise repulsed in several assaults; but still proceeded with unremitting vigour, until the besieged being reduced to the last extremity, were obliged to capitulate on the twenty-sixth of June, fifty days after the trenches had been opened. The generals finding it impracticable to attack the enemy, who were posted within strong lines from Arras towards Miramont, resolved to besiege Bethune, which was invested on the fifteenth day of July, and surrendered on the twenty-ninth of August. Villars marched out of his intrenchments with a view to raise the siege; but he did not think proper to hazard an engagement: some warm skirmishes, however, happened between the foragers of the two armies. After the reduction of Bethune, the allies besieged at one time the towns of Aire and St. Venant, which were taken without much difficulty. Then the armies broke up and marched into winter-quarters.

§ XV.

§ XV. The campaign on the Rhine was productive of no military event: nor was any thing of consequence transacted in Piedmont. The duke of Savoy being indisposed and out of humour, the command of the forces still continued vested in count Thaun, who endeavoured to pass the Alps and penetrate into Dauphiné; but the duke of Berwick had cast up intrenchments in the mountains, and taken such precautions to guard them, as baffled all the attempts of the Imperial general. Spain was much more fruitful of military incidents. The horse and dragoons in the army of king Charles, headed by general Stanhope, attacked the whole cavalry of the enemy at Almennara. Stanhope charged in person, and with his own hand slew general Amessaga, who commanded the guards of Philip. The Spanish horse were intirely routed, together with nine battalions that escaped by favour of the darkness; and the main body of the army retired with precipitation to Lerida. General Staremberg pursued them to Saragossa, where he found them drawn up in order of battle; and an engagement ensuing on the ninth day of August, the enemy was totally defeated: five thousand of their men were killed, seven thousand taken, together with all their artillery, and a great number of colours and standards. King Charles entered Saragossa in triumph, while Philip with the wreck of his army retreated to Madrid. Having sent his queen and son to Victoria, he retired to Valladolid, in order to collect his scattered troops so as to form another army. The good fortune of Charles was of short duration. Stanhope proposed, that he should immediately secure Pampeluna, the only pass by which the French king could send troops to Spain. But this salutary scheme was rejected, and king Charles proceeded to Madrid, which was deserted by all the grandees; and he had the mortification to see that the Castilians were universally attached to his competitor.

§ XVI. While his forces continued cantoned in the neighbourhood of Toledo, the king of France, at the request of Philip, sent the duke of Vendome to take the command of the Spanish army, which was at the same time reinforced by detachments of French troops. Vendome's reputation was so high, and his person so beloved by the soldiery, that his presence was almost equivalent to an army. A great number of volunteers immediately assembled to signalize themselves under the eye of this renowned general. The Castilians were inspired with fresh courage, and made surprising efforts in favour of their sovereign; so that in less than three months after his defeat at Saragossa, he was in a condition to go in quest of his rival. Charles, on the other hand, was totally neglected by the courts of Vienna and Great Britain, which took no steps to supply his wants, or enable him to prosecute the advantages he had gained. In the beginning of November his army marched back to Saragossa, and was cantoned in the neighbourhood of Cifuentes, where Staremberg established his head-quarters. General Stanhope with the British forces was quartered in the little town of Brihuega, where, on the twenty-seventh day of the month he found himself suddenly surrounded by the whole Spanish army. As the place was not tenable, and he had very little ammunition, he was obliged, after a short, but vigorous resistance, to capitulate, and surrender himself and all his forces prisoners of war, to the amount of two thousand men, including three lieutenant-generals, one major-general, one brigadier, with all the colonels and officers of the respective regiments. He was greatly censured for having allowed himself to be surpris'd; for, if he had placed a guard upon the neighbouring hills, according

to the advice of general Carpenter, he might have received notice of the enemy's approach time enough to retire to Cifuentes. Thither he detached his aid du camp with an account of his situation, on the appearance of the Spanish army; and Staremburg immediately assembled his forces. About eleven in the forenoon they began to march towards Brihuega; but the roads were so bad, that night overtook them before they reached the heights in the neighbourhood of that place. Staremburg is said to have loitered away his time unnecessarily, from motives of envy to the English general, who had surrendered before his arrival. The troops lay all night on their arms near Villa-viciosa, and on the twenty-ninth were attacked by the enemy, who doubled their number. Staremburg's left wing was utterly defeated; all the infantry that composed it, having been either cut in pieces or taken; but the victors, instead of following the blow, began to plunder the baggage; and Staremburg with his right wing fought their left with surprising valour and perseverance till night. Then they retired in disorder, leaving him master of the field of battle and of all their artillery. Six thousand of the enemy were killed on the spot: but the allies had suffered so severely that the general could not maintain his ground. He ordered the cannon to be nailed up, and marched to Saragossa, from whence he retired to Catalonia. Thither he was pursued by the duke de Vendome, who reduced Balaguer, in which he had left a garrison, and compelled him to take shelter under the walls of Barcelona. At this period the duke de Noailles invested Gironne, which he reduced, notwithstanding the severity of the weather; so that Philip, from a fugitive, became in three months absolute master of the whole Spanish monarchy, except the province of Catalonia, and even that lay open to his incursions. Nothing of consequence was achieved on the side of Portugal, from whence the earl of Galway returned to England by the queen's permission. After the battle of Pultowa the czar of Muscovy reduced all Livonia; but he and king Augustus agreed to a neutrality for Pomerania. The king of Sweden continued at Bender, and the grand signor interested himself so much in behalf of that prince, as to declare war against the emperor of Russia. Hostilities were carried on between the Swedish and Danish fleets with various success. The malcontents in Hungary sustained repeated losses during the summer; but they were encouraged to maintain the war by the rupture between the Ottoman Porte and Russia. They were flattered with hopes of auxiliaries from the Turks; and expected engineers and money from the French monarch.

§ XVII. In England the effects of those intrigues which had been formed against the Whig ministers began to appear. The trial of Sacheverel had excited a popular spirit of aversion to those who favoured the dissenters. From all parts of the kingdom addresses were presented to the queen, censuring all resistance as a rebellious doctrine, founded upon antimonarchical and republican principles. At the same time counter addresses were procured by the Whigs, extolling the revolution, and magnifying the conduct of the present parliament. The queen began to express her attachment to the Tories, by mortifying the duke of Marlborough. Upon the death of the earl of Essex she wrote to the general, desiring, that the regiment which had been commanded by that nobleman, should be given to Mr. Hill brother to Mrs. Masham, who had supplanted the dutchess of Marlborough in the queen's friendship, and was in effect the source of this political revolution. The duke represented to her majesty in person,

person, the prejudice that would redound to the service from the promotion of such a young officer over the heads of a great many brave men, who had exhibited repeated proofs of valour and capacity. He expostulated with his sovereign on this extraordinary mark of partial regard to the brother of Mrs. Masham, which he could not help considering as a declaration against himself and his family, who had so much cause to complain of that lady's malice and ingratitude. To this remonstrance the queen made no other reply, but that he would do well to consult his friends. The earl of Godolphin enforced his friend's arguments, though without effect; and the duke retired in disgust to Windfor. The queen appeared at council without taking the least notice of his absence, which did not fail to alarm the whole Whig faction. Several noblemen ventured to speak to her majesty on the subject, and explain the bad consequences of disobliging a man who had done such eminent services to the nation. She told them, his services were still fresh in her memory; and, that she retained all her former kindness for his person. Hearing, however, that a popular clamour was raised, and that the house of commons intended to pass some votes that would be disagreeable to her and her new counsellors, she ordered the earl of Godolphin to write to the duke, to dispose of the regiment as he should think proper, and return to town immediately. Before he received this intimation he had sent a letter to the queen, desiring she would permit him to retire from business. In answer to this petition, she assured him, his suspicions were groundless, and insisted upon his coming to council. The dutchess demanded an audience of her majesty, on pretence of vindicating her own character from some aspersions. She hoped to work upon the queen's tenderness, and retrieve the influence she had lost. She protested, argued, wept, and supplicated: but, the queen was too well pleased with her own deliverance from the tyranny of the other's friendship, to incur such slavery for the future. All the humiliation of the dutchess served only to render herself the more contemptible. The queen heard her without exhibiting the least sign of emotion, and all she would vouchsafe, was a repetition of these words, "You desired no answer, and you shall have none:" alluding to an expression in a letter she had received from the dutchess. As an additional mortification to the ministry, the office of lord-chamberlain was transferred from the duke of Kent to the duke of Shrewsbury, who had lately voted with the Tories, and maintained an intimacy of correspondence with Mr. Harley. The interest of the duke of Marlborough was not even sufficient to prevent the dismissal of his own son-in-law the earl of Sunderland from the post of secretary of state, in which he was succeeded by the lord Dartmouth.

§ XVIII. The queen was generally applauded for thus asserting her just prerogative, and setting herself free from an arbitrary cabal, by which she had been so long kept in dependence. The duke of Beaufort went to court on this occasion, and told her majesty, he was extremely glad that he could now salute her queen in reality. The whole Whig party were justly alarmed at these alterations. The directors of the bank represented to her majesty the prejudice that would undoubtedly accrue to public credit from a change of the ministry. The emperor and the states-general interposed in this domestic revolution. Their ministers at London presented memorials, explaining in what manner foreign affairs would be influenced by an alteration in the British ministry. The queen assured them, that whatever changes might be made, the duke of Marlborough should

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be continued in his employments. In the month of August the earl of Godolphin was divested of his office, and the treasury put in commission, subjected to the direction of Harley, appointed chancellor of the exchequer and under-treasurer. The earl of Rochester was declared president of the council, in the room of lord Somers: the staff of lord-steward being taken from the duke of Devonshire, was given to the duke of Buckingham; and Mr. Boyle was removed from the secretary's office, to make way for Mr. Henry St. John. The lord-chancellor having resigned the great seal, it was first put in commission, and afterwards given to Sir Simon Harcourt. The earl of Wharton surrendered his commission of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, which the queen conferred on the duke of Ormond. The earl of Orford withdrew himself from the board of admiralty; and Mr. George Granville was appointed secretary of war, in the room of Mr. Robert Walpole. The command of the forces in Portugal was bestowed upon the earl of Portmore: the duke of Hamilton was appointed lord-lieutenant of the county palatine of Lancaster. In a word, there was not one Whig left in any office of state, except the duke of Marlborough, who would have renounced his command, had not he been earnestly dissuaded by his particular friends, from taking such a step as might have been prejudicial to the interest of the nation. That the triumph of the Tories might be complete, the queen dissolved the Whig parliament, after such precautions were taken as could not fail to influence the new election, in favour of the other party.

§ XIX. To this end nothing so effectually contributed as did the trial of Sacheverel, who was used as an instrument and tool to wind and turn the passions of the vulgar. Having been presented to a benefice in North-Wales, he went in procession to that country with all the pomp and magnificence of a sovereign prince. He was sumptuously entertained by the university of Oxford, and different noblemen, who, while they worshipped him as the idol of their faction, could not help despising the object of their adoration. He was received in several towns by the magistrates of the corporation in their formalities, and often attended by a body of a thousand horse. At Bridgnorth he was met by Mr. Creswell, at the head of four thousand horse, and the like number of persons on foot, wearing white knots edged with gold, and three leaves of gilt laurel in their hats. The hedges were for two miles dressed with garlands of flowers, and lined with people; and the steeples covered with streamers, flags, and colours. Nothing was heard but the cry of "the church and Dr. Sacheverel." The clergy were actuated by a spirit of enthusiasm, which seemed to spread like a contagion through all ranks and degrees of people, and had such effect upon the elections for the new parliament, that very few were returned as members but such as had distinguished themselves by their zeal against the Whig administration. Now the queen had the pleasure to see all the offices of state, the lieutenancy of London, the management of corporations, and the direction of both houses of parliament in the hands of the Tories. When these met on the twenty-fifth day of November, Mr. Bromley was chosen speaker without opposition. The queen in her speech recommended the prosecution of the war with vigour, especially in Spain. She declared herself resolved to support the church of England; to preserve the British constitution according to the union; to maintain the indulgence by law allowed to scrupulous consciences; and to employ none but such as were heartily attached to the protestant succession in the house of Hanover. The lords, in their address, promised to concur in all reasonable measures towards procuring an honourable

nourable peace. The commons were more warm and hearty in their assurances, exhorting her majesty to discountenance all such principles and measures as had lately threatened her royal crown and dignity; measures, which whenever they might prevail, would prove fatal to the whole constitution both in church and state. After this declaration they proceeded to consider the estimates, and cheerfully granted the supplies for the ensuing year, part of which was raised by two lotteries. In the house of peers the earl of Scarborough moved, that the thanks of the house should be returned to the duke of Marlborough; but the duke of Argyle made some objections to the motion, and the general's friends dreading the consequence of putting the question, postponed the consideration of this proposal until the duke should return from the continent. The earl of Peterborough was appointed ambassador extraordinary to the Imperial court: the earl of Rivers was sent in the same quality to Hanover; and Mr. Richard Hill nominated envoy extraordinary to the United Provinces, as well as to the council of state appointed for the government of the Spanish Netherlands, in the room of lieutenant-general Cadogan. Meredith, Macartney, and Honeywood were deprived of their regiments, because in their cups they had drank confusion to the enemies of the duke of Marlborough.

§ XX. This nobleman arrived in England towards the latter end of December. He conferred about half an hour in private with the queen, and next morning assisted at a committee of the privy-council. Her majesty gave him to understand, that he needed not expect the thanks of the parliament as formerly; and told him she hoped he would live well with her ministers. He expressed no resentment at the alterations which had been made; but resolved to acquiesce in the queen's pleasure, and retain the command of the army on her own terms. On the second day of January the queen sent a message to both houses, intimating, that there had been an action in Spain to the disadvantage of king Charles: that the damage having fallen particularly on the English forces, she had given directions for sending and procuring troops to repair the loss, and hoped the parliament would approve her conduct. Both houses seized this opportunity of venting their spleen against the old ministry. The history of England is disgraced by the violent conduct of two turbulent factions, that in their turn engrossed the administration and legislative power. The parliamentary strain was quite altered. One can hardly conceive how resolutions so widely different could be taken on the same subject, with any shadow of reason and decorum. Marlborough, who but a few months before had been so highly extolled and caressed by the representatives of the people, was now become the object of parliamentary hatred and censure, though no sensible alteration had happened in his conduct or success. That hero, who had retrieved the glory of the British arms, won so many battles, subdued such a number of towns and districts, humbled the pride, and checked the ambition of France, secured the liberty of Europe; and, as it were, chained victory to his chariot wheels; was in a few weeks dwindled into an object of contempt and derision. He was ridiculed in public libels, and reviled in private conversation. Instances were every where repeated of his fraud, avarice, and extortion; his insolence, cruelty, ambition, and misconduct: even his courage was called in question; and this consummate general was represented as the lowest of mankind. So unstable is the popularity of every character that fluctuates between two opposite tides of faction.

§ XXI.

§ XXI. The lords in their answer to the queen's message, declared, that as the misfortune in Spain might have been occasioned by some preceding mismanagement, they would use their utmost endeavours to discover it, so as to prevent the like for the future. They set on foot an inquiry concerning the affairs of Spain; and the earl of Peterborough being examined before the committee, imputed all the miscarriages in the course of that war to the earl of Galway and general Stanhope. Notwithstanding the defence of Galway, which was clear and convincing, the house resolved, That the earl of Peterborough had given a faithful and honourable account of the councils of war in Valencia: That the earl of Galway, the lord Tyrawley, and general Stanhope, in advising an offensive war, had been the unhappy occasion of the battle at Almanza, the source of our misfortunes in Spain, and one great cause of the disappointment from the expedition to Toulon, concerted with her majesty. They voted, That the prosecution of an offensive war in Spain was approved and directed by the ministers, who were therefore justly blameable, as having contributed to all our misfortunes in Spain, and to the disappointment of the expedition against Toulon: That the earl of Peterborough, during his command in Spain, had performed many great and eminent services; and, if his opinion had been followed, it might have prevented the misfortunes that ensued. Then the duke of Buckingham moved, That the thanks of the house should be given to the earl for his remarkable and eminent services: and these he actually received from the mouth of the lord-keeper Harcourt, who took this opportunity to drop some oblique reflections upon the mercenary disposition of the duke of Marlborough. The house proceeding in the inquiry, passed another vote, importing, That the late ministry had been negligent in managing the Spanish war, to the great prejudice of the nation. Finding that the Portuguese troops were posted on the right of the English at the battle of Almanza, they resolved, That the earl of Galway, in yielding this point, had acted contrary to the honour of the imperial crown of Great Britain. These resolutions they included in an address to the queen, who had been present during the debates, which were extremely violent; and to every separate vote was attached a severe protest. These were not the proceedings of candour and national justice, but the ebullitions of party zeal and rancorous animosity.

§ XXII. While the lords were employed in this inquiry, the commons examined certain abuses which had crept into the management of the navy; and some censures were passed upon certain persons concerned in contracts for victualling the seamen. The inhabitants of St. Olave's and other parishes presented a petition, complaining, that a great number of Palatines inhabiting one house might produce among them a contagious distemper; and in time become a charge to the public, as they were destitute of all visible means of subsistence. This petition had been procured by the Tories, that the house of commons might have another handle for attacking the late ministry. A committee was appointed to inquire upon what invitation or encouragement those Palatines had come to England. The papers relating to this affair being layed before them by the queen's order, and perused, the house resolved, That the inviting and bringing over the poor Palatines of all religions, at the public expence, was an extravagant and unreasonable charge to the kingdom, and a scandalous misapplication of the public money, tending to the increase and oppression of the poor, and of dangerous consequence to the constitution in church

church and state; and, That whoever advised their being brought over, was an enemy to the queen and kingdom. Animated by the heat of this inquiry, they passed the bill to repeal the act for a general naturalization of all protestants; but this was rejected in the house of lords. Another bill was enacted into a law, importing, That no person should be deemed qualified for representing a county in parliament, unless he possessed an estate of six hundred pounds a-year; and restricting the qualification of burgesses to half that sum. The design of this bill was, to exclude trading people from the house of commons, and to lodge the legislative power with the land-holders. A third act passed, permitting the importation of French wine in neutral bottoms: a bill against which the Whigs loudly exclaimed, as a national evil and a scandalous compliment to the enemy.

§ XXIII. A violent party in the house of commons began to look upon Harley as a lukewarm Tory, because he would not enter precipitately into all their factious measures: they even began to suspect his principles, when his credit was re-established by a very singular incident. Guiscard the French partisan, of whom mention hath already been made, thought himself very ill rewarded for his services with a precarious pension of four hundred pounds, which he enjoyed from the queen's bounty. He had been renounced by St. John the former companion of his pleasures: he had in vain endeavoured to obtain an audience of the queen, with a view to demand more considerable appointments. Harley was his enemy, and all access to her majesty was denied. Enraged at these disappointments, he attempted to make his peace with the court of France, and offered his services, in a letter to one Moreau a banker in Paris. His packet, which he endeavoured to transmit by the way of Portugal, was intercepted, and a warrant issued out to apprehend him for high-treason. When the messenger disarmed him in St. James's park, he exhibited marks of guilty confusion and despair, and begged that he would kill him directly. Being conveyed to the Cockpit in a sort of frenzy, he perceived a penknife lying upon a table, and took it up without being perceived by his attendants. A committee of council was immediately summoned, and Guiscard brought before them to be examined. Finding that his correspondence with Moreau was discovered, he desired to speak in private with secretary St. John, whom, in all probability, he had resolved to assassinate. His request being refused, he said, "That's hard! not one word!" St. John being out of his reach, he stepped up to Mr. Harley, and exclaiming, "Have at thee, then," stabbed him in the breast with the penknife which he had concealed. The instrument broke upon the bone without penetrating into the cavity: nevertheless, he repeated the blow with such force, that the chancellor of the exchequer fell to the ground. Secretary St. John seeing him fall, cried out, "The villain has killed Mr. Harley!" and drew his sword. Several other members followed his example, and wounded Guiscard in several places. Yet, he made a desperate defence, until he was overpowered by the messengers and servants, and conveyed from the council-chamber, which he had filled with terror, tumult, and confusion. His wounds, though dangerous, were not mortal; but he died of a gangrene occasioned by the bruises he had sustained. This attempt upon the life of Harley, by a person who wanted to establish a traiterous correspondence with France, extinguished the suspicions of those who began to doubt that minister's

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Marlborough.
Tindal.
Lives of the
Admirals.
Voltaire.

An. Ch. 1711.

ter's integrity. The two houses of parliament, in an address to the queen, declared their belief, that Mr. Harley's fidelity to her majesty, and zeal for her service, had drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction. They besought her majesty, to take all possible care of her sacred person; and, for that purpose, to give directions for causing papists to be removed from the cities of London and Westminster. A proclamation was published, ordering the laws to be strictly put in execution against papists. When Harley appeared in the house of commons after his recovery, he was congratulated upon it by the speaker in a florid and fulsome premeditated speech. An act was passed, decreeing, That an attempt upon the life of a privy counsellor should be felony without benefit of the clergy. The earl of Rochester dying, Harley became sole minister, was created baron of Wigmore, and raised to the rank of earl by the noble and antient titles of Oxford and Mortimer: to crown his prosperity, he was appointed lord-treasurer, and vested with the supreme administration of affairs.

§ XXIV. The commons impowered certain persons to examine all the grants made by king William, and report the value of them, as well as the considerations upon which they were made. Upon their report a bill was formed, and passed that house; but the lords rejected it at the first reading. Their next step was to examine the public accounts, with a view to fix an imputation on the earl of Godolphin. They voted, That above five and thirty millions of the money granted by parliament remained unaccounted for. This sum, however, included some accounts in the reigns of king Charles and king William. One half of the whole was charged to Mr. Bridges the paymaster, who had actually accounted for all the money he had received, except about three millions, though these accounts had not passed through the auditor's office. The commons afterwards proceeded to inquire into the debts of the navy, that exceeded five millions, which with many other debts were thrown into one stock, amounting to nine millions four hundred and seventy-one thousand, three hundred and twenty-five pounds. A fund was formed for paying an interest or annuity of six per cent. until the principal should be discharged; and with this was granted a monopoly of a projected trade to the South-sea, vested in the proprietors of navy-bills, debentures, and other public securities, which were incorporated for this purpose. Such was the origin of the South-sea company, founded upon a chimerical supposition, that the English would be permitted to trade upon the coast of Peru in the West-Indies. Perhaps, the new ministry hoped to obtain this permission as an equivalent for their abandoning the interest of king Charles with respect to his pretensions upon Spain. By this time the emperor Joseph had died of the small-pox without male issue; so that his brother's immediate aim was to succeed him on the Imperial throne. This event was on the twentieth day of April communicated by a message from the queen to both houses. She told them, that the states-general had concurred with her in a resolution to support the house of Austria; and, that they had already taken such measures as would secure the election of Charles as head of the empire.

§ XXV. The house of commons, in order to demonstrate their attachment to the church, in consequence of an address from the lower house of convocation, and a quickening message from the queen, passed a bill for building fifty new churches in the suburbs of London and Westminster, and appropriated

for this purpose the duty upon coals, which had been granted for the building of St. Paul's, now finished. This imposition was continued until it should raise the sum of three hundred and fifty thousand pounds. At the close of the session the commons presented a remonstrance or representation to the queen, in which they told her, that they had not only raised the necessary supplies, but also discharged the heavy debts of which the nation had so long and justly complained. They said, that in tracing the causes of this debt, they had discovered fraud, embezzlement, and misapplication of the public money: that they who of late years had the management of the treasury, were guilty of notorious breach of trust and injustice to the nation, in allowing above thirty millions to remain unaccounted for; a purposed omission that looked like a design to conceal embezzlements. They begged her majesty would give immediate directions for compelling the several imprest accountants speedily to pass their accounts. They expressed their hope, that such of the accountants as had neglected their duty in prosecuting their accounts, ought no longer to be intrusted with the public money. They affirmed, that from all these evil practices and worse designs of some persons, who had by false professions of love to their country, insinuated themselves into her royal favour, irreparable mischief would have accrued to the public, had not her majesty, in her great wisdom, seasonably discovered the fatal tendency of such measures, and removed from the administration those who had so ill answered her majesty's favourable opinion, and in so many instances grossly abused the trust reposed in them. They observed, that her people could with greater patience have suffered the manifold injuries done to themselves, by the frauds and depredations of such evil ministers, had not the same men proceeded to treat her sacred person with undutifulness and disregard. This representation being circulated through the kingdom, produced the desired effect of inflaming the minds of the people against the late ministry. Such expedients were become necessary for the execution of Oxford's project, which was to put a speedy end to a war that had already subjected the people to grievous oppression, and even accumulated heavy burdens to be transmitted to their posterity. The nation was inspired by extravagant ideas of glory and conquest, even to a rage of war-making; so that the new ministers, in order to dispel those dangerous chimeras, were obliged to take measures for exciting their indignation and contempt against those persons whom they had formerly idolized as their heroes and patriots. On the twelfth day of June the queen having given the royal assent to several public and private bills, made an affectionate speech to both houses. She thanked the commons in the warmest expressions for having complied with all her desires; for having baffled the expectations of her enemies in finding supplies for the service of the ensuing year; in having granted greater sums than were ever given to any prince in one session; and in having settled funds for the payment of the public debts; so that the credit of the nation was restored. She expressed her earnest concern for the succession of the house of Hanover; and her fixed resolution to support and encourage the church of England as by law established. Then the parliament was prorogued.

§ XXVI. Of the convocation which was assembled with the new parliament, the lower house chose Dr. Atterbury their prolocutor. He was an enterprising ecclesiastic of extensive learning, acute talents, violently attached to Tory principles,

ciples, and intimately connected with the prime minister Oxford; so that he directed all the proceedings in the lower house of convocation, in concert with that minister. The queen, in a letter to the archbishop, signified her hope, that the consultations of the clergy might be of use, to repress the attempts of loose and profane persons. She sent a licence under the broad seal, empowering them to sit and do business, in as ample a manner as ever had been granted since the reformation. They were ordered to lay before the queen an account of the excessive growth of infidelity and heresy, as well as of other abuses, that necessary measures might be taken for a reformation. The bishops were purposely slighted and overlooked, because they had lived in harmony with the late ministers. A committee being appointed to draw up a representation of the present state of the church and religion, Atterbury undertook the task, and composed a remonstrance that contained the most keen and severe strictures upon the administration, as it had been exercised since the time of the revolution. Another was penned by the bishops in more moderate terms; and several regulations were made, but in none of these did the two houses agree. They concurred, however, in censuring some tenets favouring Arianism, broached and supported by Mr. Whiston, mathematical professor in Cambridge. He had been expelled the university, and wrote a vindication of himself, dedicated to the convocation. The archbishop doubted whether this assembly could proceed against a man for heresy: the judges were consulted, and the majority of them gave in their opinion, that the convocation had a jurisdiction. Four of them professed the contrary sentiment, which they maintained from the statutes made at the reformation. The queen, in a letter to the bishops, said, that as there was now no doubt of their jurisdiction, she expected they would proceed in the matter before them. Fresh scruples arising, they determined to examine the book, without proceeding against the author, and this was censured accordingly. An extract of the sentence was sent to the queen; but she did not signify her pleasure on this subject, and the affair remained in suspense. Whiston published a work in four volumes, justifying his doctrine, and maintaining, that the apostolical constitutions were not only canonical, but also preferable in point of authority to the epistles and the gospel.

§ XXVII. The new ministry had not yet determined to supersede the duke of Marlborough in the command of the army. This was a step which could not be taken without giving umbrage to the Dutch and other allies. He therefore set out for Holland in the month of February, after the queen had assured him, that he might depend upon the punctual payment of the forces. Having conferred with the deputies of the states about the operations of the campaign, he about the middle of April assembled the army at Orchies, between Lille and Douay; while marechal de Villars drew together the French troops in the neighbourhood of Cambray and Arras. Lewis had by this time depopulated as well as impoverished his kingdom; yet his subjects still flocked to his standard with surprising spirit and attachment. Under the pressure of extreme misery they uttered not one complaint of their sovereign; but imputed all their calamities to the pride and obstinacy of the allies. Exclusive of all the other impositions that were layed upon that people, they consented to pay the tenth penny of their whole substance; but all their efforts of loyalty and affection to their prince would have been ineffectual, had not the merchants of the

the kingdom, by the permission of Philip, undertaken repeated voyages to the South-sea, from whence they brought home immense treasures: while the allies took no steps for intercepting these supplies, though nothing could have been more easy for the English than to deprive the enemy of this great resource, and convert it to their own advantage. Had a squadron of ships been annually employed for this purpose, the subjects of France and Spain must have been literally starved, and Lewis obliged to submit to such terms as the confederates might have thought proper to impose. Villars had found means to assemble a very numerous army, with which he encamped behind the river Sanfet, in such an advantageous post as could not be attacked with any prospect of success. Mean while the duke of Marlborough passed the Scarpe, and formed his camp between Douay and Bouchain, where he was joined by prince Eugene on the twenty-third day of May. This general, however, did not long remain in the Netherlands. Understanding that detachments had been made from the army of Villars to the Rhine, and that the elector of Bavaria intended to act in the empire, he, by order from the court of Vienna, marched towards the Upper Rhine with the Imperial and Palatine troops to secure Germany. The duke of Marlborough repassing the Scarpe, encamped in the plains of Lens, from whence he advanced towards Aire, as if he had intended to attack the French lines in that quarter. These lines beginning at Bouchain on the Scheld, were continued along the Sanfet and the Scarpe to Arras, and thence along the Upper Scarpe to Canché. They were defended by redoubts and other works, in such a manner, that Villars judged they were impenetrable, and called them the *Ne plus ultra* of Marlborough.

§ XXVIII. This nobleman advancing within two leagues of the French lines, ordered a great number of fascines to be made, declaring he would attack them the next morning; so that Villars drew all his forces on that side, in full expectation of an engagement. The duke, on the supposition that the passage of the Sanfet by Arleux would be left unguarded, had ordered the generals Cadogan and Hompesch to assemble twenty battalions and seventeen squadrons, from Douay and the neighbouring garrisons, and march to Arleux, where they should endeavour to pass the Sanfet. Brigadier Sutton was detached with the artillery and pontoons to lay bridges over the canal near Goulezen, and over the Scarpe at Vitry, while the duke with the whole confederate army began his march for the same place about nine in the evening. He proceeded with such expedition, that by five in the morning he passed the river at Vitry. There he received intelligence, that Hompesch had taken possession of the passes on the Sanfet and Schelde without opposition, the enemy having withdrawn their detachments from that side, just as he had imagined. He himself with his vanguard of fifty squadrons, hastened his march towards Arleux, and before eight of the clock arrived at Bacá-Bacheul, where in two hours he was joined by the heads of the columns into which he had divided his infantry. Villars being certified of his intention, about two in the morning decamped with his whole army, and putting himself at the head of the king's household troops, marched all night with such expedition, that about eleven in the forenoon he was in sight of the duke of Marlborough, who had by this time joined count Hompesch. The French general immediately retreated to the main body of his army, which had advanced to the high-road between Arras and Cambrai, while the allies encamped upon the Schelde between Oisy and Estrun, after a march of ten leagues

leagues without halting, scarce to be paralleled in history. By this plan, so happily executed, the duke of Marlborough fairly outwitted Villars, and, without the loss of one man, entered the lines which he had pronounced impenetrable. This stroke of the English general was extolled as a master-piece of military skill, while Villars was exposed to the ridicule even of his own officers. The field-deputies of the states-general proposed that he should give battle to the enemy, who passed the Schelde at Crevecoeur, in order to cover Bouchain: but the duke would not hazard an engagement, considering how much the army was fatigued by the long march; and that any misfortune, while they continued within the French lines, might be fatal. His intention was to besiege Bouchain, an enterprize that was deemed impracticable, inasmuch as the place was situated in a morass, strongly fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison, in the neighbourhood of an army superior in number to that of the allies. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, and the dissuasions of his own friends, he resolved to undertake the siege; and, in the mean time, dispatched brigadier Sutton to England, with an account of his having passed the French lines; which was not all agreeable to his enemies. They had prognosticated that nothing would be done during this campaign, and began to insinuate that the duke could strike no stroke of importance without the assistance of prince Eugene. They now endeavoured to lessen the glory of his success; and even taxed him with having removed his camp from a convenient situation to a place where the troops were in danger of starving. Nothing could be more provoking than this scandalous malevolence, to a great man who had done so much honour to his country, and was then actually exposing his life in her service.

§ XXIX. On the tenth day of August Bouchain was invested, and the duke of Marlborough exerted himself to the utmost extent of his vigilance and capacity, well knowing the difficulties of the undertaking, and how much his reputation would depend upon his success. Villars had taken every precaution that his skill and experience could suggest, to baffle the endeavours of the English general. He had reinforced the garrison to the number of six thousand chosen men, commanded by officers of known courage and ability. He made some efforts to raise the siege; but they were rendered ineffectual by the consummate prudence and activity of the duke of Marlborough. Then he layed a scheme for surprising Doway, which likewise miscarried. If we consider that the English general, in the execution of his plan, was obliged to form lines, erect regular forts, raise batteries, throw bridges over a river, make a causeway through a deep morass, provide for the security of convoys against a numerous army on one side, and the garrisons of Condé and Valenciennes on the other; we must allow this was the boldest enterprize of the whole war; that it required all the fortitude, skill, and resolution, of a great general, and all the valour and intrepidity of the confederate troops, who had scarce ever exhibited such amazing proofs of courage upon any other occasion, as they now displayed at the siege of Bouchain. In twenty days after the trenches were opened, the garrison was obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war; and this conquest was the last military exploit performed by the duke of Marlborough: for the breaches of Bouchain were no sooner repaired, than the opposite armies began to separate, and the allied forces were quartered in the frontier towns, that they might be at hand to take the field early in the spring. They

They were now in possession of the Maese, almost as far as the Sambre; of the Schelde from Tournay, and of the Lys as far as it is navigable. They had reduced Spanish Guelderland, Limburg, Brabant, Flanders, and the greater part of Hainault: they were masters of the Scarpe; and, by the conquest of Bouchain, they had opened to themselves a way into the very bowels of France. All these acquisitions were owing to the valour and conduct of the duke of Marlborough, who now returned to the Hague, and arrived in England about the middle of November.

§ XXX. The queen had conferred the command of her forces in Spain upon the duke of Argyle, who was recalled from the service in Flanders for that purpose. He had long been at variance with the duke of Marlborough; a circumstance which recommended him the more strongly to the ministry. He landed at Barcelona on the twenty-ninth of May, and found the British troops in the utmost distress for want of subsistence. The treasurer had promised to supply him liberally; the commons had granted one million, five hundred thousand pounds for that service. All their hopes of success were fixed on the campaign in that kingdom; and indeed the army commanded by the duke of Vendome was in such a wretched condition, that if Staremberg had been properly supported by the allies, he might have obtained signal advantages. The duke of Argyle having waited in vain for the promised remittances, was obliged to borrow money on his own credit, before the British troops could take the field. At length Staremberg advanced towards the enemy, who attacked him at the pass of Prato del Rey, where they were repulsed with considerable damage. After this action the duke of Argyle was seized with a violent fever, and conveyed back to Barcelona. Vendome invested the castle of Cardona, which was vigorously defended till the end of December, when a detachment being sent to the relief of the place, defeated the besiegers, killed two thousand on the spot, and took all their artillery, ammunition, and baggage. Staremberg was unable to follow the blow: the duke of Argyle wrote pressing letters to the ministry, and loudly complained that he was altogether unsupported; but all his remonstrances were ineffectual: no remittances arrived; and he returned to England without having been able to attempt any thing of importance. In September, king Charles leaving his queen at Barcelona, set sail for Italy, and at Milan had an interview with the duke of Savoy, where all disputes were compromised. That prince had forced his way into Savoy, and penetrated as far as the Rhine: but he suddenly halted in the middle of his career, and after a short campaign repassed the mountains. Prince Eugene, at the head of the German forces, protected the electors at Frankfort from the designs of the enemy, and Charles was unanimously chosen emperor; the electors of Cologne and Bavaria having been excluded from voting, because they lay under the ban of the empire. The war between the Ottoman Porte and the Muscovites was of short duration. The czar advanced so far into Moldavia, that he was cut off from all supplies, and altogether in the power of his enemy. In this emergency, he found means to corrupt the grand vizir in private, while in public he proposed articles of peace that were accepted. The king of Sweden, who was in the Turkish army, charged the vizir with treachery, and that minister was actually disgraced. The grand signor threatened to renew the war; but he was appeased by the czar's surrendering Asoph.

§ XXXI.

§ XXXI. The English ministry had conceived great expectations from an expedition against Quebec and Placentia, in North America, planned by colonel Nicholson, who had taken possession of Nova Scotia, and garrisoned Port-royal, to which he gave the name of Annapolis. He had brought four Indian chiefs to England, and represented the advantages that would redound to the nation, in point of commerce, should the French be expelled from North America. The ministers relished the proposal. A body of five thousand men were embarked in transports, under the command of brigadier Hill, brother to Mrs. Masham; and they sailed from Plymouth in the beginning of May, with a strong squadron of ships commanded by Sir Hovenden Walker. At Boston in New England, they were joined by two regiments of provincials; and about four thousand men, consisting of American planters, Palatines, and Indians, rendezvoused at Albany, in order to march by land into Canada, while the fleet sailed up the river of that name. On the twenty-first day of August, they were exposed to a violent storm, and driven among rocks, where eight transports perished with about eight hundred men. The admiral immediately sailed back to Spanish-River bay, where it was determined in a council of war, that as the fleet and forces were victualled for ten weeks only, and they could not depend upon a supply of provisions from New-England, they should return home, without making any further attempt. Such was the issue of this paucity expedition, intrusted to the direction of an officer without talents and experience.

§ XXXII. In the Irish parliament held during the summer, the duke of Ormond and the majority of the peers supported the Tory interest, while the commons expressed the warmest attachment to revolution-principles. The two houses made strenuous representations, and passed severe resolutions against each other. After the session, Sir Constantine Phipps the chancellor, and general Ingoldby, were appointed justices in the absence of the duke of Ormond, who returned to England in the month of November. In Scotland the Jacobites made no scruple of professing their principles and attachments to the pretender. The dutchess of Gordon presented the faculty of advocates with a silver medal representing the chevalier de St. George; and on the reverse the British islands, with the motto "Reddite." After some debate, it was voted, by a majority of sixty-three voices against twelve, that the dutchess should be thanked for this token of her regard. This task was performed by Dundas of Arnistoun, who thanked her grace for having presented them with a medal of their sovereign lord the king; hoping, and being confident, that her grace would very soon have an opportunity to compliment the faculty with a second medal, struck upon the restoration of the king and royal family, and the finishing rebellion, usurping tyranny and whiggery. An account of this transaction being layed before the queen, the lord-advocate was ordered to inquire into the particulars. Then the faculty were so intimidated, that they disowned Dundas, and Horne his accomplice. They pretended that the affair of the medal had been transacted by a party at an occasional meeting, and not by general consent; and, by a solemn act, they declared their attachment to the queen and the protestant succession. The court was satisfied with this atonement; but the resident from Hanover having presented a memorial to the queen, desiring that Dundas and his associates might be prosecuted, the

the government removed Sir David Dalrymple from his office of lord-advocate, on pretence of his having been too remiss in prosecuting those delinquents; and no further inquiry was made into the affair.

§ XXXIII. For some time a negotiation for peace had been carried on between the court of France and the new ministers, who had a double aim in this measure; namely, to mortify the Whigs and the Dutch, whom they detested, and to free their country from a ruinous war, which had all the appearance of becoming habitual to the constitution. They foresaw the risque they would run by entering into such measures, should ever the opposite faction regain the ascendancy: they knew the Whigs would employ all their art and influence, which was very powerful, in obstructing the peace, and in raising a popular clamour against the treaty. But their motives for treating were such as prompted them to undervalue all those difficulties and dangers. They hoped to obtain such advantages in point of commerce, for the subjects of Great Britain, as would silence all detraction. They did not doubt of being able to maintain the superiority which they had acquired in parliament; and perhaps some of them cherished views in favour of the pretender, whose succession to the crown would have effectually established their dominion over the opposite party. The earl of Jersey, who acted in concert with Oxford, sent a private message to the court of France, importing the queen's earnest desire of peace, representing the impossibility of a private negotiation, as the ministry was obliged to act with the utmost circumspection; and desiring that Lewis would propose to the Dutch a renewal of the conferences, in which case the English plenipotentiaries should have such instructions, that it would be impossible for the states-general to prevent the conclusion of the treaty. This intimation was delivered by one Gualtier, an obscure priest, who acted as chaplain to count Gallas the Imperial ambassador, and had been employed as a spy by the French ministry, since the commencement of hostilities. His connexion with lord Jersey was by means of his lady, who professed the roman catholic religion. His message was extremely agreeable to the court of St. Germain's; and he returned to London with a letter of compliment from the marquis de Torcy to the earl of Jersey, in which that minister assured him of his master's sincere inclination for peace, though he was averse to a renewal of the conferences with the states-general. Gualtier wrote a letter to Versailles, desiring, in the name of the English ministry, that his most christian majesty would communicate to them his proposals for a general peace, which they would communicate to the states-general, that they might negotiate in concert with their allies. A general answer being made to this intimation, Gualtier made a second journey to Versailles, and brought over a memorial, which was immediately transmitted to Holland. In the mean time, the pensionary endeavoured to renew the conferences in Holland. Petkum wrote to the French ministry, that if his majesty would resume the negotiation, in concert with the queen of Great Britain, he should certainly have reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Dutch deputies. This proposal Lewis declined, at the desire of the English ministers.

§ XXXIV. The states-general having perused the memorial, assured queen Anne that they were ready to join with her in contributing to the conclusion of a durable peace; but they expressed a desire that the French king would

communicate a more particular plan for securing the interest of the allied powers, and for settling the repose of Europe. Gualtier was once more sent to Versailles, accompanied by Mr. Prior, who had resided in France as secretary to the embassies of the earls of Portland and Jersey. He had acquired some reputation by his poetical talents; was a man of uncommon ability, insinuating address, and perfectly devoted to the Tory-interest. He was empowered to communicate the preliminary demands of the English; to receive the answer of the French king, and demand whether or not king Philip had transmitted a power of treating, to his grandfather. He arrived incognito at Fountainebleau, and presented the queen's memorial, in which she demanded a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands, and another on the Rhine for the empire; a security for the Dutch commerce, and a general satisfaction to all her allies. She required that the strong places taken from the duke of Savoy should be restored; and that he should possess such towns and districts in Italy as had been ceded to him in treaties between him and his allies; that Lews should acknowledge queen Anne and the protestant succession; demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk, and agree to a new treaty of commerce: that Gibraltar and Portmahon should be yielded to the crown of England: that the negro trade in America, at that time carried on by the French, should be ceded to the English, together with some towns on that continent, where the slaves might be refreshed. She expected security that her subjects trading to Spain should enjoy all advantages granted by that crown to the most favoured nation: that she should be put in possession of Newfoundland and Hudson's bay, either by way of restitution or cession; and that both nations should continue to enjoy whatever territories they might be possessed of in North America at the ratification of the treaties. She likewise insisted upon a security that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united on the same head. Her majesty no longer insisted upon Philip's being expelled from the throne of Spain by the arms of his own grandfather. She now perceived that the exorbitant power of the house of Austria would be as dangerous to the liberty of Europe, as ever that of the family of Bourbon had been in the zenith of its glory. She might have remembered the excessive power, the insolence, the ambition, of Charles V. and Philip II. who had enslaved so many countries, and embroiled all Europe. She was sincerely desirous of peace, from motives of humanity and compassion to her subjects and fellow-creatures: she was eagerly bent upon procuring such advantages to her people, as would enable them to discharge the heavy load of debt under which they laboured, and recompence them in some measure for the blood and treasure they had so lavishly expended in the prosecution of the war. These were the sentiments of a christian princess; of an amiable and pious sovereign, who bore a share in the grievances of her subjects, and looked upon them with the eyes of maternal affection. She thought she had the better title to insist upon those advantages, as they had been already granted to her subjects in a private treaty with king Charles.

§ XXXV. As Prior's powers were limited in such a manner that he could not negotiate, Menager, deputy from the city of Rouen to the board of trade, accompanied the English minister to London, with full powers to settle the preliminaries of the treaty. At his arrival in London, the queen immediately commissioned the duke of Shrewsbury, the earls of Jersey, Dartmouth, Oxford,

ford, and Mr. St. John, to treat with him; and the conferences were immediately begun. After long and various disputes, they agreed upon certain preliminary articles, which, on the eighth day of October, were signed by the French minister, and by the two secretaries of state, in consequence of a written order from her majesty. Then Menager was privately introduced to the queen at Windsor. She told him she was averse to war: that she would exert all her power to conclude a speedy peace: that she should be glad to live upon good terms with the king of France, to whom she was so nearly allied in blood; and she expressed her hope that there would be a closer union after the peace, between them, and between their subjects, cemented by a perfect correspondence and friendship. The earl of Strafford, who had been lately recalled from the Hague, where he resided as ambassador, was now sent back to Holland, with orders to communicate to the pensionary the proposals of peace which France had made; to signify the queen's approbation of them, and propose a place where the plenipotentiaries should assemble. The English ministers now engaged in an intimate correspondence with the court of Versailles; and marechal Tallard being released from his confinement at Nottingham, was allowed to return to his own country on his parole. After the departure of Menager, the preliminaries were communicated to count Gallas, the emperor's minister, who, in order to inflame the minds of the people, caused them to be translated and inserted in one of the daily papers. This step was so much resented by the queen, that she sent a message, desiring he would come no more to court; but that he might leave the kingdom as soon as he should think proper. He took the hint, and retired accordingly; but the queen gave the emperor to understand, that any other minister he should appoint, would be admitted by her without hesitation.

§ XXXVI. The states of Holland, alarmed at the preliminaries, sent over Buys as envoy extraordinary, to intercede with the queen that she would alter her resolutions: but she continued steady to her purpose; and the earl of Strafford demanded the immediate concurrence of the states, declaring, in the queen's name, that she would look upon any delay, on their part, as a refusal to comply with her propositions. Intimidated by this declaration, they agreed to open the general conferences at Utrecht on the first day of January. They granted passports to the French ministers; and the queen appointed Robinson bishop of Bristol, and the earl of Strafford, her plenipotentiaries at the congress. Charles, the new emperor, being at Milan when he received a copy of the preliminaries, wrote circular letters to the electors and princes of the empire, exhorting them to persist in their engagements to the grand alliance. He likewise desired the states-general to join counsels with him in persuading the queen of England to reject the proposals of France, and prosecute the war; or at least negotiate on the foundation of the first preliminaries, which had been signed by the marquis de Torcy. He wrote a letter to the same purpose to the queen of Great Britain, who received it with the most mortifying indifference. No wonder that he should zealously contend for the continuance of a war, the expence of which she and the Dutch had hitherto almost wholly defrayed. The new preliminaries were severely attacked by the Whigs, who ridiculed and reviled the ministry in word and writing. Pamphlets, libels, and lampoons, were to-day published by one faction, and to-morrow answered by

the other. They contained all the insinuations of malice and contempt, all the bitterness of reproach, and all the rancour of recrimination. In the midst of this contention, the queen dispatched the earl of Rivers to Hanover, with an assurance to the elector, that his succession to the crown should be effectually ascertained in the treaty. The earl brought back an answer in writing: but, at the same time, his electoral highness ordered the baron de Bothmar, his envoy in England, to present a memorial to the queen, representing the pernicious consequences of Philip's remaining in possession of Spain and the West Indies. This remonstrance the baron published by way of appeal to the people, and the Whigs extolled it with the highest encomiums, while the queen and her ministers resented this step, as an officious and inflammatory interposition.

§ XXXVII. The proposals of peace made by the French king were disagreeable even to some individuals of the Tory-party, and certain peers who had hitherto adhered to that interest, agreed with the Whigs, to make a remonstrance against the preliminary articles. The court being apprised of their intention, prorogued the parliament till the seventh day of December, in expectation of the Scottish peers, who would cast the balance in favour of the ministry. In her speech, at the opening of the session, she told them that, notwithstanding the arts of those who delighted in war, the place and time were appointed for a congress; and that the states-general had expressed their entire confidence in her conduct. She declared her chief concern should be to secure the succession of the crown in the house of Hanover; to procure all the advantages to the nation which a tender and affectionate sovereign could procure for a dutiful and loyal people; and to obtain satisfaction for all her allies. She observed, that the most effectual way to procure an advantageous peace, would be to make preparations for carrying on the war with vigour. She recommended unanimity, and prayed God would direct their consultations. In the house of lords, the earl of Nottingham, who had now associated himself with the Whigs, inveighed against the preliminaries as captious and insufficient, and offered a clause to be inserted in the address of thanks, representing to her majesty, that in the opinion of the house, no peace could be safe or honourable to Great Britain or Europe, if Spain and the West Indies should be allotted to any branch of the house of Bourbon. A violent debate ensued, in the course of which the earl of Anglesey represented the necessity of easing the nation of the burdens incurred by an expensive war. He affirmed, that a good peace might have been procured immediately after the battle of Ramillies, if it had not been prevented by some persons who prolonged the war for their own private interest. This insinuation was levelled at the duke of Marlborough, who made a long speech in his own vindication. He bowed to the place where the queen sat incognito; and appealed to her, whether, while he had the honour to serve her majesty as general and plenipotentiary, he had not constantly informed her and her council of all the proposals of peace which had been made; and had not desired instructions for his conduct on that subject? He declared, upon his conscience, and in presence of the supreme Being, before whom he expected soon to appear, that he was ever desirous of a safe, honourable, and lasting peace; and that he was always very far from entertaining any design of prolonging the war for his own private advantage, as
his

his enemies had most falsely insinuated. At last the question being put, Whether the earl of Nottingham's advice should be part of the address? it was carried in the affirmative by a small majority. The address was accordingly presented; and the queen, in her answer, said she should be very sorry any one could think she would not do her utmost to recover Spain and the West Indies from the house of Bourbon. Against this advice, however, several peers protested, because there was no precedent for inserting a clause of advice in an address of thanks; and because they looked upon it as an invasion of the royal prerogative. In the address of the commons there was no such article; and therefore the answer they received was warm and cordial.

§ XXXVIII. The duke of Hamilton claiming a seat in the house of peers, as duke of Brandon, a title he had lately received, was opposed by the anti-courtiers, who pretended to foresee great danger to the constitution from admitting into the house a greater number of Scottish peers than the act of union allowed. Counsel was heard upon the validity of his patent. They observed that no objection could be made to the queen's prerogative in conferring honours; and that all the subjects of the united kingdom were equally capable of receiving honour. The house of lords had already decided the matter, in admitting the duke of Queensberry upon his being created duke of Dover. The debate was managed with great ability on both sides: the Scottish peers united in defence of the duke's claim; and the court exerted its whole strength to support the patent. Nevertheless, the question being put, Whether Scottish peers, created peers of Great Britain since the union, had a right to sit in that house? it was carried in the negative by a majority of five voices; though not without a protest signed by the lords in the opposition. The Scottish peers were so incensed at this decision, that they drew up a representation to the queen, complaining of it as an infringement of the union, and a mark of disgrace put upon the whole peerage of Scotland. The bill against occasional conformity was revived by the earl of Nottingham, in more moderate terms than those that had been formerly rejected; and it passed both houses by the connivance of the Whigs, upon the earl's promise that if they would consent to this measure, he would bring over many friends to join them in matters of greater consequence. On the twenty-second day of December, the queen being indisposed, granted a commission to the lord-keeper, and some other peers, to give the royal assent to this bill, and another for the land-tax. The duke of Devonshire obtained leave to bring in a bill for giving precedence of all peers to the electoral prince of Hanover, as duke of Cambridge. An address was presented to the queen, desiring she would give instructions to her plenipotentiaries, to consult with the ministers of the allies in Holland before the opening of the congress, that they might concert the necessary measures for proceeding with unanimity, the better to obtain the great ends proposed by her majesty.

§ XXXIX. The commissioners for examining the public accounts having discovered that the duke of Marlborough had received an annual present of five or six thousand pounds from the contractors for bread to the army, the queen declared in council, that she thought fit to dismiss him from all his employments, that the matter might be impartially examined. This declaration was imparted to him in a letter under her own hand, in which she took occasion to

complain of the treatment she had received. She probably alluded to the insolence of his dutchess; the subjection in which she had been kept by the late ministry; and the pains lately taken by the Whigs to depreciate her conduct, and thwart her measures with respect to the peace. The duke wrote an answer to her majesty, vindicating himself from the charge which had been brought against his character; and his two daughters, the countess of Sunderland and the lady Rialton, resigned their places of ladies of the bed-chamber. The ministry, in order to ascertain a majority in the house of lords, persuaded the queen to take a measure which nothing but necessity could justify. She created twelve peers * at once; and, on the second day of January, they were introduced into the upper-house without opposition. The lord-keeper delivered to the house a message from the queen, desiring they would adjourn to the fourteenth day of the month. The anti-courtiers alledged that the queen could not send a message to any one house to adjourn, but ought to have directed it to both houses. This objection produced a debate, which was terminated in favour of the court by the weight of the twelve new peers.

§ XL. At this period prince Eugene arrived in England, with a letter to the queen from the emperor, and instructions to propose a new scheme for prosecuting the war. His errand was far from being agreeable to the ministry; and they suspected that his real aim was to manage intrigues among the discontented party, who opposed the peace. Nevertheless, he was treated with that respect which was due to his quality and eminent talents. The ministers, the nobility, and officers of distinction, visited him at his arrival. He was admitted to an audience of the queen, who received him with great complacency. Having perused the letter which he delivered, she expressed her concern that her health did not permit her to speak with his highness as often as she could wish; but that she had ordered the treasurer and secretary St. John to receive his proposals, and confer with him as frequently as he should think proper. He expressed extraordinary respect for the duke of Marlborough, notwithstanding his disgrace. The lord-treasurer, while he entertained him at dinner, declared, that he looked upon that day as the happiest in the whole course of his life, since he had the honour to see in his house the greatest captain of the age. The prince is said to have replied, "If I am, it is owing to your lordship." Alluding to the disgrace of Marlborough, whom the earl's intrigues had deprived of all military command. When bishop Burnet conversed with him about the scandalous libels that were every day published against the duke, and in particular mentioned one paragraph, in which the author al-

* Lord Compton and lord Bruce, sons to the earls of Northampton and Aylesbury, were called up by writ to the house of peers. The other ten were these: lord Duplin, of the kingdom of Scotland, created baron Hay of Bedwadin, in the county of Hereford; lord viscount Windfor of Ireland, made baron Mountjoy in the Isle of Wight; Henry Paget, son to the lord Paget, created baron Burton in the county of Stafford; Sir Thomas Mansel, baron Mansel of Margam, in the county of Glamorgan; Sir Thomas Willoughby, baron Middleton of Middleton in the county of Warwick; Sir Thomas

Trevor, baron Trevor of Bromham, in the county of Bedford; George Granville, baron Lansdowne of Biddeford, in the county of Devon; Samuel Masham, baron Masham of Oates, in the county of Essex; Thomas Foley, baron Foley of Kidderminster, in the county of Worcester; and Allen Bathurst, baron Bathurst of Bathelsheden, in the county of Bedford. On the first day of their being introduced, when the question was put about adjourning, the earl of Wharton asked one of them, "Whether they voted by their foreman?"

lowed he had been once fortunate, the prince observed it was the greatest commendation that could be bestowed upon him, as it implied that all his other successes were owing to his courage and conduct. While the nobility of both parties vied with each other in demonstrations of respect for this noble stranger; while he was adored by the Whigs, and admired by the people, who gazed at him in crowds when he appeared in public; even in the midst of all these caresses, party-riots were excited to insult his person, and some scandalous reflections upon his mother were inserted in one of the public papers. The queen treated him with distinguished marks of regard; and, on her birth-day, presented him with a sword worth five thousand pounds. Nevertheless, she looked upon him as a patron and friend of that turbulent faction to which she owed so much disquiet. She knew he had been pressed to come over by the Whig-noblemen, who hoped his presence would inflame the people to some desperate attempt upon the new ministry: she was not ignorant that he held private conferences with the duke of Marlborough, the earl of Sunderland, the lords Somers, Hallifax, and all the chiefs of that party, and entered into a close connection with the baron de Bothmar the Hanoverian envoy, who had been very active in fomenting the disturbances of the people.

§ XLI. Her majesty, who had been for some time afflicted with the gout, sent a message to both houses, on the seventeenth day of January, signifying that the plenipotentiaries were arrived at Utrecht; and that she was employed in making preparations for an early campaign: she hoped therefore that the commons would proceed in giving the necessary dispatch to the supplies. The lord treasurer, in order to demonstrate his attachment to the protestant succession, brought in a bill which had been proposed by the duke of Devonshire, giving precedence to the whole electoral family, as children and nephews of the crown; and, when it was passed into an act, he sent it over to Hanover by Mr. Thomas Harley. The sixteen peers for Scotland were prevailed upon, by promise of satisfaction, to resume their seats in the upper-house, from which they had absented themselves since the decision against the patent of the duke of Hamilton; but whatever pecuniary recompence they might have obtained from the court, on which they were meanly dependent, they received no satisfaction from the parliament. The commons finding Mr. Walpole very troublesome in their house, by his talents, activity, and zealous attachment to the Whig interest, found means to discover some clandestine practices in which he was concerned as secretary at war, with regard to the forage-contract in Scotland. The contractors, rather than admit into their partnership a person whom he had recommended for that purpose, chose to present his friend with five hundred pounds. Their bill was addressed to Mr. Walpole, who indorsed it, and his friend touched the money. This transaction was interpreted into a bribe. Mr. Walpole was voted guilty of corruption, imprisoned in the Tower, and expelled the house. Being afterwards re-chosen by the same borough of Lyn Regis, which he had before represented, a petition was lodged against him, and the commons voted him incapable of being elected a member to serve in the present parliament.

§ XLII. Their next attack was upon the duke of Marlborough, who was found to have received a yearly sum from Sir Solomon Medina, a Jew, concerned in the contract for furnishing the army with bread; to have been gratified

tified by the queen with ten thousand pounds a year to defray the expence of intelligence; and to have pocketted a deduction of two and a half per cent. from the pay of the foreign troops maintained by England. It was alledged, in his justification, that the present from the Jews was a customary perquisite, which had always been enjoyed by the general of the Dutch army: that the deduction of two and a half per cent. was granted to him by an exprefs warrant from her majesty: that all the articles of the charge joined together did not exceed thirty thousand pounds, a sum much inferior to that which had been allowed to king William for contingencies: that the money was expended in procuring intelligence, which was so exact that the duke was never surprised: that none of his parties were ever intercepted or cut off; and all his designs were by these means so well concerted, that he never once miscarried. Notwithstanding these representations, the majority voted that his practices had been unwarrantable and illegal; and that the deduction was to be accounted for as public money. These resolutions were communicated to the queen, who ordered the attorney-general to prosecute the duke for the money he had deducted, by virtue of her own warrant. Such practices were certainly mean and mercenary, and greatly tarnished the glory which the duke had acquired by his military talents, and other shining qualities.

§ XLIII. The commons now directed the stream of their resentment against the Dutch, who had certainly exerted all their endeavours to overwhelm the new ministry, and retard the negotiations for peace. They maintained an intimate correspondence with the Whigs of England. They diffused the most invidious reports against Oxford and secretary St. John. Buys their envoy at London, acted the part of an incendiary, in suggesting violent measures to the malcontents, and caballing against the government. The ministers, by way of reprisal, influenced the house of commons to pass some acrimonious resolutions against the states-general. They alledged that the states had been deficient in their proportion of troops, both in Spain and in the Netherlands, during the whole course of the war; and that the queen had payed above three millions of crowns in subsidies, above what she was obliged to advance by her engagements. They attacked the barrier treaty, which had been concluded with the states by lord Townshend, after the conferences at Gertruydenberg. By this agreement, England guaranteed a barrier in the Netherlands to the Dutch; and the states bound themselves to maintain, with their whole force, the queen's title and the protestant succession. The Tories affirmed that England was disgraced, by engaging any other state to defend a succession which the nation might see cause to alter: that, by this treaty, the states were authorised to interpose in British councils: that being possessed of all those strong towns, they might exclude the English from trading to them, and interfere with the manufactures of Great Britain. The house of commons voted, That in the barrier treaty there were several articles destructive to the trade and interest of Great Britain; and therefore highly dishonourable to her majesty: That the lord viscount Townshend was not authorized to conclude several articles in that treaty: and, That he and all those who advised its being ratified, were enemies to the queen and kingdom. All their votes were digested into a long representation presented to the queen, in which they averred that England, during the war, had been overcharged nineteen millions; a circumstance that implied

implied mismanagement or fraud in the old ministry. The states, alarmed at these resolutions, wrote a respectful letter to the queen, representing the necessity of a barrier, for the mutual security of England and the United Provinces. They afterwards drew up a large memorial in vindication of their proceedings during the war, and it was published in one of the English papers. The commons immediately voted it a false, scandalous, and malicious libel, reflecting upon the resolutions of the house; and the printer and publisher were taken into custody, as guilty of a breach of privilege.

§ XLIV. They now repealed the naturalization act. They passed a bill granting a toleration to the episcopal clergy in Scotland; without paying the least regard to a representation from the general assembly to the queen, declaring that the act for securing the presbyterian government was an essential and fundamental condition of the treaty of union. The house, notwithstanding this remonstrance, proceeded with the bill, and inserted a clause prohibiting civil magistrates from executing the sentences of the kirk-judicatories. The episcopal, as well as the presbyterian clergy, were required to take the oath of abjuration, that they might be upon an equal footing in case of disobedience; for the commons well knew that this condition would be rejected by both, from very different motives. In order to exasperate the presbyterians with further provocations, another act was passed for discontinuing the courts of judicature during the Christmas holidays, which had never been kept by persons of that persuasion. When this bill was read for the third time, Sir David Dalrymple said, "Since the house is resolved to make no alteration in the body of this bill, I acquiesce; and only desire it may be intituled, A bill for establishing jacobitism and immorality." The chagrin of the Scottish presbyterians was completed by a third bill, restoring the right of patronage, which had been taken away when the discipline of the kirk was last established. Prince Eugene having presented a memorial to the queen, touching the conduct of the emperor during the war, and containing a proposal with relation to the affairs of Spain, the queen communicated the scheme to the house of commons, who treated it with the most contemptuous neglect. The prince finding all his efforts ineffectual, retired to the continent, as much displeased with the ministry, as he had reason to be satisfied with the people of England. The commons having settled the funds for the supplies of the year, amounting to six millions; the treasurer formed the plan of a bill appointing commissioners to examine the value and consideration of all the grants made since the revolution. His design was to make a general resumption; but, as the interest of so many noblemen was concerned, the bill met with a very warm opposition; notwithstanding which, it would have certainly passed, had not the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Strafford absented themselves from the house during the debate.

Burnet.

Boyer.

Lamberty.

Quincy.

Roussel.

Torcy.

Tindal.

Hist. of the D.

of Marlbo-

Milit. Hist.

Voltaire.

An. Ch. 1712.

C H A P. XI.

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§ I. **I**N the month of January the conferences for peace began at Utrecht. The earl of Jersey would have been appointed plenipotentiary for England, but he dying after the correspondence with the court of France was established, the queen conferred that charge upon Robinson bishop of Bristol, lord

lord privy-seal, and the earl of Strafford. The chief of the Dutch deputies named for the congress, were Buys and Vanderdussen; and the French king granted his powers to the marechal D'Uxelles, the abbot (afterwards cardinal) de Polignac, and Menager, who had been in England. The ministers of the emperor and Savoy likewise assisted at the conferences, to which the empire and the other allies likewise sent their plenipotentiaries, though not without reluctance. As all those powers, except France, entertained sentiments very different from those of her Britannic majesty, the conferences seemed calculated rather to retard than accelerate a pacification. The queen of England had foreseen and provided against these difficulties. Her great end was to free her subjects from the miseries attending an unprofitable war, and to restore peace to Europe; and this aim she was resolved to accomplish, in spite of all opposition. She had also determined to procure reasonable terms of accommodation for her allies, without, however, continuing to lavish the blood and treasure of her people in supporting their extravagant demands. The emperor obstinately insisted upon his claim to the whole Spanish monarchy, refusing to give up the least tittle of his pretensions; and the Dutch adhered to the old preliminaries which Lewis had formerly rejected. The queen saw, that the liberties of Europe would be exposed to much greater danger from an actual union of the Imperial and Spanish crowns in one head of the house of Austria, than from a bare possibility of Spain's being united with France in one branch of the house of Bourbon. She knew by experience the difficulty of dethroning Philip, rooted as he was in the affections of a brave and loyal people; and, that a prosecution of this design would serve no purpose but to protract the war, and augment the grievances of the British nation. She was well acquainted with the distresses of the French, which she considered as pledges of their monarch's sincerity. She sought not the total ruin of that people, already reduced to the brink of despair. The dictates of true policy dissuaded her from contributing to further conquests in that kingdom, which would have proved the source of contention among the allies, depressed the house of Bourbon below that standard of importance which the ballance of Europe required it should maintain, and aggrandize the states-general at the expence of Great-Britain. As she had borne the chief burden of the war, she had a right to take the lead; and dictate a plan of pacification: at least, she had a right to consult the welfare of her own kingdom, in delivering, by a separate peace, her subjects from those enormous loads which they could no longer sustain; and she was well enough aware of her own consequence, to think she could obtain advantageous conditions.

§ II. Such were the sentiments of the queen: and her ministers seem to have acted on the same principles, though, perhaps, party-motives may have helped to influence their conduct. The allies concurred in opposing with all their might any treaty which could not gratify their different views of avarice, interest, and ambition. They practised a thousand little artifices to intimidate the queen, to excite a jealousy of Lewis, to blacken the characters of her ministers, to raise and keep up a dangerous ferment among her people, by which her life and government were endangered. She could not fail to resent these efforts, which greatly perplexed her measures and obstructed her design. Her ministers were sensible of the dangerous predicament in which they stood. The

queen's health was much impaired; and the successor countenanced the opposite faction. In case of their sovereign's death they had nothing to expect but prosecution and ruin for obeying her commands; and they saw no hope of safety except in renouncing their principles, and submitting to their adversaries, or else in taking such measures as would hasten the pacification, that the troubles of the kingdom might be appeased, and the people be satisfied with their conduct before death should deprive them of their sovereign's protection. With this view they advised her to set on foot a private negotiation with Lewis; to stipulate certain advantages for her own subjects in a concerted plan of peace; to enter into such mutual confidence with that monarch, as would anticipate all clandestine transactions to her prejudice, and in some measure enable her to prescribe terms for her allies. The plan was judiciously formed, but executed with too much precipitation. The stipulated advantages were not such as she had a right to demand and insist upon; and, without all doubt, better might have been obtained, had not the obstinacy of the allies abroad, and the violent conduct of the Whig faction at home, obliged the ministers to relax in some material points, and hasten the conclusion of the treaty.

§ III. The articles being privately regulated between the two courts of London and Versailles, the English plenipotentiaries at Utrecht were furnished with general powers and instructions, being ignorant of the agreement which the queen had made with the French monarch touching the kingdom of Spain, which was indeed the basis of the treaty. This secret plan of negotiation, however, had well nigh been destroyed by some unforeseen events that were doubly afflicting to Lewis. The dauphin had died of the small pox in the course of the preceding year, and his title had been conferred upon his son the duke of Burgundy, who now expired on the last day of February, six days after the death of his wife, Mary Adelaide of Savoy. The parents were soon followed to the grave by their eldest offspring the duke of Brittany, in the sixth year of his age; so that of the duke of Burgundy's children, none remained alive but the duke of Anjou, the present French king, who was at that time a sickly infant. Such a series of calamities could not fail of being extremely shocking to Lewis in his old age; but they were still more alarming to the queen of England, who saw that nothing but the precarious life of an unhealthy child divided the two monarchies of France and Spain, the union of which she resolved by all possible means to prevent. She therefore sent the abbé Gualtier to Paris, with a memorial, representing the danger to which the liberty of Europe would be exposed should Philip ascend the throne of France; and demanding, that his title should be transferred to his brother the duke of Berry, in consequence of his pure, simple, and voluntary renunciation.

§ IV. Mean while the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht were prevailed upon to deliver their proposals in writing, under the name of specific offers, which the allies received with indignation. They were treated in England with universal scorn. Lord Halifax, in the house of peers, termed them trifling, arrogant, and injurious to her majesty and her allies: an address was presented to the queen, in which they expressed their resentment against the insolence of France, and promised to assist her with all their power in prosecuting the war, until a safe and honourable peace should be obtained. The plenipotentiaries of the allies were not less extravagant in their specific demands, than the French had

had been arrogant in their offers. In a word, the ministers seemed to have been assembled at Utrecht, rather to start new difficulties and widen the breach, than to heal animosities, and concert a plan of pacification. They amused one another with fruitless conferences, while the queen of Great Britain endeavoured to engage the states-general in her measures, that they might treat with France upon moderate terms, and give law to the rest of the allies. She departed from some of her own pretensions, in order to gratify them with the possession of some towns in Flanders. She consented to their being admitted into a participation of some advantages in commerce; and ordered the English ministers at the congress to tell them, that she would take her measures according to the return they should make on this occasion. Finding them still obstinately attached to their first chimerical preliminaries, she gave them to understand, that all her offers for adjusting the differences were founded upon the express condition, That they should come into her measures, and co-operate with her openly and sincerely; but they had made such bad returns to all her condescension towards them, that she looked upon herself as released from all engagements. The ministers of the allies had insisted upon a written answer to their specific demands; and this the French plenipotentiaries declined, until they should receive fresh instructions from their master. Such was the pretence for suspending the conferences; but the real bar to a final agreement between England and France, was the delay of Philip's renunciation, which, at length, however, arrived; and produced a cessation of arms.

§ V. In the mean time the duke of Ormond, who was now invested with the supreme command of the British forces, received a particular order, that he should not hazard an engagement. Lewis had already undertaken for the compliance of his grandson. Reflecting on his own great age, he was shocked at the prospect of leaving his kingdom involved in a pernicious war during a minority; and determined to procure a peace at all events. The queen, knowing his motives, could not help believing his protestations, and resolved to avoid a battle, the issue of which might have considerably altered the situation of affairs, and consequently retarded the conclusion of the treaty. Preparations had been made for an early campaign. In the beginning of March the earl of Albemarle having assembled a body of thirty-six battalions, marched towards Arras, which he reduced to an heap of ashes by a most terrible cannonading and bombardment. In May the duke of Ormond conferred with the deputies of the states-general at the Hague, and assured them he had orders to act vigorously in the prosecution of the war. He joined prince Eugene at Tournay; and on the twenty-sixth day of May the allied army passing the Schelde, encamped at Haspre and Solemnes. The Imperial general proposed, that they should attack the French army under Villars; but by this time the duke was restrained from hazarding siege or battle: a circumstance well known to the French commander, who therefore abated of his usual vigilance. It could not be long concealed from prince Eugene and the deputies, who forthwith dispatched an express to their principals on this subject, and afterwards presented a long memorial to the duke, representing the injury which the grand alliance would sustain from his obedience to such an order. He seemed to be extremely uneasy at his situation; and, in a letter to secretary St. John, expressed a desire that the queen would permit him to return to England.

§ VI.

§ VI. Prince Eugene, notwithstanding the queen's order, which Ormond had not yet formally declared, invested the town of Quesnoy, and the duke furnished towards this enterprize seven battalions and nine squadrons of the foreign troops maintained by Great-Britain. The Dutch deputies at Utrecht expostulating with the bishop of Bristol upon the duke's refusing to act against the enemy, that prelate told them, that he had lately received an express with a letter from her majesty, in which she complained, that as the states-general had not properly answered her advances, they ought not to be surpris'd, if she thought herself at liberty to enter into separate measures, in order to obtain a peace for her own conveniency. When they remonstrated against such conduct, as contradictory to all the alliances subsisting between the queen and the states general, the bishop declared his instructions further import'd, that considering the conduct of the states towards her majesty, she thought herself disengaged from all alliances and engagements with their high-mightinesses. The states and the ministers of the allies were instantly in commotion. Private measures were concerted with the elector of Hanover, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and some other princes of the empire, concerning the troops belonging to those powers, in the pay of Great-Britain. The states-general wrote a long letter to the queen, and ordered their envoy at London to deliver it into her own hand. Count Zinzendorf the emperor's plenipotentiary dispatched expresses to his master, to prince Eugene, and to the Imperial ambassador at London. The queen held a council at Kensington upon the subject of the letter; and a fresh order was sent to the duke of Ormond, directing him to concur with the general of the allies in a siege.

§ VII. On the twenty-eighth day of May lord Hallifax, in the house of peers, descanted upon the ill consequences of the duke's refusing to co-operate with prince Eugene; and moved for an address, desiring her majesty would order the general to act offensively, in concert with her allies. The treasurer observed it was prudent to avoid a battle on the eve of a peace, especially considering they had to do with an enemy so apt to break his word. The earl of Wharton replied, this was a strong reason for keeping no measures with such an enemy. When Oxford declared, that the duke of Ormond had received orders to join the allies in a siege, the duke of Marlborough affirmed, it was impossible to carry on a siege without either hazarding a battle, in case the enemy should attempt to relieve the place, or shamefully abandoning the enterprize. The duke of Argyle having declared his opinion, that since the time of Julius Cæsar there had not been a greater captain than prince Eugene of Savoy, observed, that considering the different interests of the house of Austria and of Great Britain, it might not consist with prudence to trust him with the management of the war, because a battle won or lost might intirely break off a negotiation of peace, which in all probability, was near being concluded. He added, that two years before, the confederates might have taken Arras and Cambray, instead of amusing themselves with the insignificant conquests of Aire, Bethune, and St. Venant. The duke of Devonshire said, he was, by proximity of blood more concerned than any other in the reputation of the duke of Ormond; and therefore could not help expressing his surprize, that any one would dare to make a nobleman of the first rank, and of so distinguished a character, the instrument of such proceedings. Earl Pawlet answered, that no body could doubt

doubt the duke of Ormond's courage; but he was not like a certain general, who led troops to the slaughter, to cause a great number of officers to be knocked on the head, that he might fill his pockets by disposing of their commissions. The duke of Marlborough was so deeply affected by this reflection, that tho' he suppressed his resentment in the house, he took the first opportunity to send lord Mohun to the earl with a message, importing, that he should be glad to come to an explanation with his lordship about some expressions he had used in that day's debate; and desiring his company to take the air in the country. The earl understood his meaning; but could not conceal his emotion from the observation of his lady, by whose means the affair was communicated to the earl of Dartmouth secretary of state. Two centinels were immediately placed at his lordship's gate; the queen, by the canal of lord Dartmouth, desired the duke of Marlborough would proceed no farther in the quarrel: and he assured her he would punctually obey her majesty's commands. The earl of Oxford assured the house, that a separate peace was never intended: that such a peace would be so base, so knavish, and so villanous, that every one who served the queen knew they must answer it with their heads to the nation; but that it would appear to be a safe and glorious peace, much more to the honour and interest of the nation than the first preliminaries insisted upon by the allies. The question being put for adjourning, the debate was carried in the affirmative; but twenty lords entered a protest. The earl of Strafford, who had returned from Holland, proposed, that they should examine the negotiations of the Hague and Gertruydenberg, before they considered that of Utrecht. He observed, that in the former negotiations the French ministers had conferred only with the pensionary, who communicated no more of it to the ministers of the allies than what was judged proper to let them know: so that the Dutch were absolute masters of the secret. He asserted, that the states-general had consented to give Naples and Sicily to king Philip: a circumstance which proved that the recovery of the whole Spanish monarchy was looked upon as impracticable. He concluded with a motion for an address to her majesty, desiring, that the papers relating to the negotiations of the Hague and Gertruydenberg, should be layed before the house. This was carried without a division.

§ VIII. In the house of commons Mr. Pulteney moved for an address, acquainting her majesty, that her faithful commons were justly alarmed at the intelligence received from abroad, that her general in Flanders had declined acting offensively against France in concurrence with her allies; and besought her majesty, that he might receive speedy instructions to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. This motion was rejected by a great majority. A certain member having insinuated, that the present negotiation had been carried on in a clandestine and treacherous manner, Mr. secretary St. John said, he hoped it would not be accounted treachery to act for the good and advantage of Great-Britain: that he gloried in the small share he had in the transaction; and whatever censure he might undergo for it, the bare satisfaction of acting in that view, would be a sufficient recompence and comfort to him during the whole course of his life. The house resolved, That the commons had an intire confidence in her majesty's promise, to communicate to her parliament the terms of the peace before it should be concluded: and, That they would support her against all such persons either

at home or abroad as should endeavour to obstruct it. The queen thanked them heartily for this resolution, as being dutiful to her, honest to their country, and very seasonable at a time when so many artifices were used to obstruct a good peace, or to force one disadvantageous to Britain. They likewise presented an address, desiring, they might have an account of the negotiations and transactions at the Hague and Gertruydenberg, and know who were then employed as her majesty's plenipotentiaries.

§ IX. The ministry foreseeing, that Philip would not willingly resign his hopes of succeeding to the crown of France, proposed an alternative, that, in case of his preferring his expectation of the crown of France to the present possession of Spain, this kingdom, with the Indies, should be forthwith ceded to the duke of Savoy; and Philip in the mean time should possess the duke's hereditary dominions and the kingdom of Sicily, together with the Montferrat and Mantua; all which territories should be annexed to France at Philip's succession to that crown, except Sicily, which should revert to the house of Austria. Lewis seemed to relish this expedient, which, however, was rejected by Philip, who chose to make the renunciation, rather than quit the throne upon which he was established. The queen demanded, that the renunciation should be ratified in the most solemn manner by the states of France; but she afterwards waved this demand, in consideration of its being registered in the different parliaments. Such forms are but slender securities against the power, ambition, and interest of princes. The marquis de Torcy frankly owned, that Philip's renunciation was in itself void, as being contrary to the fundamental laws and constitution of the French monarchy; but it was found necessary for the satisfaction of the English people. Every material article being now adjusted between the two courts, particularly those relating to the king of Spain, the commerce of Great Britain, and the delivery of Dunkirk, a suspension of arms prevailed in the Netherlands, and the duke of Ormond acted in concert with marechal de Villars.

§ X. On the sixth day of June the queen going to the house of peers, communicated the plan of peace to her parliament, according to the promise she had made. After having premised, that the making peace and war was the undoubted prerogative of the crown, and hinted at the difficulties which had arisen both from the nature of the affair, and numberless obstructions contrived by the enemies of peace, she proceeded to enumerate the chief articles to which both crowns had agreed, without, however, concluding the treaty. She told them she had secured the protestant succession, which France had acknowledged in the strongest terms; and that the pretender would be removed from the French dominions: that the duke of Anjou should renounce for himself and his descendants all claim to the crown of France; so that the two monarchies would be for ever divided. She observed, that the nature of this proposal was such as would execute itself: that it would be the interest of Spain to support the renunciation: and in France, the persons entitled to the succession of that crown upon the death of the dauphin, were powerful enough to vindicate their own right. She gave them to understand, that a treaty of commerce between England and France had been begun, though not yet adjusted; but provision was made, that England should enjoy the same privileges that France granted to the most favoured nation: that the French king had agreed to make an absolute cession of

of the island of St. Christopher's, which had hitherto been divided between the two nations: that he had also consented to restore the whole bay and straits of Hudson; to deliver the island of Newfoundland, with Placentia; to cede Annapolis, with the rest of Acadia or Nova Scotia; to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk; to leave England in possession of Gibraltar, Port-Mahon, and the whole island of Minorca: that the trade to Spain in the West-Indies might be settled as it was in the reign of his late catholic majesty: and, that she had obtained for her subjects the assiento or contract for furnishing the Spanish West-Indies with negroes for the term of thirty years, in the same manner as it had been enjoyed by the French. With respect to the allies, she declared, that France offered to make the Rhine the barrier of the empire: to yield Brisac, Fort Kehl, and Landau, and raze all the fortresses both on the other side of the Rhine and in the islands of that river: that the protestant interest in Germany would be resettled on the footing of the treaty of Westphalia: that the Spanish Netherlands, the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, the dutchy of Milan, and the places belonging to Spain on the coast of Tuscany, might be yielded to his Imperial majesty; but the disposition of Sicily was not yet determined: that the demands of the states-general with relation to commerce and the barrier in the Low Countries, would be granted with a few exceptions, which might be compensated by other expedients: that no great progress had yet been made upon the pretensions of Portugal; but that those of Prussia would be admitted by France without much difficulty: that the difference between the barrier demanded by the duke of Savoy in the year one thousand seven hundred and nine, and that which France now offered, was very inconsiderable: that the elector palatine should maintain his present rank among the electors: and, that France would acknowledge the electoral dignity in the house of Hanover. Such were the conditions which the queen hoped would make some amends to her subjects for the great and unequal burthen they had borne during the whole course of the war. She concluded with saying, she made no doubt but they were fully persuaded, that nothing would be neglected on her part in the progress of this negotiation, to bring the peace to an happy and speedy issue; and she expressed her dependence upon the intire confidence and chearful concurrence of her parliament.

§ XI. An address of thanks and approbation was immediately voted, drawn up, and presented to the queen by the commons in a body. When the house of lords took the speech into consideration, the duke of Marlborough asserted, that the measures pursued for a year past were directly contrary to her majesty's engagements with the allies: that they sullied the triumphs and glories of her reign; and would render the English name odious to all nations. The earl of Strafford said, that some of the allies would not have shewn such backwardness to a peace, had not they been persuaded and encouraged to carry on the war by a member of that illustrious assembly, who maintained a secret correspondence with them, and fed them with hopes that they would be supported by a strong party in England. In answer to this insinuation against Marlborough, lord Cowper observed, that it could never be suggested as a crime in the meanest subject, much less in any member of that august assembly, to hold correspondence with the allies of the nation; such allies, especially, whose interest her majesty had declared to be inseparable from her own, in her speech at the opening

of the session; whereas it would be a hard matter to justify and reconcile either with our laws, or with the laws of honour and justice, the conduct of some persons, in treating clandestinely with the common enemy, without the participation of the allies. This was a frivolous argument. A correspondence with any persons whatsoever becomes criminal, when it tends to foment the divisions of one's country, and arm the people against their sovereign. If England had it not in her power, without infringing the laws of justice and honour, to withdraw herself from a confederacy which she could no longer support, and treat for peace on her own bottom, then was she not an associate, but a slave to the alliance. The earl of Godolphin affirmed, that the trade to Spain was such a trifle as deserved no consideration; and that it would continually diminish until it should be intirely engrossed by the French merchants. Norwithstanding these remonstrances against the plan of peace, the majority agreed to an address, in which they thanked the queen for her extraordinary condescension in communicating those conditions to her parliament; and expressed an intire satisfaction with her conduct. A motion was made for a clause in the address, desiring her majesty would take such measures, in concert with her allies, as might induce them to join with her in a mutual guaranty. A debate ensued: the question was put, and the clause rejected. Several noblemen entered a protest, which was expunged from the books of the house by the decision of the majority.

§ XII. In the house of commons a complaint was exhibited against bishop Fleetwood, who, in a preface to four sermons which he published, took occasion to extol the last ministry, at the expence of the present administration. This piece was voted malicious and factious, tending to create discord and sedition amongst her majesty's subjects; and condemned to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. They presented an address to the queen, assuring her of the just sense they had of the indignity offered to her, by printing and publishing a letter from the states-general to her majesty; and desiring she would so far resent such insults as to give no answer for the future to any letters or memorials that should be thus ushered into the world as inflammatory appeals to the public. Mr. Hampden moved for an address to her majesty, that she would give particular instructions to her plenipotentiaries, that in the conclusion of the treaty of peace, the several powers in alliance with her majesty might be guarantees for the protestant succession in the illustrious house of Hanover. The question being put, was carried in the negative. Then the house resolved, That they had such confidence in the repeated declarations her majesty had made of her concern for assuring to these kingdoms the protestant succession as by law established, that they could never doubt her taking the proper measures for the security thereof: that the house would support her against faction at home and her enemies abroad; and did humbly beseech her, that she would be pleased to discountenance all those who should endeavour to raise jealousies between her majesty and her subjects, especially by misrepresenting her good intentions for the welfare of her people. The queen was extremely pleased with this resolution. When it was presented, she told them, that they had shewn themselves honest assertors of the monarchy, zealous defenders of the constitution, and real friends to the protestant succession. She thought she had very little reason to countenance a compliment of supererogation to a prince who had caballed with the enemies of her administration. On the twenty-first day of June the queen closed

closed the session with a speech, expressing her satisfaction at the addresses and supplies she had received; observing, that should the treaty be broke off, their burthens would be at least continued, if not increased; that Britain would lose the present opportunity of improving her own commerce, and establishing a real balance of power in Europe; and, that though some of the allies might be gainers by a continuance of the war, the rest would suffer in the common calamity. Notwithstanding the ferment of the people, which was now risen to a very dangerous pitch, addresses approving the queen's conduct were presented by the city of London, and all the corporations in the kingdom that espoused the Tory interest. At this juncture the nation was so wholly possessed by the spirit of party, that no appearance of neutrality or moderation remained.

§ XIII. During these transactions the trenches were opened before Quesnoy, and the siege carried on with uncommon vigour under cover of the forces commanded by the duke of Ormond. This nobleman, however, having received a copy of the articles signed, by the marquis de Torcy, and fresh instructions from the queen, signified to prince Eugene and the Dutch deputies, that the French king had agreed to several articles demanded by the queen, as the foundation of an armistice; and among others, to put the English troops in immediate possession of Dunkirk: that he could therefore no longer cover the siege of Quesnoy, as he was obliged by his instructions to march with the British troops and those in the queen's pay; and declare a suspension of arms as soon as he should be possessed of Dunkirk. He expressed his hope, that they would readily acquiesce in these instructions, as their concurrence would act as the most powerful motive to induce the queen to take all possible care of their interests at the congress; and he endeavoured to demonstrate, that Dunkirk, as a cautionary town, was a place of greater consequence to the allies than Quesnoy. The deputies desired he would delay his march five days, that they might have time to consult their principals, and he granted three days without hesitation. Prince Eugene observed, that his marching off with the British troops and the foreigners in the queen's pay, would leave the allies at the mercy of the enemy; but, he hoped these last would not obey the duke's order. He and the deputies had already tampered with their commanding officers, who absolutely refused to obey the duke of Ormond, alledging, that they could not separate from the confederacy without express directions from their masters, to whom they had dispatched couriers. An extraordinary assembly of the states was immediately summoned to meet at the Hague. The ministers of the allies were invited to the conferences. At length, the princes, whose troops were in the pay of Britain, assured them, that they would maintain them under the command of prince Eugene for one month at their own expence, and afterwards sustain half the charge, provided the other half should be defrayed by the emperor and states-general.

§ XIV. The bishop of Bristol imparted to the other plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, the concessions which France would make to the allies; and proposed a suspension of arms for two months, that they might treat in a friendly manner, and adjust the demands of all the confederates. To this proposal they made no other answer, but that they had no instructions on the subject. Count Zinzendorf, the first Imperial plenipotentiary, presented a memorial to the states-general, explaining the danger that would result to the common cause from a

cessation of arms; and exhorting them to persevere in their generous and vigorous resolutions. He proposed a renewal of the alliance for recovering the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, and a certain plan for prosecuting the war with redoubled ardour. Prince Eugene, in order to dazzle the confederates with some bold enterprize, detached major-general Grovestein with fifteen hundred cavalry, to penetrate into the heart of France. This officer, about the middle of June, advanced into Champagne, passed the Noire, the Maese, the Moselle, and the Saar, and retired to Traerbach with a rich booty, and a great number of hostages, after having extorted contributions as far as the gates of Metz, ravaged the country, and reduced a great number of villages and towns to ashes. The consternation produced by this irruption reached the city of Paris: the king of France did not think himself safe at Versailles with his ordinary guards: all the troops in the neighbourhood of the capital were assembled about the palace. Villars sent a detachment after Grovestein as soon as he understood his destination; but the other had gained a day's march of the French troops, which had the mortification to follow him so close, that they found the flames still burning in the villages he had destroyed. By way of retaliation, major-general Pasteur, a famous French partizan, made an excursion beyond Bergen-op-zoom, and ravaged the island of Terrole belonging to Zealand.

§ XV. The earl of Strafford having returned to Holland, proposed a cessation of arms to the states-general, by whom it was rejected. Then he proceeded to the army of the duke of Ormond, where he arrived in a few days after the reduction of Quesnoy, the garrison of which were made prisoners of war on the fourth day of July. By this time the officers of the foreign troops had a second time refused to obey a written order of the duke, and such a spirit of animosity began to prevail between the English and the allies, that it was judged absolutely necessary to effect a speedy separation. Prince Eugene resolved to undertake the siege of Landrecy: a design is said to have been formed by the German generals to confine the duke, on pretence of the arrears that were due to them; and disarm the British troops, lest they should join the French army. In the mean time, a literary correspondence was maintained between the English general and the marechal de Villars. France having consented to deliver up Dunkirk, a body of troops was transported from England, under the command of Brigadier Hill, who took possession of the place on the seventh day of July, the French garrison retiring to Winoxberg. On the sixteenth of the same month prince Eugene marched from his camp at Haspre, and was followed by all the auxiliaries in the British pay, except a few battalions of the troops of Holstein-Gottorp, and Wales's regiment of dragoons belonging to the state of Liege.

§ XVI. Landrecy was immediately invested, while the duke of Ormond with the English forces removed from Chateau-Cambresis, and encamped at Avesne le Seeg, proclaimed by sound of trumpet a cessation of arms for two months. On the same day the like armistice was declared in the French army. The Dutch were so exasperated at the secession of the English troops, that the governors would not allow the earl of Strafford to enter Bouchaine, nor the British army to pass through Doway, though in that town they had left great quantity of stores, together with their general-hospital. Prince Eugene and the
Dutch

Dutch deputies understanding, that the duke of Ormond had begun his march towards Ghent, began to be in pain for that city, and sent count Nassau Woudenburg to him with a written apology, condemning and disavowing the conduct of the commandants of Bouchaine and Douay; but, notwithstanding these excuses, the English troops afterwards met with the same treatment at Tournay, Oudenarde, and Lille: insults which were resented by the whole British nation. The duke, however, pursued his march, and took possession of Ghent and Bruges for the queen of England: then he reinforced the garrison of Dunkirk, which he likewise supplied with artillery and ammunition. His conduct was no less agreeable to his sovereign than mortifying to the Dutch, who never dreamed of leaving Ghent and Bruges in the hands of the English, and were now fairly outwitted, and anticipated by the motions and expedition of the British general.

§ XVII. The loss of the British forces was soon severely felt in the allied army. Villars attacked a separate body of their troops encamped at Denain, under the command of the earl of Albemarle. Their intrenchments were forced, and seventeen battalions either killed or taken. The earl himself and all the surviving officers were made prisoners. Five hundred waggons loaded with bread, twelve pieces of brass cannon, a large quantity of ammunition and provisions, a great number of horses, and a considerable booty fell into the hands of the enemy; and this advantage they gained in sight of prince Eugene, who advanced on the other side of the Schelde to sustain Albemarle; but the bridge over that river was broke down by accident; so that he was prevented from lending the least assistance. Villars immediately invested Marchiennes, where the principal stores of the allies were lodged. The place was surrendered on the last day of July; and the garrison, consisting of five thousand men, were conducted prisoners to Valenciennes. He afterwards undertook the siege of Douay; an enterprize, in consequence of which prince Eugene abandoned his design on Landrecy, and marched towards the French, in order to hazard an engagement. The states, however, would not run the risque; and the prince had the mortification to see Douay reduced by the enemy. He could not even prevent their retaking Quesnoy and Bouchaine, of which places they were in possession before the tenth day of October; while the allies enjoyed no other compensation for their great losses, but the conquest of Fort Knocque, which was surprized by one of their partisans.

§ XVIII. The British ministers at the congress continued to press the Dutch and other allies to join in the armistice; but they were deaf to the proposal, and concerted measures for a vigorous prosecution of the war. Then the earl of Strafford insisted upon their admitting to the congress the plenipotentiaries of king Philip; but he found them equally averse to this expedient. In the beginning of August secretary St. John, now created lord viscount Bolingbroke, was sent to the court of Versailles incognito, to remove all obstructions to the treaty between England and France. He was accompanied by Mr. Prior and the abbé Gualtier, treated with the most distinguished marks of respect, caressed by the French king and the marquis de Torcy, with whom he adjusted the principal interests of the duke of Savoy and the elector of Bavaria. He settled the time and manner of the renunciations, and agreed to a suspension of arms by sea and land for four months between the crowns of France and England; which was accord-

accordingly proclaimed at Paris and London. This negotiation being finished in a few days, Bolingbroke returned to England, and Prior remained as resident at the court of France. The states-general breathed nothing but war: the pensionary Heinsius pronounced an oration in their assembly, representing the impossibility of concluding a peace without losing the fruits of all the blood and treasure they had expended. The conferences at Utrecht were interrupted by a quarrel between the domestics of Menager and those of the count de Recheren, one of the Dutch plenipotentiaries. The populace insulted the earl of Strafford and the marquis del Borgo, minister of Savoy, whose master was reported to have agreed to the armistice. These obstructions being removed, the conferences were renewed, and the British plenipotentiaries exerted all their rhetoric both in public and private to engage the allies in the queen's measures. The duke of Savoy was prevailed upon to acquiesce in the offers of France. Mr. Thomas Harley had been sent ambassador to Hanover, with a view to persuade the elector that it would be for his interest to co-operate with her majesty: but, that prince's resolution was already taken. "Whenever it shall please God (said he) to call me to the throne of Britain, I hope to act as becomes me for the advantage of my people: in the mean time speak to me as to a German prince, and a prince of the empire." Nor was she more successful in her endeavours to bring over the king of Prussia to her sentiments. Lord Lexington was appointed ambassador to Madrid, where king Philip solemnly swore to observe the renunciation, which was approved and confirmed by the Cortez. The like renunciation to the crown of Spain was afterwards made by the princes of France: and Philip was declared incapable of succeeding to the crown of that realm. The court of Portugal held out against the remonstrances of England, until the marquis Bay invaded that kingdom at the head of twenty thousand men, and undertook the siege of Campo-Major, and they found they had no longer any hope of being assisted by her Britannic majesty. The Portuguese minister at Utrecht signed the suspension of arms on the seventh day of November, and excused this step to the allies, as the pure effect of necessity. The English troops in Spain were ordered to separate from the army of count Staremberg, and march to the neighbourhood of Barcelona, where they were embarked on board of an English squadron, commanded by Sir John Jennings, and transported to Minorca.

§ XIX. The campaign being at an end in the Netherlands, the duke of Ormond returned to England, where the party-disputes were become more violent than ever. The Whigs affected to celebrate the anniversary of the late king's birth-day in London with extraordinary rejoicings. Mobs were hired by both factions, and the whole city was filled with riot and uproar. A ridiculous scheme was contrived to frighten the lord-treasurer with some squibs in a band-box, which the ministers magnified into a conspiracy. The duke of Hamilton having been appointed ambassador extraordinary to the court of France, the Whigs were alarmed, on the supposition that this nobleman favoured the pretender. Some dispute arising between the duke and lord Mohun on the subject of a law-suit, furnished a pretence for a quarrel. Mohun, who had been twice tried for murder, and was counted a mean tool, as well as the Hector of the Whig party, sent a message by general Macartney to the duke, challenging him to single combat. The principals met by appointment in Hyde park, attended by Macartney

Macartney and colonel Hamilton. They fought with such fury, that Mohun was killed upon the spot, and the duke expired before he could be conveyed to his own house. Macartney disappeared, and escaped in disguise to the continent. Colonel Hamilton declared upon oath before the privy council, that when the principals engaged, he and Macartney followed their example: that Macartney was immediately disarmed; but the colonel seeing the duke fall upon his antagonist, threw away the swords, and ran to lift him up: that while he was employed in raising the duke, Macartney having taken up one of the swords, stabbed his grace over Hamilton's shoulder, and retired immediately. A proclamation was issued, promising a reward of five hundred pounds to those who should apprehend or discover Macartney, and the dutchess of Hamilton offered three hundred pounds for the same purpose. The Tories exclaimed against this event as a party duel: they treated Macartney as a cowardly assassin; and affirmed, that the Whigs had posted others of the same stamp all around Hyde-park, in case the duke of Hamilton had triumphed over his antagonist, and escaped the treachery of Macartney. The Whigs, on the other hand, affirm, that it was altogether a private quarrel: that Macartney was entirely innocent of the perfidy layed to his charge: that he afterwards submitted to a fair trial, at which colonel Hamilton prevaricated in giving his evidence, and was contradicted by the testimony of divers persons who saw the combat at a distance. The duke of Marlborough hearing himself accused as the author of those party-mischiefs, and seeing his enemies grow every day more and more implacable, thought proper to retire to the continent, whither he was followed by his dutchess. His friend Godolphin had died in September, with the general character of an able, cool, dispassionate minister, who had rendered himself necessary to four successive sovereigns, and managed the finances with equal skill and integrity. The duke of Shrewsbury was nominated ambassador to France, in the room of the duke of Hamilton: the duke D'Aumont arrived at London in the same quality from the court of Versailles; and about the same time the queen granted an audience to the marquis de Monteleone, whom Philip had appointed one of his plenipotentiaries at the congress.

§ XX. In vain had the British ministers in Holland endeavoured to overcome the obstinacy of the states-general, by alternate threats, promises, and arguments. In vain did they represent, that the confederacy against France could be no longer supported with any prospect of success: that the queen's aim had been to procure reasonable terms for her allies; but that their opposition to her measures prevented her from obtaining such conditions as she would have a right to demand in their favour, were they unanimous in their consultations. In November, the earl of Strafford presented a new plan of peace, in which the queen promised to insist upon France's ceding to the states the city of Tournay, and some other places which they could not expect to possess, should she conclude a separate treaty. They now began to waver in their councils. The first transports of their resentment having subsided, they plainly perceived that the continuation of the war would intail upon them a burden which they could not bear, especially since the duke of Savoy and the king of Portugal had deserted the alliance: besides, they were staggered by the affair of the new barrier, so much more advantageous than that which France had proposed in the beginning of the conferences. They were influenced by another motive:
namely,

namely, the apprehension of new mischiefs to the empire from the king of Sweden, whose affairs seemed to take a favourable turn at the Ottoman Porte, through the intercession of the French monarch. The czar and king Augustus had penetrated into Pomerania: the king of Denmark had taken Staden, reduced Bremen, and layed Hamburg under contribution; but count Steenbock the Swedish general defeated the Danish army in Mecklenburg, ravaged Holstein with great barbarity, and reduced the town of Altena to ashes. The grand signor threatened to declare war against the czar, on pretence that he had not performed some essential articles of the late peace: but his real motive was an inclination to support the king of Sweden. This disposition, however, was defeated by a powerful party at the Porte, which was averse to war. Charles, who still remained at Bender, was desired to return to his own kingdom, and given to understand, that the sultan would procure him a safe passage. He treated the person who brought this intimation with the most outrageous insolence; rejected the proposal, fortified his house; and resolved to defend himself to the last extremity. Being attacked by a considerable body of Turkish forces, he and his attendants fought with the most frantic valour. They slew some hundreds of the assailants; but, at last, they set fire to the house: so that he was obliged to surrender himself and his followers, who were generally sold for slaves. He himself was conveyed under a strong guard to Adrianople. Mean while the czar landed with an army in Finland, which he totally reduced. Steenbock maintained himself in Tonningen until all his supplies were cut off; and then he was obliged to deliver himself and his troops prisoners of war. But this reverse was not foreseen when the Dutch dreaded a rupture between the Porte and the Muscovites, and were given to understand, that the Turks would recal great part of his troops from the Netherlands, where the burden of the war must lie upon their shoulders. After various consultations in their different assemblies, they came into the queen's measures, and signed the barrier-treaty.

§ XXI. Then the plenipotentiaries of the four associated circles presented a remonstrance to the British ministers at Utrecht, imploring the queen's interposition in their favour, that they might not be left in the miserable condition to which they had been reduced by former treaties. They were given to understand, that if they should not obtain what they desired, they themselves would be justly blamed as the authors of their disappointment: that they had been deficient in furnishing their proportion of troops and other necessities; and left the whole burden of the war to fall upon the queen and the states in the Netherlands: that when a cessation was judged necessary, they had deserted her majesty to follow the chimerical projects of prince Eugene: that, while she prosecuted the war with the utmost vigour, they had acted with coldness and indifference; but when she inclined to peace they began to exert themselves in prosecuting hostilities with uncommon eagerness: that, nevertheless, she would not abandon their interests, but endeavour to procure for them as good conditions as their preposterous conduct would allow her to demand. Even the emperor's plenipotentiaries began to talk in more moderate terms. Zinzendorf declared, that his master was very well disposed to promote a general peace; and no longer insisted on a cession of the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria.

stria. Philip's ministers, together with those of Bayaria and Cologne, were admitted to the congress; and now the plenipotentiaries of Britain acted as mediators for the rest of the allies.

§ XXII. The pacification between France and England was retarded, however, by some unforeseen difficulties that arose in adjusting the commerce and the limits of the countries possessed by both nations in North-America. A long dispute ensued; and the duke of Shrewsbury and Prior held many conferences with the French ministry: at length, it was compromised, though not much to the advantage of Great Britain; and the English plenipotentiaries received an order to sign a separate treaty. They declared to the ministers of the other powers, that they and some other plenipotentiaries were ready to sign their respective treaties on the eleventh day of April. Count Zinzendorf endeavoured to postpone this transaction until he should be furnished with fresh instructions from Vienna; and even threatened that if the states should sign the peace contrary to his desire, the emperor would immediately withdraw his troops from the Netherlands. The ministers of Great Britain agreed with those of France, that his Imperial majesty should have time to consider whether he would or would not accept the proposals; but this time was extended no farther than the first day of June; nor would they agree to a cessation of arms during that interval. Mean while the peace with France was signed in different treaties by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Savoy, Prussia, Portugal, and the states-general. On the fourteenth day of the month the British plenipotentiaries delivered to count Zinzendorf in writing, "offers and demands of the French king for making peace with the house of Austria and the empire." The count and the ministers of the German princes exclaimed against the insolence of France, which had not even bestowed the title of emperor on Joseph; but wanted to impose terms upon them with relation to the electors of Cologne and Bavaria.

Burnet.
Boyer.
Hare.
Lamberti.
Quincy.
Rouffet.
Torcy.
Bolingbroke.
Voltaire.
Tindal.
Mil. Hist.
of the D. of
Marlborough.

§ XXIII. The treaties of peace and commerce between England and France being ratified by the queen of England, the parliament was assembled on the ninth day of April. The queen told them the treaty was signed, and that in a few days the ratifications would be exchanged. She said, what she had done for the protestant succession, and the perfect friendship subsisting between her and the house of Hanover, would convince those who wished well to both, and desired the quiet and safety of their country, how vain all attempts were to divide them. She left it intirely to the house of commons to determine what force might be necessary for the security of trade by sea, and for guards and garrisons. "Make yourselves safe (said she) and I shall be satisfied. Next to the protection of the divine providence, I depend upon the loyalty and affection of my people. I want no other guaranty." She recommended to their protection those brave men who had exposed their lives in the service of their country, and could not be employed in time of peace. She desired they would concert proper measures for easing the foreign trade of the kingdom; for improving and encouraging manufactures and the fishery; and for employing the hands of idle people. She expressed her displeasure at the scandalous and seditious libels which had been lately published. She exhorted them to consider of new laws to prevent this licentiousness, as well as for putting a stop to the impious practice of duelling. She conjured them to use their utmost endeavours to calm

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the minds of men at home, that the arts of peace might be cultivated; and that groundless jealousies contrived by a faction, and fomented by party-rage, might not effect that which their foreign enemies could not accomplish. This was the language of a pious, candid, and benevolent sovereign, who loved her subjects with a truly parental affection. The parliament considered her in that light. Each house presented her with a warm address of thanks and congratulation, expressing in particular, their inviolable attachment to the protestant succession in the illustrious house of Hanover. The ratifications of the treaty being exchanged, the peace was proclaimed on the fifth of May, with the usual ceremonies, to the inexpressible joy of the nation in general; and it was about this period, that the chevalier de St. George conveyed a printed remonstrance to the ministers at Utrecht, solemnly protesting against all that might be stipulated to his prejudice. The commons, in a second address, had besought her majesty to communicate to the house in due time the treaties of peace and commerce with France; and now they were produced by Mr. Benson chancellor of the exchequer.

§ XXIV. By the treaty of peace the French king obliged himself to abandon the pretender, acknowledge the queen's title and the protestant succession; to raze the fortifications of Dunkirk within a limited time, on condition of receiving an equivalent: to cede Newfoundland, Hudson's-bay, and St. Christopher's, to England; but, the French were left in possession of Cape Breton, and at liberty to dry their fish on Newfoundland. By the treaty of commerce a free trade was established, according to the tariff of the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-four, except in some commodities that were subjected to new regulations in the year sixteen hundred and ninety-nine. It was agreed, That no other duties should be imposed on the productions of France imported into England, than those that were layed on the same commodities from other countries: and, That commissaries should meet at London to adjust all matters relating to commerce: as for the tariff with Spain, it was not yet finished. It was stipulated, That the emperor should possess the kingdom of Naples, the dutchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands: That the duke of Savoy should enjoy Sicily, with the title of king: That the same title, with the island of Sardinia, should be allotted to the elector of Bavaria, as an indemnification for his losses: That the states-general should restore Lisse and its dependencies: and, That Namur, Charleroy, Luxemburg, Ypres, and Newport, should be added to the other places they already possessed in Flanders: That the king of Prussia should have Upper Gueldre, in lieu of Orange and the other estates belonging to that family in Franche Comté. The king of Portugal was satisfied; and the first day of June was fixed as the period of time granted to the emperor for consideration.

§ XXV. A day being appointed by the commons to deliberate upon the treaty of commerce, very just and weighty objections were made to the eighth and ninth articles, importing, That Great Britain and France should mutually enjoy all the privileges in trading with each other, that either granted to the most favoured nation; and that no higher customs should be exacted from the commodities of France, than those that were drawn from the same productions of any other people. The balance of trade having long inclined to the side of France, severe duties had been laid on all the productions and manufactures of that

that kingdom, so as almost to amount to a total prohibition. Some members observed, that, by the treaty between England and Portugal, the duties charged upon the wines of that country, were lower than those layed upon the wines of France: that should they now be reduced to an equality, the difference of freight was so great, that the French wines would be found much cheaper than those of Portugal; and, as they were more agreeable to the taste of the nation in general, there would be no market for the Portuguese wines in England: that should this be the case, the English would lose their trade with Portugal, the most advantageous of any traffic which they now carried on: for it consumed a great quantity of their manufactures, and returned a yearly sum of six hundred thousand pounds in gold. Mr. Nathaniel Gould, formerly governor of the bank, affirmed, that as France had, since the revolution, encouraged woollen manufactures, and prepared at home several commodities which formerly they drew from England; so the English had learned to make silk stuffs, paper, and all manner of toys formerly imported from France: by which means, an infinite number of artificers was employed, and a vast sum annually saved to the nation: but these people would now be reduced to beggary, and that money lost again to the kingdom, should French commodities of the same kind be imported under ordinary duties, because labour was much cheaper in France than in England, consequently the British manufactures would be underfold and ruined. He urged, that the ruin of the silk manufacture would be attended with another disadvantage. Great quantities of woollen cloths were vended in Italy and Turkey, in consequence of the raw silk which the English merchants bought up in those countries; and, should the silk manufacture at home be lost, those markets for British commodities would fail of course. Others alledged, that if the articles of commerce had been settled before the English troops separated from those of the confederates, the French king would not have presumed to insist upon such terms, but have been glad to comply with more moderate conditions. Sir William Wyndham reflected on the late ministry, for having neglected to make an advantageous peace when it was in their power. He said, that Portugal would always have occasion for the woollen manufactures and the corn of England, and be obliged to buy them at all events. After a violent debate, the house resolved, by a great majority, That a bill should be brought in to make good the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of commerce with France. Against these articles, however, the Portuguese minister presented a memorial, declaring, that should the duties on French wines be lowered to the same level with those that were layed on the wines of Portugal, his master would renew the prohibition of the woollen manufactures, and other products of Great Britain. Indeed all the trading part of the nation exclaimed against the treaty of commerce, which seems to have been concluded in a hurry, before the ministers fully understood the nature of the subject. This precipitation was owing to the fears that their endeavours after peace would miscarry, from the intrigues of the Whig faction, and the obstinate opposition of the confederates.

§ XXVI. The commons having granted an aid of two shillings in the pound, proceeded to renew the duty on malt for another year, and extended this tax to the whole island, notwithstanding the warm remonstrances of the Scottish members, who represented it as a burden which their country could

not bear. They insisted upon an express article of the union, stipulating, That no duty should be layed on the malt in Scotland during the war, which they affirmed was not yet finished, inasmuch as the peace with Spain had not been proclaimed. During the adjournment of the parliament, on account of the Whitsun holidays, the Scots of both houses laying aside all party-distinctions, met and deliberated on this subject. They deputed the duke of Argyle, the earl of Mar, Mr. Lockhart, and Mr. Cockburne, to lay their grievances before the queen. They represented, that their countrymen bore with impatience the violation of some articles of the union; and that the imposition of such an insupportable burden as the malt-tax, would in all probability prompt them to declare the union dissolved. The queen, alarmed at this remonstrance, answered, that she wished they might not have cause to repent of such a precipitate resolution; but she would endeavour to make all things easy. On the first day of June, the earl of Findlater, in the house of peers, represented that the Scottish nation was aggrieved in many instances: that they were deprived of a privy-council; subjected to the English laws in cases of treason; that their nobles were rendered incapable of being created British peers; and that now they were oppressed with the insupportable burden of a malt-tax, when they had reason to expect they should reap the benefits of peace: he therefore moved, that leave might be given to bring in a bill for dissolving the union, and securing the protestant succession in the house of Hanover. The lord North and Grey affirmed, that the complaints of the Scots were groundless; that the dissolution of the union was impracticable; and he made some sarcastic reflections on the poverty of that nation. He was answered by the earl of Eglington, who admitted the Scots were poor, and therefore unable to pay the malt-tax. The earl of Ilay, among other pertinent remarks upon the union, observed, that when the treaty was made, the Scots took it for granted that the parliament of Great Britain would never load them with any imposition that they had reason to believe grievous. The earl of Peterborough compared the union to a marriage. He said, that though England, who must be supposed the husband, might in some instances prove unkind to the lady, she ought not immediately to sue for a divorce, the rather because she had very much mended her fortune by the match. Ilay replied, that marriage was an ordinance of God; and the union, no more than a political expedient. The other affirmed, that the contract could not have been more solemn, unless, like the ten commandments, it had come from heaven: he inveighed against the Scots as a people that would never be satisfied; that would have all the advantages resulting from the union, but would pay nothing by their good will, although they had received more money from England than the amount of all their estates. To these animadversions the duke of Argyle made a very warm reply. "I have been reflected on by some people (said he) as if I was disgusted and had changed sides; but I despise their persons, as much as I undervalue their judgment." He urged, that the malt-tax in Scotland was like taxing land by the acre throughout England, because land was worth five pounds an acre in the neighbourhood of London, and would not fetch so many shillings in the remote counties. In like manner, the English malt was valued at four times the price of that which was made in Scotland; therefore the tax in this country must be levied by a regiment of dragoons. He owned he

he had a great share in making the union, with a view to secure the protestant succession; but he was now satisfied this end might be answered as effectually if the union was dissolved; and, if this step should not be taken, he did not expect long to have either property left in Scotland, or liberty in England. All the Whig members voted for the dissolution of that treaty which they had so eagerly promoted; while the Tories strenuously supported the measure against which they had once argued with such vehemence. In the course of the debate, the lord treasurer observed, that although the malt-tax were imposed, it might be afterwards remitted by the crown. The earl of Sunderland expressed surprise at hearing that noble lord broach a doctrine which tended to establish a despotic dispensing power and arbitrary government. Oxford replied, his family had never been famous, as some others had been, for promoting and advising arbitrary measures. Sunderland considering this expression as a sarcasm levelled at the memory of his father, took occasion to vindicate his conduct; adding, that in those days the other lord's family was hardly known. Much violent altercation was discharged. At length the motion for the bill was rejected by a small majority, and the malt-bill afterwards passed with great difficulty.

§ XXVII. Another bill being brought into the house of commons, for rendering the treaty of commerce effectual, such a number of petitions were delivered against it, and so many solid arguments advanced by the merchants who were examined on the subject, that even a great number of Tory members were convinced of the bad consequence it would produce to trade, and voted against the ministry on this occasion; so that the bill was rejected by a majority of nine voices. At the same time, however, the house agreed to an address, thanking her majesty for the great care she had taken of the security and honour of her kingdoms in the treaty of peace; as also for having layed so good a foundation for the interest of her people in trade. They likewise besought her to appoint commissioners to treat with those of France, for adjusting such matters as should be necessary to be settled on the subject of commerce, that the treaty might be explained and perfected for the good and welfare of her people. The queen interpreted this address into a full approbation of the treaties of peace and commerce, and thanked them accordingly in the warmest terms of satisfaction and acknowledgment. The commons afterwards desired to know what equivalent should be given for the demolition of Dunkirk; and she gave them to understand, that this was already in the hands of his most christian majesty: then they besought her that she would not evacuate the towns of Flanders that were in her possession, until those who were intitled to the sovereignty of the Spanish Netherlands should agree to such articles for regulating trade as might place the subjects of Great Britain upon an equal footing with those of any other nation. The queen made a favourable answer to all their remonstrances. Such were the steps taken by the parliament during this session, with relation to the famous treaty of Utrecht, against which the Whigs so violently exclaimed, that many well-meaning people believed it would be attended with the immediate ruin of the kingdom: yet, under the shadow of this very treaty, Great Britain enjoyed a long term of peace and tranquillity. Bishop Burnet was heated with an enthusiastic terror of the house of Bourbon. He declared to the queen in private, that any treaty by which Spain and the

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West Indies were left in the hands of king Philip, must in a little time deliver all Europe into the hands of France: that if any such peace was made, the queen was betrayed and her people ruined: that in less than three years she would be murdered, and the fires would blaze again in Smithfield. This prelate lived to see his prognostic disappointed; therefore he might have suppressed this anecdote.

§ XXVIII. On the twenty-fifth day of June, the queen signified, in a message to the house of commons, that her civil list was burdened with some debts incurred by several articles of extraordinary expence; and that she hoped they would empower her to raise such a sum of money upon the funds for that provision, as would be sufficient to discharge the incumbrances, which amounted to five hundred thousand pounds. A bill was immediately prepared for raising this sum on the civil-list revenue, and passed through both houses with some difficulty. Both lords and commons addressed the queen concerning the chevalier de St. George, who had repaired to Lorrain. They desired she would press the duke of that name, and all the princes and states in amity with her, to exclude from their dominions the pretender to the imperial crown of Great Britain. A public thanksgiving for the peace was appointed and celebrated with great solemnity; and, on the sixteenth day of July, the queen closed the session with a speech which was not at all agreeable to the violent Whigs, because it did not contain one word about the pretender and the protestant succession. From these omissions they concluded, that the dictates of natural affection had biased her in favour of the chevalier de St. George. Whatever sentiments of tenderness and compassion she might feel for that unfortunate exile, the acknowledged son of her own father, it does not appear that she ever entertained a thought of altering the succession as by law established. The term of Sacheverel's suspension being expired, extraordinary rejoicings were made upon the occasion. He was desired to preach before the house of commons, who thanked him for his sermon; and the queen promoted him to the rich benefice of St. Andrew's Holborn. On the other hand, the duke D'Aumont, ambassador from France, was insulted by the populace. Scurrilous ballads were published against him, both in the English and French languages. He received divers anonymous letters, containing threats of setting fire to his house, which was accordingly burned to the ground, though whether by accident or design he could not well determine. The magistracy of Dunkirk having sent a deputation with an address to the queen, humbly imploring her majesty to spare the port and harbour of that town, and representing that they might be useful to her own subjects, the memorial was printed and dispersed, and the arguments it contained were answered and refuted by Addison, Steele, and Maynwaring. Commissioners were sent to see the fortifications of Dunkirk demolished. They were accordingly razed to the ground; the harbour was filled up; and the duke D'Aumont returned to Paris in the month of November. The queen, by her remonstrances to the court of Versailles, had procured the enlargement of one hundred and thirty-six protestants from the galleys; but understanding that as many more were detained on the same account, she made such application to the French ministry, that they too were released. Then she appointed general Ross her envoy extraordinary to the king of France.

§ XXIX.

§ XXIX. The duke of Shrewsbury being nominated lord lieutenant of Ireland, assembled the parliament of that kingdom on the twenty-fifth day of November, and found the two houses still at variance, on the opposite principles of Whig and Tory. Allan Broderick being chosen speaker of the commons, they ordered a bill to be brought in to attain the pretender and all his adherents. They prosecuted Edward Loyd for publishing a book intituled, "Memoirs of the chevalier de St. George;" and they agreed upon an address to the queen, to remove from the chancellorship Sir Constantine Phipps, who had countenanced the Tories of that kingdom. The lords, however, resolved, that chancellor Phipps had, in his several stations, acquitted himself with honour and integrity. The two houses of convocation presented an address to the same purpose. They likewise complained of Mr. Molesworth, for having insulted them, by saying, when they appeared in the castle of Dublin, "They that have turned the world upside down are come hither also;" and he was removed from the privy-council. The duke of Shrewsbury received orders to prorogue this parliament, which was divided against itself, and portended nothing but domestic broils. Then he obtained leave to return to England, leaving chancellor Phipps, with the archbishops of Armagh and Tuam, justices of the kingdom.

§ XXX. The parliament of England had been dissolved; and the elections were managed in such a manner as to retain the legislative power in the hands of the Tories: but the meeting of the new parliament was delayed by repeated prorogations to the tenth day of December; a delay partly owing to the queen's indisposition; and partly to the contests among her ministers. Oxford and Bolingbroke were competitors for power, and rivals in reputation for ability. The treasurer's parts were deemed the more solid; the secretary's more shining: but both ministers were aspiring and ambitious. The first was bent upon maintaining the first rank in the administration, which he had possessed since the revolution in the ministry: the other disdained to act as a subaltern to the man whom he thought he excelled in genius and equalled in importance. They began to form separate cabals, and adopt different principles. Bolingbroke insinuated himself into the confidence of lady Masham, to whom Oxford had given some cause of disgust. By this communication he gained ground in the good opinion of his sovereign, while the treasurer lost it in the same proportion. Thus she who had been the author of his elevation, was now used as the instrument of his disgrace. The queen was sensibly affected with these dissensions, which she interposed her advice and authority by turns to appease; but their mutual animosity continued to rankle under an exterior accommodation. The interest of Bolingbroke was powerfully supported by Sir Simon Harcourt the chancellor, Sir William Wyndham, and Mr. secretary Bromley. Oxford perceived his own influence was in the wane, and began to think of retirement. Mean while, the earl of Peterborough was appointed ambassador to the king of Sicily; and set out for Turin. The queen retired to Windsor, where she was seized with a very dangerous inflammatory fever. The hopes of the Jacobites visibly rose: the public funds immediately fell: a great run was made upon the bank, the directors of which were overwhelmed with consternation, which was not a little increased by the report of an armament equipped in the ports of France. They sent one of their members to represent

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to the treasurer the danger that threatened the public credit. The queen being made acquainted with these occurrences, signed a letter to Sir Samuel Stancer lord-mayor of London, declaring, that now she was recovered of her late indisposition, she would return to the place of her usual residence, and open the parliament on the sixteenth day of February. This intimation she sent to her loving subjects of the city of London, to the intent that all of them, in their several stations, might discountenance those malicious rumours spread by evil-minded persons, to the prejudice of credit, and to the imminent hazard of the public peace and tranquillity. The queen's recovery, together with certain intelligence that the armament was a phantom, and the pretender still in Lorrain, helped to assuage the ferment of the nation, which had been industriously raised by party-writings. Mr. Richard Steele published a performance intitled "The Crisis," in defence of the revolution, and the protestant establishment, and enlarging upon the danger of a popish successor. On the other hand, the hereditary rights of the crown of England was asserted in a large volume, supposed to be written with a view to pave the way for the pretender's accession. One Bedford was apprehended, tried, convicted, and severely punished, as the publisher of this treatise.

§ XXXI. While England was harrassed by these intestine commotions, the emperor rejecting the terms of peace proposed by France, resolved to maintain the war at his own expence, with the assistance of the empire. His forces on the Rhine, commanded by prince Eugene, was so much outnumbered by the French under Villars, that they could not prevent the enemy from reducing the two important fortresses of Landau and Friburg. His Imperial majesty hoped, that the death of queen Anne, or that of Lewis XIV. would produce an alteration in Europe that might be favourable to his interest; and he depended upon the conduct and fortune of prince Eugene for some lucky event in war. But finding himself disappointed in all these expectations, and absolutely unable to support the expence of another campaign, he hearkened to overtures of peace that were made by the electors of Cologne and Palatine; and conferences were opened at the castle of Al-Rastadt, between prince Eugene and marechal de Villars, on the twenty sixth day of November. In the beginning of February they separated, without seeming to have come to any conclusion: but all the articles being settled between the courts of Vienna and Versailles, they met again at the latter end of the month: the treaty was signed on the third day of March; and orders were sent to the governors and commanders on both sides, to desist from all hostilities. By this treaty, the French king yielded to the emperor Old Brisac, with all its dependencies, Friburg, the forts in the Brisgau and Black Forest, together with fort Khel. He engaged to demolish the fortifications opposite to Huningen, the fort of Sellingen, and all between that and Fort Louis. The town and fortress of Landau were ceded to the king of France, who acknowledged the elector of Hanover. The electors of Bavaria and Cologne were restored to all their dignities and dominions. The emperor was put in immediate possession of the Spanish Netherlands; and the king of Prussia was permitted to retain the high quarter of Gueldres. Finally, the contracting parties agreed that a congress should be opened on the first of May, at Baden in Swisserland, for terminating all differences; and prince Eugene and marechal de Villars were appointed their first plenipotentiaries.

§ XXXII.

§ XXXII. The ratifications of the treaty between Great Britain and Spain being exchanged, the peace was proclaimed on the first day of March, in London; and the articles were not disagreeable to the English nation. The kingdoms of France and Spain were separated for ever. Philip acknowledged the protestant succession, and renounced the pretender. He agreed to a renewal of the treaty of navigation and commerce concluded in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-seven. He granted an exclusive privilege to the English for furnishing the Spanish West Indies with negroes, according to the asiento-contract. He ceded Gibraltar to England, as well as the island of Minorca, on condition that the Spanish inhabitants should enjoy their estates and religion. He obliged himself to grant a full pardon to the Catalonians, with the possession of all their estates, honours, and privileges, and to yield the kingdom of Sicily to the duke of Savoy. The new parliament was opened by commission in February, and Sir Thomas Hanmer was chosen speaker of the house of commons. On the second day of March, the queen being carried in a sedan to the house of lords, signified to both houses, that she had obtained an honourable and advantageous peace for her own people, and for the greatest part of her allies; and she hoped her interposition might prove effectual to complete the settlement of Europe. She observed, that some persons had been so malicious as to insinuate that the protestant succession in the house of Hanover was in danger under her government; but that those who endeavoured to distract the minds of men with imaginary dangers, could only mean to disturb the public tranquillity. She said, that after all she had done to secure religion and the liberties of her people, she could not mention such proceedings without some degree of warmth; and she hoped her parliament would agree with her, that attempts to weaken her authority, or to render the possession of the crown uneasy to her, could never be proper means to strengthen the protestant succession. Affectionate addresses were presented by the lords, the commons, and the convocation: but the ill humour of party still subsisted, and was daily inflamed by new pamphlets and papers. Steele, supported by Addison and Halifax, appeared in the front of those who drew their pens in defence of Whig principles; and Swift was the champion of the ministry.

§ XXXIII. The earl of Wharton complained in the house of lords of a libel intituled, "The public spirit of the Whigs, set forth in their generous encouragement of the author of the Crisis." It was a sarcastic performance, imputed to lord Bolingbroke and Swift, interspersed with severe reflections upon the union, the Scottish nation, and the duke of Argyle in particular. The lord treasurer disclaimed all knowledge of the author, and readily concurred in an order for taking into custody John Morphew the publisher, as well as John Barber, printer of the Gazette, from whose house the copies were brought to Morphew. The earl of Wharton said it highly concerned the honour of that august assembly, to find out the villain who was author of that false and scandalous libel, that justice might be done to the Scottish nation. He moved, that Barber and his servants might be examined: but, next day, the earl of Mar, one of the secretaries of state, declared, that, in pursuance to her majesty's command, he had directed John Barber to be prosecuted. Notwithstanding this interposition, which was calculated to screen the offenders, the lords presented an address, beseeching her majesty to issue

out her royal proclamation, promising a reward to any person who should discover the author of the libel which they conceived to be false, malicious, and factious, highly dishonourable and scandalous to her majesty's subjects of Scotland, most injurious to her majesty, and tending to the ruin of the constitution. In compliance with their request, a reward of three hundred pounds was offered; but the author remained safe from all detection.

§ XXXIV. The commons having granted the supplies, ordered a bill to be brought in for securing the freedom of parliaments, by limiting the number of officers in the house of commons; and it passed through both houses with little difficulty. In March, a complaint was made of several scandalous papers lately published, under the name of Richard Steele, esquire, a member of the house. Sir William Wyndham observed, that some of that author's writings contained insolent, injurious, reflections on the queen herself, and were dictated by the spirit of rebellion. Steele was ordered to attend in his place: some paragraphs of his works were read; and he answered them with an affected air of self-confidence and unconcern. A day being appointed for his trial, he acknowledged the writings, and entered into a more circumstantial defence. He was assisted by Mr. Addison, general Stanhope, and Mr. Walpole; and attacked by Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Foley, and the attorney-general. Whatever could be urged in his favour was but little regarded by the majority, which voted, that two pamphlets, intituled, "The Englishman, and the Crisis," written by Richard Steele, esquire, were scandalous and seditious libels; and that he should be expelled the house of commons.

§ XXXV. The lords taking into consideration the state of the nation, resolved upon addresses to the queen, desiring they might know what steps had been taken for removing the pretender from the dominions of the duke of Lorraine: that she would impart to them an account of the negotiations of peace; an account of the instances which had been made in favour of the Catalans; and an account of the monies granted by parliament since the year one thousand seven hundred and ten, to carry on the war in Spain and Portugal. They afterwards agreed to other addresses, beseeching her majesty to lay before them the debts and state of the navy, the particular writs of *Noli prosequi* granted since her accession to the throne; and a list of such persons as, notwithstanding sentence of outlawry or attainder, had obtained licences to return into Great Britain, or other her majesty's dominions since the revolution. Having voted an application to the queen in behalf of the distressed Catalans, the house adjourned itself to the last day of March. As the minds of men had been artfully irritated by false reports of a design undertaken by France in behalf of the pretender, the ambassador of that crown at the Hague disowned it in a public paper, by command of his most christian majesty. The suspicions of many people, however, had been too deeply planted by the arts and insinuations of the Whig leaders, to be eradicated by this or any other declaration; and what served to rivet their apprehensions, was a total removal of the Whigs from all the employments civil and military which they had hitherto retained. These were now bestowed upon professed Tories, some of whom were attached at bottom to the supposed heir of blood. At a time when the queen's views were maliciously misrepresented; when the wheels of her government were actually impeded, and her servants threatened with proscription by a powerful, turbulent,

lent, and implacable faction; no wonder that she discharged the partisans of that faction from her service, and filled their places with those who were distinguished by a warm affection to the house of Stuart, and by a submissive respect for the regal authority. Those were steps which her own sagacity must have suggested; and which her ministers would naturally advise as necessary for their own preservation. The Whigs were all in commotion, either apprehending, or affecting to apprehend, that a design was formed to secure the pretender's succession to the throne of Great Britain. Their chiefs held secret consultations with baron Schutz, the resident from Hanover. They communicated their observations to the elector: they received his instructions; they maintained a correspondence with the duke of Marlborough; and they concerted measures for opposing all efforts that might be made against the protestant succession upon the death of the queen, whose health was by this time so much impaired, that every week was believed to be the last of her life. This conduct of the Whigs was resolute, active, and would have been laudable, had their zeal been confined within the bounds of truth and moderation; but they, moreover, employed all their arts to excite and encourage the fears and jealousies of the people.

Boyer.
Burnet.
Tindal.
Torcy.
Bolingbroke.
Voltaire.

An. Ch. 1714.

§ XXXVI. The house of peers refounded with debates upon the Catalans, the pretender, and the danger that threatened the protestant succession. With respect to the Catalonians, they represented, that Great Britain had prevailed upon them to declare for the house of Austria, with promise of support; and that these engagements ought to have been made good. Lord Bolingbroke declared, that the queen had used all her endeavours in their behalf; and that her engagements with them subsisted no longer than king Charles resided in Spain. They agreed, however, to an address, acknowledging her majesty's endeavours in favour of the Catalans, and requesting she would continue her interposition in their behalf. With respect to the pretender, the Whig lords expressed such a spirit of persecution and rancorous hate, as would have disgraced the members of any, even the lowest assembly of christians. Not contented with hunting him from one country to another, they seemed eagerly bent upon extirpating him from the face of the earth, as if they had thought it was a crime in him to be born. The earl of Sunderland declared, from the information of the minister of Lorrain, that notwithstanding the application of both houses to her majesty during the last session, concerning the pretender's being removed from Lorrain, no instances had yet been made to the duke for that purpose. Lord Bolingbroke affirmed, that he himself had made those instances in the queen's name, to that very minister before his departure from England. The earl of Wharton proposed a question, "Whether the protestant succession was in danger under the present administration?" A warm debate ensued, in which the archbishop of York and the earl of Anglesey joined in the opposition to the ministry. The earl pretended to be convinced and converted by the arguments used in the course of the debate. He owned he had given his assent to the cessation of arms, for which he took shame to himself, asking pardon of God, his country, and his conscience. He affirmed, that the honour of his sovereign, and the good of his country, were the rules of his actions; but, that without respect of persons, should he find himself imposed upon, he durst pursue an evil minister from the queen's closet to the Tower, and from the Tower to the scaffold.

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This conversion, however, was much more owing to a full persuasion, that a ministry divided against itself could not long subsist; and, that the protestant succession was firmly secured. He therefore resolved to make a merit of withdrawing himself from the interests of a tottering administration, in whose ruin he might be involved. The duke of Argyle charged the ministers with mal-administration both within those walls and without: he offered to prove, that the lord-treasurer had yearly remitted a sum of money to the Highland clans of Scotland, who were known to be intirely devoted to the pretender. He affirmed, that the new-modelling of the army, the practice of disbanding some regiments out of their turn, and removing a great number of officers, on account of their affection to the house of Hanover, were clear indications of the ministry's designs: that it was a disgrace to the nation to see men who had never looked an enemy in the face, advanced to the posts of several brave officers, who, after they had often exposed their lives for their country, were now starving in prison for debt, on account of their pay's being detained. The treasurer laying his hand upon his breast, said, he had on so many occasions given such signal proofs of affection to the protestant succession, that he was sure no member of that august assembly did call it in question. He owned he had remitted for two or three years past, between three and four thousand pounds to the Highland clans; and he hoped the house would give him an opportunity to clear his conduct in that particular; and, with respect to the reformed officers, he declared, he had given orders for their being immediately payed. The protestant succession was voted out of danger by a small majority.

§ XXXVII. Lord Hallifax proposed an address to the queen, that she would renew her instances for the speedy removing the pretender out of Lorrain; and that she would, in conjunction with the states general, enter into the guaranty of the protestant succession in the house of Hanover. The earl of Wharton moved, that in the address her majesty should be desired to issue a proclamation, promising a reward to any person who should apprehend the pretender dead or alive. He was seconded by the duke of Bolton; and the house agreed, that an address should be presented. When it was reported by the committee, the lord North and Grey expatiated upon the barbarity of setting a price on any one's head: he proved it was an encouragement to murder and assassination; contrary to the precepts of Christianity; repugnant to the law of nature and nations; inconsistent with the dignity of such an august assembly, and with the honour of a nation famed for lenity and mercy. He was supported by lord Trevor, who moved, that the reward should be promised for apprehending and bringing the pretender to justice, in case he should land or attempt to land in Great Britain or Ireland. The cruelty of the first clause was zealously supported and vindicated by the lords Cowper and Hallifax; but, by this time the earls of Anglesey and some others who had abandoned the ministry, were brought back to their former principles, by promise of profitable employments; and the mitigation was adopted by a majority of ten voices. To this address, which was delivered by the chancellor and the Whig lords only, the queen replied in these words. "My lords, it would be a real strengthening to the succession in the house of Hanover, as well as a support to my government, " that

“that an end were put to those groundless fears and jealousies which have been so industriously promoted. I do not at this time see any occasion for such a proclamation. Whenever I judge it to be necessary, I shall give my orders for having it issued. As to the other particulars of this address, I will give proper directions therein.” She was likewise importuned by another address, to issue out a proclamation against all jesuits, popish priests, and bishops, as well as against all such as were outlawed for adhering to the late king James and the pretender. They resolved, That no person, not included in the articles of Limerick, and who had borne arms in France and Spain, should be capable of any employment civil or military: and, That no person, a natural-born subject of her majesty, should be capable of sustaining the character of a public minister from any foreign potentate. These resolutions were aimed at Sir Patrick Lawless, an Irish papist, who had come to England with a credential letter from king Philip, but now thought proper to quit the kingdom.

§ XXXVIII. Then the lords in the opposition made an attack upon the treasurer, concerning the money he had remitted to the Highlanders; but he silenced his opposers, by asserting, that in so doing, he had followed the example of king William, who, after he had reduced that people, thought fit to allow yearly pensions to the heads of clans, in order to keep them quiet. His conduct was approved by the house; and the lord North and Grey moved, That a day might be appointed for considering the state of the nation, with regard to the treaties of peace and commerce. The motion was seconded by the earl of Clarendon; and the thirteenth day of April fixed for this purpose. In the meantime, baron Schütz demanded of the chancellor a writ for the electoral prince of Hanover, to sit in the house of peers as duke of Cambridge, intimating, that his design was to reside in England. The writ was granted with reluctance; but the prince’s design of coming to England was so disagreeable to the queen, that she signified her disapprobation of such a step, in a letter to the princess Sophia. She observed, that such a method of proceeding would be dangerous to the succession itself, which was not secure any other way, than as the prince who was in actual possession of the throne maintained her authority and prerogative: she said, a great many people in England were seditiously disposed; so she left her to judge, what tumults they might be able to raise should they have a pretext to begin a commotion: she therefore persuaded herself, that her aunt would not consent to any thing which might disturb the repose of her and her subjects. At the same time she wrote a letter to the electoral prince, complaining, that he had formed such a resolution without first knowing her sentiments on the subject; and telling him plainly, that nothing could be more dangerous to the tranquillity of her dominions, to the right of succession in the Hanoverian line, or more disagreeable to her, than such conduct at this juncture. A third letter was written to the elector his father; and the treasurer took this opportunity to assure that prince of his inviolable attachment to the family of Hanover.

§ XXXIX. The Whig lords were dissatisfied with the queen’s answer to their address concerning the pretender; and they moved for another address on the same subject, which was resolved upon, but never presented. They took into consideration the treaties of peace and commerce, to which many exceptions were

were taken; and much sarcasm was expended on both sides of the dispute; but, at length, the majority carried the question in favour of an address, acknowledging her majesty's goodness, in delivering them by a safe, honourable, and advantageous peace with France, from the burden of a consuming land-war, unequally carried on, and become at last impracticable. The house of commons concurred in this address, after having voted, That the protestant succession was out of danger; but these resolutions were not taken without violent opposition, in which general Stanhope, Mr. Lechmere, and Mr. Walpole, chiefly distinguished themselves. The letters which the queen had written to the electoral house of Hanover were printed and published in England, with a view to inform the friends of that family, of the reasons which prevented the duke of Cambridge from executing his design of residing in Great Britain. The queen considered this step as a personal insult, as well as an attempt to prejudice her in the opinions of her subjects: she therefore ordered the publisher to be taken into custody. At this period the princess Sophia died, in the eighty-fourth year of her age; and her death was intimated to the queen by baron Bothmar, who arrived in England with the character of envoy-extraordinary from the elector of Hanover. This princess was the fourth and youngest daughter of Frederick elector palatine, king of Bohemia, and Elizabeth, daughter of king James I. of England. She enjoyed from nature an excellent capacity, which was finely cultivated; and was in all respects one of the most accomplished princesses of the age in which she lived. At her death the court of England appeared in mourning; and the elector of Brunswick was prayed for by name in the liturgy of the church of England. On the twelfth day of May Sir William Wyndham made a motion for a bill to prevent the growth of schism, and for the further security of the church of England as by law established. The design of it was to prohibit dissenters from teaching in schools and academies. It was accordingly prepared, and eagerly opposed in each house as a species of persecution. Nevertheless, it made its way through both, and received the royal assent; but the queen dying before it took place, this law was rendered ineffectual.

§ XL. Her majesty's constitution was now quite broken: one fit of sickness succeeded another; and what completed the ruin of her health was the anxiety of her mind, occasioned partly by the discontents which had been raised and fomented by the enemies of her government; and partly by the dissensions among her ministers, which were now become intolerable. The council-chamber was turned into a scene of obstinate dispute and bitter altercation. Even in the queen's presence, the treasurer and secretary did not abstain from mutual obloquy and reproach. Oxford advised moderate measures, and is said to have made advances towards a reconciliation with the leaders of the Whig party. As he foresaw it would soon be their turn to domineer, such precautions were necessary for his own safety. Bolingbroke affected to set the Whigs at defiance: he professed a warm zeal for the church: he soothed the queen's inclinations with the most assiduous attention. He and his coadjutrix insinuated, that the treasurer was biased in favour of the dissenters, and even, that he acted as a spy for the house of Hanover. In the midst of these disputes and commotions the Jacobites were not idle. They flattered themselves, that the queen in secret favoured

favoured the pretensions of her brother; and they depended upon Bolingbroke's attachment to the same interest. They believed the same sentiments were cherished by the nation in general. They held private assemblies both in Great Britain and Ireland. They concerted measures for turning the dissensions of the kingdom to the advantage of their cause. They even proceeded so far as to enlist men for the service of the pretender. Some of these practices were discovered by the earl of Wharton, who did not fail to sound the alarm. A proclamation was immediately published, promising a reward of five thousand pounds for apprehending the pretender whenever he should land or attempt to land in Great Britain. The commons voted an address of thanks for the proclamation; and assured her majesty, that they would cheerfully aid and assist her, by granting the sum of an hundred thousand pounds as a further reward to any who should perform so great a service to her majesty and her kingdoms. The lords likewise presented an address on the same subject. Lord Bolingbroke proposed a bill, decreeing the penalties of high-treason against those who should lift or be enlisted in the pretender's service. The motion was approved, and the penalty extended to all those who should lift or be enlisted in the service of any foreign prince or state, without a licence under the sign manual of her majesty, her heirs, or successors.

§ XLI. On the second day of July the lords took into consideration the treaty of commerce with Spain; and a good number of merchants being examined at the bar of the house, declared, that unless the explanations of the third, fifth, and eighth articles, as made at Madrid after the treaty was signed, were rescinded, they could not carry on their commerce without losing five and twenty per cent. After a long debate, the house resolved to address the queen for all the papers relating to the negotiation of the treaty of commerce with Spain, with the names of the persons who advised her majesty to that treaty. To this address she replied, that understanding the three explanatory articles of the treaty were not detrimental to the trade of her subjects, she had consented to their being ratified with the treaty. The earl of Wharton represented, that if so little regard was shewn to the addresses of that august assembly to the sovereign, they had no business in that house. He moved for a remonstrance to lay before her majesty, the insuperable difficulties that attended the Spanish trade on the footing of the late treaty; and the house agreed to his motion. Another member moved, That the house should insist on her majesty's naming the persons who advised her to ratify the three explanatory articles. This was a blow aimed at Arthur Moore, a member of the lower house, whom lord Bolingbroke had consulted on the subject of the treaty. He was screened by the majority in parliament; but, a general court of the South-sea company resolved, upon a complaint exhibited by captain Johnson, that Arthur Moore, while a director, was privy to, and encouraged the design of carrying on a clandestine trade, to the prejudice of the corporation, contrary to his oath, and in breach of the trust reposed in him: that, therefore, he should be declared incapable of being a director of, or having any employment in this company. The queen had reserved to herself the quarter part of the assiento-contract, which she now gave up to the company, and received the thanks of the upper house; but, she would not discover the names of those who advised her to ratify the
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explanatory articles. On the ninth day of July she thought proper to put an end to the session, with a speech on the usual subjects. After having assured them, that her chief concern was to preserve the protestant religion, the liberty of her subjects, and to secure the tranquillity of her kingdoms, she concluded in these words, "But, I must tell you plainly, that these desirable ends can never be obtained, unless you bring the same dispositions on your parts; unless all groundless jealousies which create and foment divisions among you, be layed aside; and unless you shew the same regard for my just prerogative, and for the honour of my government, as I have always expressed for the rights of my people."

§ XLII. After the peace had thus received the sanction of the parliament, the ministers being no longer restrained by the tie of common danger, gave a loose to their mutual animosity. Oxford wrote a letter to the queen, containing a detail of the public transactions; in the course of which he endeavoured to justify his own conduct, and expose the turbulent and ambitious spirit of his rival. On the other hand, Bolingbroke charged the treasurer with having invited the duke of Marlborough to return from his voluntary exile; and maintained a private correspondence with the house of Hanover. The duke of Shrewsbury likewise complained of his having presumed to send orders to him in Ireland, without the privity of her majesty and the council. In all probability, his greatest crime was, his having given umbrage to the favourite lady Masham. Certain it is, on the twenty-seventh day of July a very acrimonious dialogue passed between that lady, the chancellor, and Oxford, in the queen's presence. The treasurer affirmed he had been wronged, and abused by lies and misrepresentations; but, he threatened vengeance, declaring he would leave some people as low as he had found them when they first attracted his notice. In the mean time he was removed from his employment; and Bolingbroke seemed to triumph in the victory he had obtained. He layed his account with being admitted as chief minister into the administration of affairs; and is said to have formed the design of a coalition with the duke of Marlborough, who at this very time embarked at Ostend for England. Probably, Oxford had tried to play the same game, but met with a repulse from the duke, on account of the implacable resentment which the dutchess had conceived against that minister.

§ XLIII. Whatever schemes might have been formed, the fall of the treasurer was so sudden, that no plan was established for supplying the vacancy occasioned by his disgrace. The confusion that incessantly ensued at court, and the fatigue of attending a long cabinet-council on this event, had such an effect upon the queen's spirits and constitution, that she declared she should not outlive it, and was immediately seized with a lethargic disorder. Notwithstanding all the medicines which the physicians could prescribe, the distemper gained ground so fast, that next day, which was the thirtieth of July, they despaired of her life. Then the committee of the council assembled at the Cockpit, adjourned to Kensington. The dukes of Somerset and Argyle, informed of the desperate situation in which she lay, repaired to the palace; and, without being summoned, entered the council-chamber. The members were surpris'd at their appearance; but the duke of Shrewsbury thanked them for their readiness to give

give their assistance at such a critical juncture; and desired they would take their places. The physicians having declared, that the queen was still sensible, the council unanimously agreed, to recommend the duke of Shrewsbury as the fittest person to fill the place of lord-treasurer. When this opinion was intimated to the queen, she said, they could not have recommended a person she liked better than the duke of Shrewsbury. She delivered to him the white staff, bidding him use it for the good of her people. He would have returned the lord-chamberlain's staff; but she desired he would keep them both: so that he was at one time possessed of the three greatest posts of the kingdom, under the titles of lord-treasurer, lord-chamberlain, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland. No nobleman in England better deserved such distinguishing marks of his sovereign's favour. He was modest, liberal, disinterested, and a warm friend to his country. Bolingbroke's ambition was defeated by the vigour which the dukes of Somerset and Argyle exerted on this occasion. They proposed, that all privy-counsellors in or about London, should be invited to attend, without distinction of party. The motion was approved; and the lord Somers, with many other Whig members, repaired to Kensington. The council being thus reinforced, began to provide for the security of the kingdom. Orders were immediately dispatched to four regiments of horse and dragoons quartered in remote counties, to march up to the neighbourhood of London and Westminster. Seven of the ten British Battalions in the Netherlands, were directed to embark at Ostend for England, with all possible expedition: an embargo was layed upon all shipping; and directions given for equipping all the ships of war that could be soonest in a condition for service. They sent a letter to the elector of Brunswick, signifying, that the physicians had despaired of the queen's life; informing him of the measures they had taken; and desiring he would, with all convenient speed, repair to Holland, where he should be attended by a British squadron, to convey him to England, in case of her majesty's decease. At the same time they dispatched instructions to the earl of Strafford, to desire the states-general would be ready to perform the guaranty of the protestant succession. The heralds at arms were kept in waiting, with a troop of horse-guards, to proclaim the new king as soon as the throne should become vacant. Precautions were taken to secure the sea-ports; to overawe the Jacobites in Scotland; and the command of the fleet was bestowed upon the earl of Berkeley.

§ XLIV. The queen continued to doze in a lethargic insensibility, with very short intervals, till the first day of August in the morning, when she expired, in the fiftieth year of her age, and in the thirteenth of her reign. Anne Stuart, queen of Great Britain, was in her person of the middle size, well proportioned. Her hair was of a dark brown colour, her complexion ruddy, her features were regular, her countenance was rather round than oval, and her aspect more comely than majestic. Her voice was clear and melodious, and her presence engaging. Her capacity was naturally good, but not much cultivated by learning; nor did she exhibit any marks of extraordinary genius, or personal ambition. She was certainly deficient in that vigour of mind by which a prince ought to preserve his independence, and avoid the snares and fetters of sycophants and favourites: but, whatever her weakness in this particular might have been, the virtues of her heart were never called in question. She was a

pattern of conjugal affection and fidelity, a tender mother, a warm friend, an indulgent mistress, a munificent patron, a mild and merciful prince, during whose reign no subject's blood was shed for treason. She was zealously attached to the church of England from conviction rather than from prepossession, unaffectedly pious, just, charitable, and compassionate. She felt a mother's fondness for her people, by whom she was universally beloved with a warmth of affection which even the prejudice of party could not abate. In a word, if she was not the greatest, she was certainly one of the best and most unblemished sovereigns that ever sat upon the throne of England; and well deserved the expressive, though simple epithet, of "The good queen Anne."

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

NINTH BOOK.

From the Death of Queen ANNE to the Treaty of
AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, 1748.

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§ I. **I**T may be necessary to remind the reader of the state of party at this important juncture. The Jacobites had been fed with hopes of seeing the succession altered by the earl of Oxford. These hopes he had conveyed to them in a distant, undeterminate, and mysterious manner, without any other view than that of preventing them from taking violent measures to embarrass his administration. At least, if he actually entertained at one time any other design, he had, long before his disgrace, layed it wholly aside, probably from an apprehension of the danger with which it must have been attended; and seemed bent upon making a merit of his zeal for the house of Hanover: but his conduct was so equivocal and unsteady, that he ruined himself in the opinion of one party, without acquiring the confidence of the other. The friends of the pretender derived fresh hopes from the ministry of Bolingbroke. Though he had never explained himself on this subject, he was supposed to favour the heir of blood, and known to be an implacable enemy to the Whigs, who were the most zealous advocates for the protestant succession. They promised themselves much from his affection, but more from his resentment; and they believed the majority of the Tories would join them on the same maxims. All Bolingbroke's schemes of power were defeated by the promotion of the duke of Shrewsbury to the office of treasurer; and all his hopes blasted by the death of the queen, on whose personal favour he depended. The resolute behaviour of the dukes of Somerset and Argyle, together with the diligence and activity of a council in which the Whig interest had gained the ascendancy, completed the confusion of the Tories, who found themselves without a head, divided, distracted, and irresolute. Upon recollection, they saw nothing so eligible as silence and submission to those measures which they could not oppose with any prospect of success. They had no other objection to the succession in the house of Hanover, but the fear of seeing the Whig faction once more predominant: yet they were not without hope that their new sovereign, who was reputed a prince of sagacity and experience, would cultivate and conciliate the affection of the Tories, who were the landholders and proprietors of the kingdom, rather than declare himself the head of a faction which leaned for support on those who were enemies to the church and monarchy, on the bank and the monied interest, raised upon usury and maintained by corruption. In a word, the Whigs were elated and overbearing; the Tories abashed and humble; the Jacobites eager, impatient, and alarmed at a juncture which with respect to them was truly critical.

§ II. The queen had no sooner resigned her last breath, than the privy-council met, and the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, and the Hanoverian resident Kreyenberg, produced the three instruments in which the elector

elector of Brunswick had nominated the persons * to be added as lords justices to the seven great officers of the realm. Orders were immediately issued for proclaiming king George, in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The regency appointed the earl of Dorset to carry to Hanover the intimation of his majesty's accession, and attend him in his journey to England. They sent the general officers in whom they could confide, to their respective posts; they reinforced the garrison of Portsmouth; and appointed Mr. Addison their secretary; while Bolingbroke was obliged to stand at the door of the council-chamber with his bag and papers, and underwent every species of mortification. On the whole, king George ascended the throne of Great Britain in the fifty-fifth year of his age, without the least opposition, tumult, or sign of popular discontent; and the unprejudiced part of the nation was now fully persuaded that no design had ever been concerted by queen Anne and her ministry in favour of the pretender. The mayor of Oxford received a letter, requiring him to proclaim the pretender. This being communicated to the vice-chancellor, a copy of it was immediately transmitted to Mr. secretary Bromley, member of parliament for the university; and the vice-chancellor offered a reward of one hundred pounds to any person who should discover the author. It was either the production of some lunatic, or a weak contrivance to fix an odium on that venerable body.

§ III. The parliament having assembled, pursuant to the act which regulated the succession, the lord chancellor, on the fifth day of August, made a speech to both houses in the name of the regency. He told them, that the privy-council, appointed by the elector of Brunswick, had proclaimed that prince under the name of king George, as the lawful and rightful sovereign of these kingdoms; and that they had taken the necessary care to maintain the public peace. He observed, that the several branches of the public revenue were expired by the demise of her late majesty; and recommended to the commons the making such provision in that respect as might be requisite to support the honour and dignity of the crown. He likewise expressed his hope, that they would not be wanting in any thing that might conduce to the establishing and advancing of the public credit. Both houses immediately agreed to addresses, containing the warmest expressions of duty and affection to their new sovereign, who did not fail to return such answers as were very agreeable to the parliament of Great Britain. In the mean time, the lower house prepared and passed a bill, granting to his majesty the same civil-list which the queen had enjoyed; with additional clauses for the payment of arrears due to the troops of Hanover, which had been in the service of Great Britain; and for a reward of one hundred thousand pounds, to be paid by the treasury to any person who should apprehend the pretender in landing, or in attempting to land in any part of the British dominions. Mr. Craggs, who had been dispatched to Hanover before the queen died, returning on the thirteenth day of August, with letters from the king to the regency, they went to the house of peers; and the chancellor, in another speech to both houses, intimated his majesty's great satisfaction in the loyalty and affection which his people had universally expressed at his accession. Other addresses were voted on this occasion. The commons

* These were the dukes of Shrewsbury, Somerset, Bolton, Devonshire, Kent, Argyle, Anglesey, Carlisle, Nottingham, Abingdon, Scarborough, Orford, lord viscount Townshend, Montrose, Roxburgh; the earls of Pomfret, the lords Halifax and Cowper.

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finished

finished the bill for the civil-list, and one for making some alterations in an act for a state lottery, which received the royal assent from the lords justices. Then the parliament was prorogued.

§ IV. Mr. Prior having notified the queen's death to the court of Versailles, Lewis declared, that he would inviolably maintain the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht, particularly with relation to the settlement of the British crown in the house of Hanover. The earl of Strafford having signified the same event to the states of Holland; and the resident of Hanover having presented them with a letter, in which his master claimed the performance of their guaranty, they resolved to perform their engagements, and congratulated his electoral highness on his accession to the throne of Great Britain. They invited him to pass through their dominions; and assured him that his interests were as dear to them as their own. The chevalier de St. George no sooner received the news of the queen's death, than he posted to Versailles, where he was given to understand, that the king of France expected he should quit his territories immediately; and he was accordingly obliged to return to Lorraine. By this time Mr. Murray had arrived in England from Hanover, with notice that the king had deferred his departure for some days. He brought orders to the regency to prepare a patent for creating the prince-royal, prince of Wales; and for removing lord Bolingbroke from his post of secretary. The seals were taken from this minister by the dukes of Shrewsbury and Somerset, and lord Cowper, who at the same time sealed up all the doors of his office.

§ V. King George having vested the government of his German dominions in a council, headed by his brother prince Ernest, set out with the electoral prince from Herenhausen on the thirty-first day of August; and in five days arrived at the Hague, where he conferred with the states-general. On the sixteenth day of September he embarked at Orange-Polder, under convoy of an English and Dutch squadron, commanded by the earl of Berkeley; and next day arrived at the Hope. In the afternoon the yacht sailed up the river; and his majesty, with the prince, were landed from a barge at Greenwich, about six in the evening. There he was received by the duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guard, and the lords of the regency. From the landing-place he walked to his house in the Park, accompanied by a great number of the nobility, and other persons of distinction, who had the honour to kiss his hand, as they approached. When he retired to his bed-chamber, he sent for those of the nobility who had distinguished themselves by their zeal for his succession: but the duke of Ormond, the lord chancellor, and lord Trevor, were not of the number. Next morning, the earl of Oxford presented himself with an air of confidence, as if he had expected to receive some particular mark of his majesty's favour. But he had the mortification to remain a considerable time undistinguished among the croud; and then was permitted to kiss the king's hand, without being honoured with any other notice. On the other hand, his majesty expressed uncommon regard for the duke of Marlborough, who had lately arrived in England, as well as for all the leaders of the Whig party.

§ VI. It was the misfortune of this prince, as well as a very great prejudice to the nation, that he had been misled into strong prepossessions against the Tories, who constituted such a considerable part of his subjects. They were now excluded from all share of the royal favour, which was wholly engrossed by

by their enemies; and these early marks of aversion, which he was at no pains to conceal, alienated the minds of many from his person and government, who would otherwise have served him with fidelity and affection. An instantaneous and total change was effected in all offices of honour and advantage. The duke of Ormond was dismissed from his command, which the king restored to the duke of Marlborough, whom he likewise appointed colonel of the first regiment of foot-guards, and master of the ordnance. The great seal was given to lord Cowper; the privy-seal to the earl of Wharton; the government of Ireland to the earl of Sunderland. The duke of Devonshire was made steward of the household; lord Townshend and Mr. Stanhope were appointed secretaries of state: the post of secretary for Scotland was bestowed upon the duke of Montrose. The duke of Somerset was constituted master of the horse; the duke of St. Alban's captain of the band of pensioners; and the duke of Argyle commander in chief of the forces in Scotland. Mr. Pulteney became secretary at war; and Mr. Walpole, who had already undertaken to manage the house of commons, was gratified with the double place of paymaster to the army and to Chelsea-hospital. A new privy-council was appointed, and the earl of Nottingham declared president: but all affairs of consequence were concerted by a cabinet-council or junto, composed of the duke of Marlborough, the earls of Nottingham and Sunderland, the lords Hallifax, Townshend, Somers, and general Stanhope. The regency had already removed Sir Constantine Phipps and the archbishop of Armagh from the office of lords justices in Ireland, and filled their places in the regency of that kingdom with the archbishop of Dublin and the earl of Kildare. Allan Broderick was appointed chancellor; another privy-council was formed, and the duke of Ormond was named as one of the members. The treasury and admiralty were put into commission; all the governments were changed; and, in a word, the whole nation was delivered into the hands of the Whigs. At the same time, the prince-royal was declared prince of Wales, and took his place in council. The king was congratulated on his accession in addresses from the two universities, and all the cities and corporations of the kingdom. He expressed particular satisfaction at these expressions of loyalty and affection. He declared in council, his firm purpose to support and maintain the churches of England and Scotland as they were by law established. This he was of opinion might be effectually done without impairing the toleration allowed by law to protestant dissenters, and so necessary to the trade and riches of the kingdom: and he moreover assured them, he would earnestly endeavour to render property secure; the good effects of which were no where so clearly seen as in this happy nation. Before the coronation he created some new peers, and others were promoted to higher titles*. On the twentieth day of October he was crowned in Westminster with the usual solemnity, at which the earl of Oxford

* James lord Chandos was created earl of Caernarvon; Lewis lord Rockingham, earl of that name; Charles lord Ossulton, earl of Tankerville; Charles lord Hallifax, earl of Hallifax; Heneage lord Guernsey, earl of Aylesford; John lord Hervey, earl of Bristol; Thomas lord Pelham, earl of Clare; and Henry earl of Thomond, in Ireland, viscount Tadcaster; James viscount Castleton in Ireland, baron Sanderson; Bennet lord Sherard in Ireland, baron of Harborough; Gervase lord Pierrepont in Ireland, baron Pierrepont in the county of Bucks; Henry Boyle, baron of Carleton, in the county of York; Sir Richard Temple, baron of Cobham; Henry Lord Paget, earl of Uxbridge.

and

and lord Bolingbroke assisted *. On that very day, the university of Oxford, in full convocation, unanimously conferred the degree of doctor of civil law on Sir Constantine Phipps, with particular marks of honour and esteem. As the French king was said to protract the demolition of Dunkirk, Mr. Prior received orders to present a memorial to hasten this work, and to prevent the canal of Mardyke from being finished. The answer which he received being deemed equivocal, this minister was recalled, and the earl of Stair appointed ambassador to the court of France, where he prosecuted this affair with uncommon vigour. About the same time, general Cadogan was sent as plenipotentiary to Antwerp, to assist at the barrier-treaty, there negotiated between the emperor and the states-general.

§ VII. Mean while, the number of the malcontents in England was considerably increased by the king's attachment to the Whig faction. The clamour of the church's being in danger was revived: jealousies were excited, seditious libels dispersed; and dangerous tumults raised in different parts of the kingdom. Birmingham, Bristol, Chippenham, Norwich, and Reading, were filled with licentious riot. The party-cry was, "Down with the Whigs. Sacheverel for ever." Many gentlemen of the Whig faction were abused; magistrates in towns, and justices in the country, were reviled and insulted by the populace in the execution of their office. The pretender took this opportunity to transmit, by the French mail, copies of a printed manifesto, to the dukes of Shrewsbury, Marlborough, Argyle, and other noblemen of the first distinction. In this declaration, he mentioned the good intentions of his sister towards him, which were prevented by her deplorable death. He observed, that his people, instead of doing him and themselves justice, had proclaimed for their king a foreign prince, contrary to the fundamental and incontestable laws of hereditary right, which their pretended acts of settlement could never abrogate. These papers being delivered to the secretaries of state, the king refused an audience to the marquis de Lambert, minister from the duke of Lorraine, on the supposition that this manifesto could not have been prepared or transmitted without the knowledge and countenance of his master. The marquis having communicated this circumstance to the duke, that prince absolutely denied his having been privy to the transaction, and declared that the chevalier de St. George came into Lorraine by the directions of the French king, whom the duke could not disoblige without exposing his territories to invasion. Notwithstanding this apology, the marquis was given to understand, that he could not be admitted to an audience until the pretender should be removed from the dominions of his master; he therefore quitted the kingdom without further hesitation. Religion was still mingled in all political disputes. The high-churchmen complained that impiety and heresy daily gained ground, from the connivance, or at least the supine negligence, of the Whig prelates. The lower house of convocation had, before the queen's death, declared that a book published by Dr. Samuel Clarke, under the title of "The scripture-doctrine of the Trinity," contained assertions contrary to the catholic faith. They sent up extracts from this performance to the bishops; and the doctor wrote an

* In the month of October, the princess of Wales arrived in England, with her two eldest daughters the princesses Anne and Amelia.

answer to their objections. He was prevailed upon to write an apology, which he presented to the upper house; but apprehending it might be published separately, and misunderstood, he afterwards delivered an explanation to the bishop of London. This was satisfactory to the bishops; but the lower house resolved, that it was no recantation of his heretical assertions. The disputes about the Trinity increasing, the archbishops and bishops received directions, which were published, for preserving unity in the church, the purity of the christian faith concerning the holy Trinity; and for maintaining the peace and quiet of the state. By these every preacher was restricted from delivering any other doctrine than what is contained in the holy scriptures with respect to the Trinity; and from intermeddling in any affairs of state or government. The like prohibition was extended to those who should write, harrangue, or dispute, on the same subjects.

§ VIII. The parliament being dissolved, another was called by a very extraordinary proclamation, in which the king complained of the evil designs of men disaffected to his succession; and of their having misrepresented his conduct and principles. He mentioned the perplexity of public affairs, the interruption of commerce, and the heavy debts of the nation. He expressed his hope that his loving subjects would send up to parliament the fittest persons to redress the present disorders; and that, in the elections, they would have a particular regard to such as had expressed a firm attachment to the protestant succession when it was in danger. It does not appear that the protestant succession was ever in danger. How then was this declaration to be interpreted? People in general construed it into a design to maintain party-distinctions, and encourage the Whigs to the full exertion of their influence in the elections; into a renunciation of the Tories, and the first flash of that vengeance which afterwards was seen to burst upon the heads of the late ministry. When the earl of Strafford returned from Holland, all his papers were seized by an order from the secretary's office. Mr. Prior was recalled from France, and promised to discover all he knew relating to the conduct of Oxford's administration. Uncommon vigour was exerted on both sides in the elections; but, by dint of the monied-interest, which prevailed in most of the corporations through the kingdom, and the countenance of the ministry, which will always have weight with needy and venal electors, a great majority of Whigs was returned both in England and Scotland.

§ IX. When this new parliament assembled on the seventeenth day of March at Westminster, Mr. Spencer Compton was chosen speaker of the commons. On the twenty-first day of the month, the king appeared in the house of lords, and delivered to the chancellor a written speech, which was read in presence of both houses. His majesty thanked his faithful and loving subjects for that zeal and firmness they had shewn in defence of the protestant succession, against all the open and secret practices which had been used to defeat it. He told them, that some conditions of the peace, essential to the security and trade of Great Britain, were not yet duly executed; and that the performance of the whole might be looked upon as precarious, until defensive alliances should be formed to guaranty the present treaties. He observed, that the pretender boasted of the assistance he expected in England, to repair his former disappointments: that great part of the national trade was rendered impracticable:

that the public debts were surprisngly increased, even since the fatal cessation of arms. He gave the commons to understand, that the branches of the revenue formerly granted for the support of the civil government, were so far encumbered and alienated, that the produce of the funds which remained, and had been granted to him, would fall short of what was at first designed for maintaining the honour and dignity of the crown: that as it was his and their happiness to see a prince of Wales who might in due time succeed him on the throne; and to see him blessed with many children; these circumstances would naturally occasion an expence to which the nation had not been for many years accustomed; and therefore he did not doubt but they would think of it with that affection which he had reason to hope from his commons. He desired that no unhappy divisions of parties might divert them from pursuing the common interest of their country. He declared that the established constitution in church and state should be the rule of his government; and that the happiness, ease, and prosperity, of his people, should be the chief care of his life. He concluded with expressing his confidence, that with their assistance, he should disappoint the designs of those who would deprive him of that blessing which he most valued, the affection of his people.

§ X. Speeches, suggested by a vindictive ministry, better became the leader of an incensed party, than the father and sovereign of a divided people. This portended measures which it was the interest of the crown to avoid, and suited the temper of the majority in both houses, which breathed nothing but destruction to their political adversaries. The lords, in their address of thanks, professed their hope that his majesty, assisted by the parliament, would be able to recover the reputation of the kingdom in foreign parts, the loss of which they hoped to convince the world by their actions, was by no means to be imputed to the nation in general. The Tories said this was an invidious reflection, calculated to mislead and inflame the people; for the reputation of the kingdom had never been so high as at this very juncture. The commons pretended astonishment to find that any conditions of the late peace should not yet be duly executed; and that care was not taken to form such alliances as might have rendered the peace not precarious. They declared their resolution to inquire into these fatal miscarriages; to trace out those measures whereon the pretender placed his hopes, and bring the authors of them to condign punishment. These addresses were not voted without opposition. In the house of lords, the dukes of Buckingham and Shrewsbury, the earl of Anglesey, the archbishop of York, and other peers both secular and ecclesiastical, observed, that their address was injurious to the late queen's memory, and would serve only to increase those unhappy divisions that distracted the kingdom. In the lower house, Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Bromley, Mr. Shippen, general Ross, Sir William Whitelock, and other members, took exceptions to passages of the same nature, in the address which the commons had prepared. They were answered by Mr. Walpole, Mr. Pulteney, and Mr. secretary Stanhope, who took occasion to declare, that notwithstanding the endeavours which had been used to prevent a discovery of the late mismanagements, by conveying away several papers from the secretary's office; yet the government had sufficient evidence left, to prove the late ministry the most corrupt that ever sat at the helm: that those matters would soon be layed before the house, when it would appear,

appear, that a certain English general had acted in concert with, if not received orders from, marechal de Villars. Lord Bolingbroke, who had hitherto appeared in public, as usual, with great serenity, and spoke in the house of lords with great freedom and confidence, thought it was now high time to consult his personal safety. He accordingly withdrew to the continent, leaving a letter which was afterwards printed in his justification. In this paper he declared he had received certain and repeated informations that a resolution was taken to pursue him to the scaffold: that if there had been the least reason to hope for a fair and open trial, after having been already prejudged unheard, by the two houses of parliament, he should not have declined the strictest examination. He challenged the most inveterate of his enemies to produce any one instance of criminal correspondence, or the least corruption in any part of the administration in which he was concerned. He said, if his zeal for the honour and dignity of his royal mistress, and the true interest of his country, had any where transported him to let slip a warm and unguarded expression, he hoped the most favourable interpretation would be put upon it. He affirmed that he had served her majesty faithfully and dutifully, in that especially which she had most at heart, relieving her people from a bloody and expensive war; and that he had always been too much an Englishman to sacrifice the interest of his country to any foreign ally whatsoever.

Boyer.
Torcy.
Tindal.
Bolingbroke.
Voltaire.

§ XI. In the midst of all this violence against the late ministers, friends were not wanting to espouse their cause in the face of opposition; and even in some addresses to the king, their conduct was justified. Nay, some individuals had courage enough to attack the present administration. When a motion was made in the house of commons, to consider the king's proclamation for calling a new parliament, Sir William Whitelocke, member for the university of Oxford, boldly declared it was unprecedented and unwarrantable. Being called upon to explain himself, he made an apology. Nevertheless, Sir William rising up, said the proclamation was not only unprecedented and unwarrantable, but even of dangerous consequence to the very being of parliaments. When challenged to justify his charge, he observed, that every member was free to speak his thoughts. Some exclaimed, "The Tower, the Tower." A warm debate ensued: Sir William being ordered to withdraw, was accompanied by one hundred and twenty-nine members; and, those who remained in the house resolved, That he should be reprimanded by the speaker. He was accordingly rebuked for having presumed to reflect on his majesty's proclamation; and made an unwarrantable use of the freedom of speech granted by his majesty. Sir William said, he was not conscious of having offered any indignity to his majesty, or of having been guilty of a breach of privilege: that he acquiesced in the determination of the house; but had no thanks to give to those gentlemen, who, under pretence of lenity, had subjected him to this censure.

An. Ch. 1715;

§ XII. On the ninth day of April general Stanhope delivered to the house of commons fourteen volumes, consisting of all the papers relating to the late negotiations of peace and commerce, as well as to the cessation of arms; and moved, that they might be referred to a select committee of twenty persons, who should digest the substance of them under proper heads, and report them, with their observations, to the house. One more was added to the number of this secret committee, which was chosen by ballot; and met that same evening. Robert Walpole,

original chairman, being taken ill, was succeeded in that place by Mr. Stanhope. The whole number was subdivided into three committees: to each a certain number of books was allotted; and they carried on the inquiry with great eagerness and expedition. Before this measure was taken Dr. Gilbert Burnet bishop of Sarum died of a pleuritic fever, in the seventy-second year of his age; and immediately after the committee had begun to act, the Whig party lost one of their warmest champions, by the death of the marquis of Wharton, a nobleman possessed of happy talents for the cabinet, the senate, and the common scenes of life; talents, which a life of pleasure and libertinism did not prevent him from employing with surprising vigour and application. The committee of the lower house taking the civil list into consideration, examined several papers relating to that revenue. The Tories observed, that from the seven hundred thousand pounds granted annually to king William, the sum of fifty thousand pounds was allotted to the late queen when princess of Denmark; twenty thousand pounds to the duke of Gloucester; and twice that sum as a dowry to James's queen: that near two hundred thousand pounds had been yearly deducted from the revenues of the late queen's civil list, and applied to other uses; notwithstanding which deduction, she had honourably maintained her family, and supported the dignity of the crown. In the course of the debate some warm altercation passed between lord Guernsey and one of the members, who affirmed, that the late ministry had used the Whigs, and, indeed, the whole nation, in such a manner, that nothing they should suffer could be deemed a hardship. At length, the house agreed, that the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds clear should be granted for the civil-list during his majesty's life. A motion being made for an address against pensions, it was opposed by Mr. Walpole, and over-ruled by the majority: and the lords passed the bill for regulating the land-forces, with some amendments.

§ XIII. On the eighteenth day of May Sir John Norris sailed with a strong squadron to the Baltic, in order to protect the commerce of the nation, which had suffered from the king of Sweden, who caused all ships trading to those parts to be seized and confiscated. That prince had rejected the treaty of neutrality concerted by the allies for the security of the empire; and considered the English and Dutch as his enemies. The ministers of England and the states-general had presented memorials to the regency of Sweden; but finding no redress, they resolved to protect their trade by force of arms. After the Swedish general Steenbock and his army were made prisoners, count Wellen concluded a treaty with the administrator of Holstein-Gottorp, by which the towns of Stetin and Wismar were sequestered into the hands of the king of Prussia; and the administrator engaged to secure them and all the rest of Swedish Pomerania, from the Poles and Muscovites; but, as the governor of Pomerania refused to comply with this treaty, those allies marched into the province, subdued the island of Rugen, and obliged Stetin to surrender. Then the governor consented to the sequestration, and paid to the Poles and Muscovites four hundred thousand rix-dollars, to indemnify them for the expence of the siege. The king of Sweden returning from Turkey, rejected the treaty of sequestration, and insisted upon Stetin's being restored, without his repaying the money. As this monarch likewise threatened to invade the electorate of Saxony, and chastise his false friends; king George, for the security of his German dominions, concluded a

treaty with the king of Denmark; by which the dutchies of Bremen and Verden, which had been taken from the Swede in his absence, were made over to his Britannic majesty, on condition that he should immediately declare war against Sweden. Accordingly he took possession of the dutchies in October; published a declaration of war against Charles in his German dominions; and detached six thousand Hanoverians to join the Danes and Prussians in Pomerania. These allies reduced the islands of Rugen and Uledon, and attacked the towns of Wismar and Stralsund, from which last place Charles was obliged to retire in a vessel to Schonen. He assembled a body of troops, with which he proposed to pass the Sound upon the ice, and attack Copenhagen; but was disappointed by a sudden thaw. Nevertheless, he refused to return to Stockholm, which he had not seen for sixteen years; but remained at Carlescroon, in order to hasten his fleet for the relief of Wismar.

§ XIV. The spirit of discontent and disaffection seemed to gain ground every day in England. Notwithstanding proclamations against riots, and orders of the justices for maintaining the peace, repeated tumults were raised by the malcontents in the cities of London and Westminster. Those who celebrated the anniversary of the king's birth-day with the usual marks of joy and festivity, were insulted by the populace; but, next day, which was the anniversary of the restoration, the whole city was lighted up with bonfires and illuminations, and echoed with the sound of mirth and tumultuous rejoicing. The people even obliged the life-guards who patrolled through the streets, to join in the cry of "High church and Ormond!" and in Smithfield they burned a picture of king William. Thirty persons were imprisoned for being concerned in these riots. One Bournois, a schoolmaster, who affirmed that king George had no right to the crown, was tried and scourged through the city, with such severity, that in a few days he expired in the utmost torture. A frivolous incident served to increase the popular ferment. The shirts allowed to the first regiment of guards, commanded by the duke of Marlborough, were so coarse, that the soldiers could hardly be persuaded to wear them. Some were thrown into the king's and duke of Marlborough's gardens. A detachment, in marching through the city, produced them to the view of the shopkeepers and passengers, exclaiming, "These are the Hanover shirts." The court being informed of this clamour, ordered those new shirts to be burned immediately; but even this sacrifice, and an advertisement published by the duke of Marlborough in his own vindication, did not acquit that general of a suspicion that he was concerned in this mean species of peculation. A reward of fifty pounds was offered by the government to any person that would discover one captain Wight, who, by an intercepted letter, appeared to be disaffected to king George; and Mr. George Jeffries was seized at Dublin with a packet directed to Dr. Jonathan Swift, dean of St. Patrick's. Several treasonable papers being found in this packet, were transmitted to England: Jeffries was obliged to give bail for his appearance; and Swift thought proper to abscond.

§ XV. The house of lords, to demonstrate their abhorrence of all who should engage in conspiracies against their sovereign, rejected with indignation a petition presented to them, in behalf of Blackburn, Cassils, Bernarde, Meldrum, and Chambers, who had hitherto continued prisoners, for having conspired against the life of king William. On the ninth day of June, Mr.
Walpole,

Walpole, as chairman of the secret committee, declared to the house of commons, that the report was ready; and in the mean time moved, That a warrant might be issued by Mr. Speaker for apprehending several persons, particularly Mr. Matthew Prior and Mr. Thomas Harley, who being in the house, were immediately taken into custody. Then he read the report, ranged under these different heads: the clandestine negotiation with monsieur Menager: the extraordinary measures pursued to form the congress at Utrecht: the trifling of the French plenipotentiaries, by the connivance of the British ministers: the negotiation about the renunciation of the Spanish monarchy: the fatal suspension of arms: the seizure of Ghent and Bruges, in order to distress the allies and favour the French: the duke of Ormond's acting in concert with the French general: the lord Bolingbroke's journey to France to negotiate a separate peace: Mr. Prior's and the duke of Shrewsbury's negotiations in France: the precipitate conclusion of the peace at Utrecht. The report being recited, Sir Thomas Hanmer moved, That the consideration of it should be adjourned to a certain day: and, that in the mean time the report should be presented for the perusal of the members: he was seconded by the Tories; a debate ensued; and the motion was rejected by a great majority.

§ XVI. This point being gained, Mr. Walpole impeached Henry lord viscount Bolingbroke of high-treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanours. Mr. Hungerford declared his opinion, that nothing mentioned in the report, in relation to lord Bolingbroke, amounted to high-treason; and general Ross expressed the same sentiment. Then lord Coningsby standing up, "The worthy chairman (said he) has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head: he has impeached the clerk, and I, the justice: he has impeached the scholar, and I, the master. I impeach Robert earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, of high-treason, and other crimes and misdemeanours." Mr. auditor Harley, the earl's brother, spoke in vindication of that minister. He affirmed he had done nothing but by the immediate command of his sovereign: that the peace was a good peace, and approved as such by two parliaments: and, that the facts charged to him in the report, amounted only to misdemeanours. Mr. auditor Foley, the earl's brother-in-law, made a speech to the same purpose: Sir Joseph Jekyll, a staunch Whig, and member of the secret committee, expressed his doubt, whether they had sufficient matter or evidence to impeach the earl of high-treason. Nevertheless, the house resolved to impeach him, without a division. When he appeared in the house of lords next day, he found himself avoided by his brother peers, as infectious; and retired with signs of confusion. Prior and Harley having been examined by such of the committee as were justices of the peace for Middlesex, Mr. Walpole informed the house, that matters of such importance appeared in Prior's examination, that he was directed to move them for that member's being closely confined. He was accordingly cut off from all communication. On the twenty-first day of June Mr. secretary Stanhope impeached James duke of Ormond of high-treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanours. Mr. Archibald Hutchinson, one of the commissioners of trade, spoke in favour of the duke. He expatiated on his noble birth and qualifications; he enumerated the great services performed to the crown and nation by his grace and his ancestors: he observed, that in the whole course of his late conduct, he had only obeyed the queen's commands; and affirmed, that all
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the allegations against him, could not, in the rigour of the law, be construed into high-treason. Mr. Hutchinson was seconded by general Lumley, who urged, that the duke of Ormond had on all occasions given signal proofs of his affection for his country, as well as of personal courage: that he had generously expended the best part of his estate by living abroad in a most noble and splendid manner, for the honour of his country. Sir Joseph Jekyll said, if there was room for mercy, he hoped it would be shewn to that noble, generous, and courageous peer, who had in a course of many years exerted those great accomplishments for the good and honour of his country: that, as the statute of Edward III. on which the charge of high-treason against him was to be grounded, had been mitigated by subsequent acts, the house ought not, in his opinion, to take advantage of that act against the duke, but only impeach him of high crimes and misdemeanours. General Ross, Sir William Wyndham, and the speakers of that party, did not abandon the duke in this emergency; but, all their arguments and eloquence were lost upon the other faction, by which they were greatly outnumbered; and the question being put, was carried for the impeachment of the duke of Ormond, who perceiving every thing conducted by a furious spirit of revenge, and that he could not expect the benefit of an impartial trial, consulted his own safety by withdrawing himself from the kingdom. On the twenty-second day of June the earl of Strafford was likewise impeached by Mr. Aislaby, for having advised the fatal suspension of arms, and the seizing of Ghent and Bruges; and for having treated the most serene house of Hanover with insolence and contempt. He was also defended by his friends, but overpowered by his enemies.

§ XVII. When the articles against the earl of Oxford were read in the house, a warm debate arose upon the eleventh, by which he was charged with having advised the French king in what manner Tournay might be gained from the states-general. The question being put, Whether this article amounted to high-treason? Sir Robert Raymond, formerly solicitor-general, maintained the negative, and was supported not only by Sir William Wyndham and the Tories, but also by Sir Joseph Jekyll, who said, it was ever his principle to do justice to every body from the highest to the lowest; and, that it was the duty of an honest man never to act by a spirit of party: that he hoped he might pretend to have some knowledge of the laws of the kingdom; and would not scruple to declare, that in his judgment, the charge in question did not amount to high-treason. Mr. Walpole answered with great warmth, that there were several persons both in and out of the committee, who did not in the least yield to that member in point of honesty; and who were superior to him in the knowledge of the laws, yet were satisfied, that the charge specified in the eleventh article amounted to high-treason. This point being decided against the earl, and the other articles approved by the house, the lord Coningsby, attended by the Whig members, impeached the earl of Oxford at the bar of the house of lords, demanding, at the same time, that he might be sequestered from parliament, and committed to safe custody. A motion was made, that the consideration of the articles might be adjourned. After a short debate the articles were read: then the Tory lords moved, that the judges might be consulted. This motion being rejected, another was made, that the earl should be committed to safe custody: this occasioned another debate, in which he himself spoke to the following purpose:
That

That the whole charge might be reduced to the negotiations and conclusion of the peace: that the nation wanted a peace, he said, no body would deny: that the conditions of this peace were as good as could be expected, considering the backwardness and reluctance which some of the allies shewed to come into the queen's measures: that the peace was approved by two successive parliaments: that he had no share in the affair of Tournay, which was wholly transacted by that unfortunate nobleman who had thought fit to step aside: that, for his own part, he always acted by the immediate directions and commands of the late queen, without offending against any known law; and being justified by his own conscience, was unconcerned for the life of an insignificant old man: that, if ministers of state, acting by the immediate commands of their sovereign, are afterwards to be made accountable for their proceedings, it might one day or other be the case with all the members of that august assembly: that he did not doubt their lordships, out of regard to themselves, would give him an equitable hearing: and, that in the prosecution of the inquiry it would appear, he had merited not only the indulgence, but even the favour of this government.

"My lords (said he) I am now to take my leave of your lordships, and of this honourable house, perhaps for ever. I shall lay down my life with pleasure in a cause favoured by my late dear royal mistress. When I consider that I am to be judged by the justice, honour, and virtue of my peers, I shall acquiesce, and retire with great content: and, my lords, God's will be done."

The duke of Shrewsbury having acquainted the house, that the earl was very much indisposed with the gravel, he was suffered to remain at his own house, in custody of the black-rod: in his way thither he was attended by a great multitude of people, crying, "High-church, Ormond, and Oxford for ever!"

Next day he was brought to the bar, where he received a copy of the articles, and was allowed a month to prepare his answer. Though Dr. Mead declared, that if the earl should be sent to the Tower his life would be in danger; it was carried, on a division, that he should be conveyed thither on the sixteenth day of July. During the debate the earl of Anglesey observed, that these impeachments were disagreeable to the nation; and that it was to be feared, such violent measures would make the sceptre shake in the king's hands. This expression threw the whole house in a flame. Some members cried, "To the Tower." Some, "To order." The earl of Sutherland declared, that if these words had been spoken in another place, he would have called the person that spoke them to an account: in the mean time he moved, that he should explain himself.

Anglesey, dreading the resentment of the house, was glad to make an apology; which was accepted. The earl of Oxford was attended to the Tower by a prodigious concourse of people, who did not scruple to exclaim against his persecutors. Tumults were raised in Staffordshire and other parts of the kingdom, against the Whig party, which had depressed the friends of the church and embroiled the nation. The house of commons presented an address to the king, desiring that the laws might be vigorously executed against the rioters. They prepared the proclamation-act, decreeing, that if any persons to the number of twelve, unlawfully assembled, should continue together one hour after having been required to disperse, by a justice of peace or other officer, and heard the proclamation against riots read in public, they should be deemed guilty of felony without benefit of the clergy.

§ XVIII. When the king went to the house of peers on the twentieth day of July, to give the royal assent to this and some other bills, he told both houses, that a rebellion was actually begun at home; and, that the nation was threatened with an invasion from abroad. He therefore expected, that the commons would not leave the kingdom in a defenceless condition, but enable him to take such measures as should be necessary for the public safety. Addresses in the usual stile were immediately presented by the parliament, the convocation, the common-council, and lieutenancy of London, and the two universities, though that of Oxford, was received in the most contemptuous manner, the deputies being charged with disloyalty, on account of a fray which had happened between some recruiting officers and the scholars of the university. The addresses from the kirk of Scotland, and the dissenting ministers of London and Westminster, met with a much more gracious reception. The parliament forthwith passed an act, empowering the king to secure suspected persons, and to suspend the Habeas-corpus act in that time of danger. A clause was added to a money-bill, offering the reward of one hundred thousand pounds to such as should seize the pretender dead or alive. Sir George Byng was sent to take the command of the fleet: general Erle repaired to his government of Portsmouth: the guards were encamped in Hyde-park: lord Irwin was appointed governor of Hull, in the room of brigadier Sutton, who, with lord Windsor, the generals Ross, Webb, and Stuart, were dismissed from the service. Orders were given for raising thirteen regiments of dragoons, and eight of infantry; and the trained-bands were kept in readiness to suppress tumults. In the midst of these transactions the commons added six articles to those exhibited against the earl of Oxford. Lord Bolingbroke was impeached at the bar of the house of lords by Mr. Walpole: bills being brought in to summon him and the duke of Ormond, to surrender themselves by the tenth of September, or in default thereof, to attain them of high-treason; they passed both houses, and received the royal assent. On the last day of August the commons agreed to the articles against the earl of Strafford, which being presented to the house of lords, the earl made a speech in his own vindication. He complained, that his papers had been seized in an unprecedented manner. He said, if he had in his letters or discourse, dropped any unguarded expressions against some foreign ministers, while he had the honour to represent the crown of Great Britain, he hoped they would not be accounted criminal by a British house of peers: he desired he might be allowed a competent time to answer the articles brought against him, and have duplicates of all the papers which had either been layed before the committee of secrecy, or remained in the hands of the government, to be used occasionally in his justification. This request was vehemently opposed by the leaders of the other party, until the earl of Ilay represented, that in all civilized nations, all courts of judicature, except the inquisition, allowed the persons arraigned all that was necessary for their justification: and, that the house of peers of Great-Britain ought not, in this case, to do any thing contrary to that honour and equity for which they were so justly renowned throughout all Europe. This observation made an impression upon the house, which resolved, that the earl should be indulged with copies of such papers as he might have occasion to use in his defence.

§ XIX. On the third day of September Oxford's answer was delivered to the house of lords, who transmitted it to the commons. Mr. Walpole having

heard it read, said, it contained little more than a repetition of what had been suggested in some pamphlets and papers which had been published in vindication of the late ministry : that it was a false and malicious libel, laying upon his royal mistress the blame of all the pernicious measures he had led her into, against her own honour, and the good of his country : that it was likewise a libel on the proceedings of the commons, since he endeavoured to clear those persons who had already confessed their guilt by flight. After some debate the house resolved, That the answer of Robert earl of Oxford should be referred to the committee appointed to draw up articles of impeachment, and prepare evidence against the impeached lords : and, That the committee should prepare a replication to the answer. This was accordingly prepared, and sent up to the lords. Then the committee reported, That Mr. Prior had grossly prevaricated on his examination, and behaved with great contempt of their authority. The duke of Ormond and the lord viscount Bolingbroke having omitted to surrender themselves within the time limited, the house of lords ordered the earl-marshal to raze out of the list of peers their names and armorial bearings. Inventories were taken of their personal estates ; and the duke's achievement, as knight of the garter, was taken down from St. George's chapel at Windsor. A man of candour cannot, without an emotion of grief and indignation, reflect upon the ruin of the noble family of Ormond, in the person of a brave, generous, and humane nobleman, to whom no crime was imputed, but that of having obeyed the command of his sovereign. About this period the royal assent was given to an act for encouraging loyalty in Scotland. By this law, the tenant who continued peaceable while his lord took arms in favour of the pretender, was invested with the property of the lands he rented ; and, on the other hand it was decreed, That the lands possessed by any person guilty of high-treason, should revert to the superior of whom they were held, and be consolidated with the superiority : and, That all intails and settlements of estates since the first day of August, in favour of children, with a fraudulent intent to avoid the punishment of the law due to the offence of high-treason, should be null and void. It likewise contained a clause for summoning suspected persons, to find bail for their good behaviour, on pain of being denounced rebels. By virtue of this clause all the heads of the Jacobite clans, and other suspected persons, were summoned to Edinburgh ; and those who did not appear were declared rebels.

§ XX. By this time the rebellion was actually begun in Scotland. The dissensions occasioned in that country by the union had never been wholly appeased. Even since the queen's death, addresses were prepared in different parts of Scotland against the union, which was deemed a national grievance ; and the Jacobites did not fail to encourage this aversion. Though their hopes of dissolving that treaty were baffled by the industry and other arts of the Revolutioners, who secured a majority of Whigs in parliament, they did not lay aside their design of attempting something of consequence in favour of the pretender ; but maintained a correspondence with the malcontents of England, a great number of whom were driven by apprehension, hard usage, and resentment, into a system of politics which otherwise they would not have espoused. The Tories finding themselves totally excluded from any share in the government and legislature, and exposed to the insolence and fury of a faction which they despised, began to wish

with in earnest for a revolution. Some of them held private consultations, and communicated with the Jacobites, who conveyed their sentiments to the chevalier de St. George, with such exaggerations as were dictated by their own eagerness and extravagance. They assured the pretender, that the nation was wholly disaffected to the new government; and indeed, the clamours, tumults, and conversation of the people in general, countenanced this assertion. They promised to take arms without further delay in his favour; and engaged that the Tories should join them at his first landing in Great-Britain. They, therefore, besought him to come over with all possible expedition, declaring, that his appearance would produce an immediate revolution. The chevalier resolved to take the advantage of this favourable disposition. He had recourse to the French king, who had always been the refuge of his family. Lewis favoured him in secret; and, notwithstanding his late engagements with England, cherished the ambition of raising him to the throne of Great Britain. He supplied him privately with sums of money, to prepare a small armament in the port of Havre, which was equipped in the name of Depine D'Anicaut; and without all doubt, his design was to assist him more effectually, in proportion as the English should manifest their attachment to the house of Stuart. The duke of Ormond and the lord Bolingbroke, who had retired to France, finding themselves condemned unheard, and attainted, engaged in the service of the chevalier, and corresponded with the Tories of England.

§ XXI. All these intrigues and machinations were discovered and communicated to the court of London by the earl of Stair, who then resided as English ambassador at Paris. He was a nobleman of unquestioned honour and integrity, generous, humane, discerning, and resolute. He had signalized himself by his valour, intrepidity, and other military talents, during the war in the Netherlands; and he now acted in another sphere with uncommon vigour, vigilance, and address. He detected the chevalier's scheme while it was yet in embryo, and gave such early notice of it, as enabled the king of Great Britain to take effectual measures for defeating the design. All the pretender's interest in France expired with Lewis XIV. that ostentatious tyrant, who had for above half a century sacrificed the repose of Christendom to his insatiate vanity and ambition. At his death, which happened on the first day of September, the regency of the kingdom devolved to the duke of Orleans, who adopted a new system of politics, and had already entered into engagements with the king of Great-Britain. Instead of assisting the pretender, he amused his agents with mysterious and equivocal expressions, calculated to frustrate the design of the expedition. Nevertheless, the more violent part of the Jacobites in Great-Britain believed he was at bottom a friend to their cause; and depended upon him for succour. They even extorted from him a sum of money by dint of importunities, and some arms; but the vessel was shipwrecked, and the cargo lost upon the coast of Scotland.

§ XXII. The partisans of the pretender had proceeded too far to retreat with safety; and therefore resolved to try their fortune in the field. The earl of Mar repaired to the Highlands, where he held consultations with the marquisses of Huntley and Tullibardine, the earls Marischal and Southesk, the generals Hamilton and Gordon, with the chiefs of the Jacobite clans. Then he assembled three hundred of his own vassals, proclaimed the pretender at

Castletown, and set up his standard at Brae-Mar on the sixth day of September. By this time the earls of Home, Wigtoun, and Kinnoul, the lord Deskford, and Lockhart of Carnwath, with other persons suspected of disaffection to the present government, were committed prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh; and major-general Whetham marched with the regular troops which were in that kingdom to secure the bridge of Stirling. Before these precautions were taken two vessels had arrived at Arbroath from Havre, with arms, ammunition, and a good number of officers, who assured the earl of Mar, that the pretender would soon be with him in person. The death of Lewis XIV. struck a general damp upon their spirits; but they layed their account with being joined by a powerful body in England. The earl of Mar, by letters and messages, pressed the chevalier to come over without further delay. He, in the mean time, assumed the title of lieutenant-general of the pretender's forces, published a declaration, exhorting the people to take arms for their lawful sovereign; and this was followed by a shrewd manifesto, explaining the national grievances, and assuring the people of redress. Some of his partisans attempted to surprise the castle of Edinburgh; but were prevented by the vigilance and activity of colonel Stuart, lieutenant-governor of that fortress. The duke of Argyle set out for Scotland as commander in chief of the forces in North-Britain: the earl of Sutherland set sail in the Queenborough ship of war for the North, where he proposed to raise his vassals for the service of the government; and many other Scottish peers returned to their own country, in order to signalize their loyalty to king George.

§ XXIII. In England the practices of the Jacobites did not escape the notice of the ministry. Lieutenant colonel Paul was imprisoned in the Gate-house, for insisting men in the service of the pretender. The titular duke of Powis was committed to the Tower: the lords Lansdown and Duplin were taken into custody; and a warrant was issued for apprehending the earl of Jersey. The king desired the consent of the lower house to seize and detain Sir William Wyndham, Sir John Packington, Mr. Edward Harvey of Combe, Mr. Thomas Forster, Mr. John Anstis, and Mr. Corbet Kynaston, who were members of the house, and suspected of favouring the invasion. The commons unanimously agreed to the proposal, and presented an address, signifying their approbation. Harvey and Anstis were immediately secured. Forster, with the assistance of some popish lords, assembled a body of men in Northumberland: Sir John Packington being examined before the council, was dismissed for want of evidence. Mr. Kynaston absconded: Sir William Wyndham was seized at his own house in Somersetshire, by colonel Huske and a messenger, who secured his papers: he found means, however, to escape from them; but afterwards surrendered himself, and having been examined at the council-board, was committed to the Tower. His father-in-law the duke of Somerset offered to become bound for his appearance; and being rejected as bail, expressed his resentment so warmly, that the king thought proper to remove him from the office of master of the horse. On the twenty-first day of September the king went to the house of lords, and passed the bills that were ready for the royal assent. Then the chancellor read his majesty's speech, expressing his acknowledgment and satisfaction for the uncommon marks of their affection he had received; and the parliament adjourned to the sixth day of October.

§ XXIV.

§ XXIV. The friends of the house of Stuart were very numerous in the western counties, and began to make preparations for an insurrection. They had concealed some arms and artillery at Bath, and formed a design to surprise Bristol: but they were betrayed and discovered by the emissaries of the government; which baffled all their schemes, and apprehended every person of consequence suspected of attachment to that cause. The university of Oxford felt the rod of power on this occasion. Major-general Pepper, with a strong detachment of dragoons, took possession of the city at day-break, declaring he would use military execution on all students who should presume to appear without the limits of their respective colleges. He seized ten or eleven persons, among whom was one Lloyd, a coffeeman; and made prize of some horses and furniture belonging to colonel Owen, and other gentlemen. With this booty he retreated to Abingdon; and Handasyde's regiment of foot was afterwards quartered in Oxford, to overawe the university. The ministry found it more difficult to suppress the insurgents in the northern counties. In the month of October, the earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster took the field with a body of horse, and being joined by some gentlemen from the borders of Scotland, proclaimed the pretender in Warkworth, Morpeth, and Alnwick. Their first design was to seize the town of Newcastle, in which they had many friends: but they found the gates shut upon them, and retired to Hexham; while general Carpenter having assembled a body of dragoons, resolved to march from Newcastle and attack them before they should be reinforced. The rebels retiring northward to Wooler, were joined by two hundred Scottish horse under the lord viscount Kenmuir, and the earls of Carnwath and Wintoun, who had set up the pretender's standard at Moffat, and proclaimed him in different parts of Scotland. The rebels thus reinforced, advanced to Kelfo, having received advice that there they would be joined by Mackintosh, who had crossed the Forth with a body of Highlanders.

§ XXV. By this time the earl of Mar was at the head of ten thousand men well armed. He had secured the pass of the Tay at Perth, where his headquarters were established, and made himself master of the whole fruitful province of Fife, and all the sea-coast on that side of the frith of Edinburgh. He selected two thousand five hundred men, commanded by brigadier Mackintosh, to make a descent upon the Lothian side, and join the Jacobites in that county, or such as should take arms on the borders of England. Boats were assembled for this purpose; and, notwithstanding all the precautions that could be taken by the king's ships in the frith, to prevent the design, above fifteen hundred chosen men made good their passage in the night, and landed on the coast of Lothian, having crossed an arm of the sea about sixteen miles broad, in open boats that passed through the midst of the king's cruisers. Nothing could be better concerted, or executed with more conduct and courage, than was this hazardous enterprize. They amused the king's ships with marches and countermarches along the coast, in such a manner that they could not possibly know where they intended to embark. The earl of Mar, in the mean time, marched from Perth to Dumblaine, as if he had intended to cross the Forth at Stirling-bridge: but his real design was to divert the duke of Argyle from attacking his detachment which had landed in Lothian. So far the scheme succeeded. The duke, who had assembled some troops in Lothian, returned to
Stirling

Stirling with the utmost expedition, after having secured Edinburgh, and obliged Mackintosh to abandon his design on that city. He had actually taken possession of Leith, from whence he retired to Seatoun-house, near Preston-pans, which he fortified in such a manner that he could not be forced without artillery. Here he remained, until he received an order across the Frith from the earl of Mar, to join lord Kenmuir and the English at Kelso, for which place he immediately began his march, and reached it on the twenty-second day of October, though a good number of his men had deserted on the route.

§ XXVI. The lord Kenmuir, with the earls of Wintoun, Nithsdale, and Carnwath; the earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Foster, with the English insurgents, arriving at the same time, a council of war was immediately called. Wintoun proposed that they should march immediately into the western parts of Scotland, and join general Gordon, who commanded a strong body of Highlanders in Argyleshire. The English insisted upon crossing the Tweed, and attacking general Carpenter, whose troops did not exceed nine hundred dragoons. Neither scheme was executed. They took the route to Jedburgh, where they resolved to leave Carpenter on one side, and penetrate into England by the western border. The Highlanders declared they would not quit their own country; but were ready to execute the scheme proposed by the earl of Wintoun. Means however were found to prevail upon one half of them to advance, while the rest returned to the Highlands. At Brampton Forster opened his commission of general, which had been sent to him from the earl of Mar, and proclaimed the pretender. They continued their march to Penrith, where the sheriff, assisted by the lord Lonsdale and the bishop of Carlisle, had assembled the whole posse comitatus of Cumberland, amounting to twelve thousand men, who dispersed with the utmost precipitation at the approach of the rebels. From Penrith, Forster proceeded by the way of Kendal and Lancaster to Preston, from whence Stanhope's regiment of dragoons, and another of militia, immediately retired; so that he took possession of the place without resistance. General Wills marched against the enemy with six regiments of horse and dragoons, and one battalion of foot commanded by colonel Preston. They had advanced to the bridge of Ribble before Forster received intelligence of their approach. He forthwith began to raise barricades, and put the place in a posture of defence. On the twelfth day of November, the town was briskly attacked in two different places: but the king's troops met with a very warm reception, and were repulsed with considerable loss. Next day general Carpenter arrived with a reinforcement of three regiments of dragoons; and the rebels were invested on all sides. The Highlanders declared they would make a fally sword in hand, and either cut their way through the king's troops, or perish in the attempt; but they were over-ruled. Forster sent colonel Oxburgh with a trumpet to general Wills, to propose a capitulation. He was given to understand, that the general would not treat with rebels; but, in case of their surrendering at discretion, he would prevent his soldiers from putting them to the sword, until he should receive further orders. He granted them time to consider till next morning, upon their delivering the earl of Derwentwater and Mackintosh as hostages. When Forster submitted, this Highlander declared, he could not promise that the Scots would surrender in that manner.

manner. The general desired him to return to his people, and he would forthwith attack the town, in which case every man of them should be cut in pieces. The Scottish noblemen did not chuse to run that risque; and persuaded the Highlanders to accept the terms that were offered. They accordingly layed down their arms, and were put under a strong guard. All the noblemen and leaders were secured. Major Nairn, captain Lockhart, captain Shaftoe, and ensign Erskine, were tried by a court-martial as deserters, and executed. Lord Charles Murray, son of the duke of Athole, was likewise condemned for the same crime, but reprieved. The common men were imprisoned at Chester and Liverpool: the noblemen and considerable officers were sent to London, conveyed through the streets, pinioned like malefactors, and committed to the Tower and to Newgate.

§ XXVII. The very day on which the rebels surrendered at Preston, was remarkable for the battle of Dumblaine, fought between the duke of Argyle and the earl of Mar, who commanded the pretender's forces. This nobleman had retreated to his camp at Perth, when he understood the duke was returned from Lothian to Stirling. But being now joined by the northern clans under the earl of Seaforth, and those of the west commanded by general Gordon, who had signalized himself in the service of the czar of Muscovy, he resolved to pass the Forth, in order to join his southern friends, that they might march together into England. With this view he marched to Auchterardere, where he reviewed his army, and rested on the eleventh day of November. The duke of Argyle, apprised of his intention, and being joined by some regiments of dragoons from Ireland, determined to give him battle in the neighbourhood of Dumblaine. On the twelfth day of the month he passed the Forth at Stirling, and encamped with his left at the village of Dumblaine, and his right towards Sheriff-moor. The earl of Mar advanced within two miles of his camp, and remained till day-break in order of battle; his army consisting of nine thousand effective men, cavalry as well as infantry. In the morning, the duke understanding they were in motion, drew up his forces, which did not exceed three thousand five hundred men, on the heights to the north-east of Dumblaine: but he was outflanked both on the right and left. The clans that formed part of the centre and right wing of the enemy, with Clanronald and Glengary at their head, charged the left of the king's army sword in hand, with such impetuosity that in seven minutes both horse and foot were totally routed with great slaughter; and general Whetham who commanded them, fled at full gallop to Stirling, where he declared that the royal army was totally defeated. In the mean time, the duke of Argyle, who commanded in person on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, at the head of Stair's and Evans's dragoons, and drove them two miles before him, as far as the water of Allan: though in that space they wheeled about and attempted to rally ten times; so that he was obliged to press them hard, that they might not recover from their confusion. Brigadier Wightman followed, in order to sustain him with three battalions of infantry; while the victorious right wing of the rebels having pursued Whetham a considerable way, returned to the field and formed in the rear of Wightman, to the amount of five thousand men. The duke of Argyle returning from the pursuit, joined Wightman, who had faced about and taken possession of some inclosures and mud-walls, in expectation of being

attacked. In this posture both armies fronted each other till the evening, when the duke drew off towards Dumblaine, and the rebels retired to Ardoch, without mutual molestation. Next day, the duke marching back to the field of battle, carried off the wounded, with four pieces of cannon left by the enemy, and retreated to Stirling. Few prisoners were taken on either side: the number of the slain might be about five hundred of each army, and both generals claimed the victory. This battle was not so fatal to the Highlanders as the loss of Inverness, from which Sir John Mackenzie was driven by Simon Frazer lord Lovat, who, contrary to the principles he had hitherto professed, secured this important post for the government; by which means a free communication was opened with the north of Scotland, where the earl of Sutherland had raised a considerable body of vassals. The marquis of Huntley and the earl of Seaforth were obliged to quit the rebel army, in order to defend their own territories; and in a little time submitted to king George: a good number of the Frazers declared with their chief against the pretender: the marquis of Tullibardine withdrew from the army to cover his own country; and the clans seeing no likelihood of another action, began to disperse, according to custom.

§ XXVII. The government was now in a condition to send strong reinforcements to Scotland. Six thousand men that were claimed of the states-general by virtue of the treaty, landed in England, and began their march for Edinburgh: general Cadogan set out for the same place, together with brigadier Petit and six other engineers; and a train of artillery was shipped at the Tower for that country, the duke of Argyle resolving to drive the earl of Mar out of Perth, to which town he had retired with the remains of his forces. The pretender having been amused with the hope of seeing the whole kingdom of England rise up as one man in his behalf; and the duke of Ormond having made a fruitless voyage to the western coast, to try the disposition of the people, he was now convinced of the vanity of his expectation in that quarter; and, as he knew not what other course to take, he resolved to hazard his person among his friends in Scotland, at a time when his affairs in that kingdom were absolutely desperate. From Brittany he passed through part of France, in disguise, and embarking in a small vessel at Dunkirk, hired for that purpose, arrived on the twenty-second day of December at Peterhead, with six gentlemen in his retinue, one of whom was the marquis of Tinmouth, son to the duke of Berwick. He passed through Aberdeen incognito, to Fetterossie, where he was met by the earls of Mar and Marischal, and about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of the first quality. Here he was solemnly proclaimed; his declaration, dated at Commercé, was printed and circulated through all the parts in that neighbourhood; and here he received addresses from the episcopal clergy, and the laity of that communion in the diocese of Aberdeen. On the fifth day of January, he made his public entry into Dundee; and on the seventh arrived at Scoon, where he seemed determined to stay until the ceremony of his coronation should be performed. From thence he made an excursion to Perth, where he reviewed his forces. Then he formed a regular council; and published proclamations; for a general thanksgiving, on account of his safe arrival; enjoining the ministers to pray for him in churches; establishing the currency of foreign coins; summoning the meeting of the convention of estates; ordering

ordering all sensible men to repair to his standard, and fixing the twenty-third day of January for his coronation. He made a pathetic speech in a grand council, at which all the chiefs of his party assisted. Here they determined to abandon the enterprize, as the king's army was reinforced by the Dutch auxiliaries, and they themselves were not only reduced to a small number, but likewise destitute of money, arms, ammunition, forage, and provision: for the duke of Argyle had taken possession of Burntisland, and transported a detachment to Fife, so as to cut off Mar's communication with that fertile county.

§ XXIX. Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, and a prodigious fall of snow which rendered the roads almost impassable, the duke, on the twenty-ninth of January, began his march to Dumblaine, and next day reached Tullibardine, where he received intelligence that the pretender and his forces had, on the preceding day, retired towards Dundee. He forthwith took possession of Perth; and then began his march to Aberbrothick, in pursuit of the enemy. The chevalier de St. George being thus hotly pursued, was prevailed upon to embark on board of a small French ship that lay in the harbour of Montrose. He was accompanied by the earls of Mar and Melfort, the lord Drummond, lieutenant-general Bulkley, and other persons of distinction, to the number of seventeen. In order to avoid the English cruisers, they stretched over to Norway, and coasting along the German and Dutch shores, arrived in five days at Gravelin. General Gordon, whom the pretender had left commander in chief of the forces, with the assistance of the earl Marischal, proceeded with them to Aberdeen, where he secured three vessels to sail northward and take on board the persons who intended to make their escape to the continent. Then they continued their march through Strathspey and Strathdown, to the hills of Badenoch, where the common people were quietly dismissed. This retreat was made with such expedition, that the duke of Argyle, with all his activity, could never overtake their rear-guard, which consisted of a thousand horse, commanded by the earl Marischal. Such was the issue of a rebellion that proved fatal to many noble families: a rebellion which, in all probability, would never have happened, had not the violent measures of a Whig ministry kindled such a flame of discontent in the nation, as encouraged the partizans of the pretender to hazard a revolt.

§ XXX. The parliament of Ireland, which met at Dublin on the twelfth day of November, seemed even more zealous, if possible, than that of England, for the present administration. They passed bills for recognizing the king's title; for the security of his person and government; for setting a price on the pretender's head; and for attainting the duke of Ormond. They granted the supplies without opposition. All those who had addressed the late queen in favour of Sir Constantine Phipps, then lord chancellor of Ireland, were now brought upon their knees, and censured as guilty of a breach of privilege. They desired the lords-justices would issue a proclamation against the popish inhabitants of Limerick and Galway, who, presuming upon the capitulation signed by king William, claimed an exemption from the penalties imposed upon other papists. They engaged in an association against the pretender and all his abettors. They voted the earl of Anglesey an enemy to the king and kingdom, because he had advised the queen to break the army and prorogue

the late parliament; and they addressed the king to remove him from his council and service. The lords-justices granted orders for apprehending the earls of Antrim and Westmeath, the lords Natterville, Cahir, and Dillon, as persons suspected of disaffection to the government. Then they adjourned the two houses.

§ XXXI. The king, in his speech to the English parliament, which met on the ninth of January, told them he had reason to believe the pretender was landed in Scotland: he congratulated them on the success of his arms in suppressing the rebellion: on the conclusion of the barrier treaty between the emperor and the states-general, under his guaranty: on a convention with Spain that would deliver the trade of England to that kingdom, from the new impositions and hardships to which it was subjected in consequence of the late treaties. He likewise gave them to understand, that a treaty for renewing all former alliances between the crown of Great-Britain and the states-general, was almost concluded; and he assured the commons he would freely give up all the estates that should become forfeited to the crown by this rebellion, to be applied towards defraying the extraordinary expence incurred on this occasion. The commons, in their address of thanks, declared that they would prosecute, in the most vigorous and impartial manner, the authors of those destructive counsels which had drawn down such miseries upon the nation. Their resolutions were speedy, and exactly conformable to this declaration. They expelled Mr. Forster from the house. They forthwith impeached the earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Wintoun; the lords Widdrington, Kenmuir, and Nairn. These noblemen being brought to the bar of the house of lords, heard the articles of impeachment read on the tenth day of January, and were ordered to put in their answers on the sixteenth. The impeachments being lodged, the lower-house ordered a bill to be brought in for continuing the suspension of the habeas corpus act: then they prepared another to attain the marquis of Tullibardine, the earls of Mar and Linlithgow, and lord John Drummond. On the twenty-first day of January, the king gave the royal assent to the bill for continuing the suspension of the habeas corpus act. He told the parliament that the pretender was actually in Scotland, heading the rebellion, and assuming the stile and title of king of these realms: he demanded of the commons such supply as might discourage any foreign power from assisting the rebels. On Thursday the nineteenth day of January, all the impeached lords pleaded guilty to the articles exhibited against them, except the earl of Wintoun, who petitioned for a longer time, on various pretences. The rest received sentence of death on the ninth day of February, in the court erected in Westminster-hall, where the lord-chancellor Cowper presided as lord high-steward on that occasion. The countess of Nithsdale and lady Nairn threw themselves at the king's feet as he passed through the apartments of the palace, and implored his mercy in behalf of their husbands: but their tears and intreaties produced no effect. The council resolved that the sentence should be executed, and orders were given for that purpose to the lieutenant of the Tower, and the sheriffs of London and Middlesex.

§ XXXII. The countess of Derwentwater, with her sister, accompanied by the dutchesses of Cleveland and Bolton, and several other ladies of the first distinction, was introduced by the dukes of Richmond and St. Alban's, into

the king's bed-chamber, where she invoked his majesty's clemency for her unfortunate consort. She afterwards repaired to the lobby of the house of peers, attended by the ladies of the other condemned lords, and above twenty others of the same quality, and begged the intercession of the house: but no regard was payed to their petition. Next day, they petitioned both houses of parliament. The commons rejected their suit. In the upper house, the duke of Richmond delivered a petition from the earl of Derwentwater, to whom he was nearly related, at the same time declaring, that he himself should oppose his solicitation. The earl of Derby expressed some compassion for the numerous family of lord Nairn. Petitions from the rest were presented by other lords, moved with pity and humanity. Lord Townshend and others vehemently opposed their being read. The earl of Nottingham thought this indulgence might be granted: the house assented to his opinion; and agreed to an address, praying his majesty would reprieve such of the condemned lords as should deserve his mercy. To this petition the king answered, That on this and all other occasions, he would do what he thought most consistent with the dignity of his crown and the safety of his people. The earl of Nottingham, president of the council; his brother the earl of Aylebury, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster; his son lord Finch, one of the lords of the treasury; his kinsman lord Guernsey, master of the jewel-office, were altogether dismissed from his majesty's service. Orders were dispatched for executing the earls of Derwentwater and Nithsdale, and the viscount of Kenmuir, immediately: the others were respited to the seventh day of March. Nithsdale made his escape in woman's apparel, furnished and conveyed to him by his mother. On the twenty-fourth day of February, Derwentwater and Kenmuir were beheaded on Tower-hill. The former was an amiable youth, brave, open, generous, hospitable, and humane. His fate drew tears from the spectators, and was a great misfortune to the country in which he lived. He gave bread to multitudes of people whom he employed on his estate: the poor, the widow, and the orphan, rejoiced in his bounty. Kenmuir was a virtuous nobleman, calm, sensible, resolute, and resigned. He was a devout member of the English church; but the other died in the faith of Rome: both adhered to their political principles. On the fifteenth day of March, Wintoun was brought to his trial, and being convicted, received sentence of death.

§ XXXIII. When the king passed the land-tax bill, which was ushered in with a very extraordinary preamble, he informed both houses of the pretender's flight from Scotland. In the beginning of April, a commission for trying the rebels met in the court of common-pleas, when bills of high-treason were found against Mr. Forster, Mackintosh, and twenty of their confederates. Forster escaped from Newgate, and reached the continent in safety: the rest pleaded Not guilty, and were indulged with time to prepare for their trials. The judges appointed to try the rebels at Liverpool found a considerable number guilty of high-treason. Two and twenty were executed at Preston and Manchester: about a thousand prisoners submitted to the king's mercy, and petitioned for transportation. Pitts, the keeper of Newgate, being suspected of having connived at Forster's escape, was tried for his life at the Old Bailey, and acquitted. Notwithstanding this prosecution, which ought to have doubled the vigilance of the jailors, brigadier Mackintosh, and several

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other prisoners, broke from Newgate, after having mastered the keeper and turnkey, and disarmed the centinel. The court proceeded with the trials of those that remained; a great number was found guilty; four or five were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Tyburn; and among these William Paul, a clergyman, who, in his last speech, professed himself a true and sincere member of the church of England, but not of the revolution schismatical church, whose bishops had abandoned the king, and shamefully given up their ecclesiastical rights, by submitting to the unlawful, invalid, lay-deprivations authorised by the prince of Orange.

§ XXXIV. Though the rebellion was extinguished, the flame of national dissatisfaction still continued to rage: the severities exercised against the rebels increased the general discontent: for now the danger was blown over, their humane passions began to prevail. The courage and fortitude with which the condemned persons encountered the pains of death in its most dreadful form, prepossessed many spectators in favour of the cause by which those unhappy victims were animated. In a word, persecution, as usual, extended the heresy. The ministry perceiving this universal disaffection, and dreading the revolution of a new parliament, which might wrest the power from their faction, and retort upon them the violence of their own measures, formed a resolution equally odious and effectual to establish their administration. This was no other than a scheme to repeal the triennial act, and by a new law to extend the term of parliaments to seven years. On the tenth day of April, the duke of Devonshire represented, in the house of lords, that triennial elections served to keep up party-divisions; to raise and foment feuds in private families; to produce ruinous expences, and give occasion to the cabals and intrigues of foreign princes: that it became the wisdom of such an august assembly to apply proper remedies to an evil that might be attended with the most dangerous consequences, especially in the present temper of the nation, as the spirit of rebellion still remained unconquered. He therefore proposed a bill for enlarging the continuance of parliaments. He was seconded by the earls of Dorset and Rockingham, the duke of Argyle, the lord Townshend, and the other chiefs of that party. The motion was opposed by the earls of Nottingham, Abingdon, and Powlet. They observed, that frequent parliaments were required by the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, ascertained in the practice of many ages: that the members of the lower house were chosen by the people for a certain term of years, at the expiration of which they could be no longer representatives of the people, who, by the parliament's protracting its own authority, would be deprived of the only remedy which they have against those who, through ignorance or corruption, betrayed the trust reposed in them: that the reasons in favour of such a bill were weak and frivolous: that, with respect to foreign alliances, no prince or state could reasonably depend upon a people to defend their liberties and interests, who should be thought to have given up so great a part of their own: nor would it be prudent in them to wish for a change in that constitution under which Europe had of late been so powerfully supported. On the contrary, they might be deterred from entering into any engagements with Great Britain, when informed by the preamble of the bill, that the popish faction was so dangerous as to threaten destruction to the government: they would apprehend that the

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administration was so weak as to want so extraordinary a provision for its safety: that the gentlemen of Britain were not to be trusted: and, that the good affections of the people were restrained within the limits of the house of commons. They affirmed that this bill, far from preventing the expence of elections, would rather increase it, and encourage every practice of corruption; for, the value of a seat would always be in proportion to the duration of a parliament; and the purchase would rise accordingly. That a long parliament would yield a greater temptation, as well as a better opportunity to a vicious ministry, to corrupt the members, than they could possibly have when the parliaments were short and frequent: that the same reasons urged for passing the bill to continue this parliament for seven years, would be at least as strong, and by the conduct of the ministry, might be made much stronger before the end of that term, for continuing, and even perpetuating their legislative power, to the absolute subversion of the third estate of the realm. These arguments served only to form a decent debate, after which the bill for septennial parliaments passed by a great majority, though twenty peers entered a protest. It met with the same fate in the lower house, where many strong objections were started to no purpose. They were represented as the effects of party spleen; and, indeed, this was the great spring of action on both sides. The question for the bill was carried in the affirmative; and in a little time it received the royal sanction.

§ XXXV. The rebellion being utterly quelled, and all the suspected persons of consequence detained in safe custody, the king resolved to visit his German dominions, where he foresaw a storm gathering from the quarter of Sweden. Charles XII. was extremely exasperated against the elector of Hanover for having entered into the confederacy against him in his absence, particularly for his having purchased the dutchies of Bremen and Verden, which constituted part of his dominions; and he breathed nothing but revenge against the king of Great-Britain. It was with a view to avert this danger, or prepare against it, that the king now determined upon a voyage to the continent. But as he was restricted from leaving his British dominions, by the act for the further limitation of the crown, this clause was repealed in a new bill that passed through both houses without the least difficulty. On the twenty-sixth day of June the king closed the session with a speech upon the usual topics, in which, however, he observed, that the numerous instances of mercy he had shewn, served only to encourage the faction of the pretender, whose partisans acted with such insolence and folly, as if they intended to convince the world, that they were not to be reclaimed by gentle methods. He intimated his purpose of visiting his dominions in Germany; and gave them to understand, that he had constituted his beloved son, the prince of Wales, guardian of the kingdom in his absence. About this period general Macartney, who had returned to England at the accession of king George, presented himself to trial for the murder of the duke of Hamilton. The deposition of colonel Hamilton was contradicted by two park-keepers: the general was acquitted of the charge, restored to his rank in the army, and gratified with the command of a regiment. The king's brother, prince Ernest bishop of Osnaburg, was created duke of York and Albany, and earl of Ulster. The duke of Argyle and the earl of Ilay, to whom his majesty owed, in a great measure, his peaceable accession to the throne, as well as the extinction of the rebellion in Scotland, were now dismissed from all their employ-

employments. General Carpenter succeeded the duke in the chief command of the forces in Scotland, and in the government of Port-Mahon; and the duke of Montrose was appointed lord-register of Scotland, in the room of the earl of Hay.

§ XXXVI. On the seventh day of July the king embarked at Gravesend, landed on the ninth in Holland, through which he passed incognito to Hanover; and from thence set out for Pymont. His aim was, to secure his German dominions from the Swede, and Great Britain from the pretender. These two princes had already begun to form a design, in conjunction, of invading his kingdom. He knew the duke of Orleans resolved to ascend the throne of France, in case the young king, who was a sickly child, should die without male issue. The regent was not ignorant, that Philip of Spain would powerfully contest that succession, notwithstanding his renunciation; and he was glad of an opportunity to strengthen his interest by an alliance with the maritime powers of England and Holland. The king of England founded him on this subject, and found him eager to engage in such an association. The negotiation was carried on by general Cadogan for England, the abbé du Bois for France, and the pensionary Heinsius for the states-general. The regent readily complied with all their demands. He engaged, that the pretender should immediately depart from Avignon to the other side of the Alps, and never return to Lorraine or France on any pretence whatsoever: that no rebellious subjects of Great Britain should be allowed to reside in that kingdom: and, that the treaty of Utrecht, with respect to the demolition of Dunkirk, should be fully executed to the satisfaction of his Britannic majesty. The treaty contained a mutual guaranty of all the places possessed by the contracting powers; of the protestant succession on the throne of England, as well as of that of the duke of Orleans to the crown of France; and a defensive alliance, stipulating the proportion of ships and forces to be furnished to that power which should be disturbed at home or invaded from abroad. The English people murmured at this treaty. They said, an unnecessary umbrage was given to Spain, with which the nation had great commercial connexions; and that, on pretence of an invasion, a body of foreign troops might be introduced to enslave the kingdom.

§ XXXVII. His majesty was not so successful in his endeavours to appease the king of Sweden, who refused to listen to any overtures until Bremen and Verden should be restored. These the elector of Hanover resolved to keep as a fair purchase; and he engaged in a confederacy with the enemies of Charles, for the maintenance of this acquisition. Mean while his rupture with Sweden was extremely prejudicial to the commerce of England, and had well nigh intailed upon the kingdom another invasion, much more formidable than that which had so lately miscarried. The ministers of Sweden resident at London, Paris, and the Hague, maintained a correspondence with the disaffected subjects of Great Britain. A scheme was formed for the Swedish king's landing on this island with a considerable body of forces, where he should be joined by the malcontents of the united kingdom. Charles relished the enterprize, which flattered his ambition and revenge: nor was it disagreeable to the czar of Muscovy, who resented the elector's offer of joining the Swede against the Russians, provided he would ratify the cession of Bremen and Verden. King George having received intimation of these intrigues, returned to England towards the end of January;

January; and ordered a detachment of foot-guards to secure count Gyllenburg the Swedish minister, with all his papers. At the same time Sir Jacob Bancks and Mr. Charles Cæsar, were apprehended. The other foreign ministers took the alarm, and remonstrated to the ministry upon this outrage committed against the law of nations. The two secretaries Stanhope and Methuen, wrote circular letters to them, assuring them, that in a day or two they should be acquainted with the reasons that induced the king to take such an extraordinary step. They were generally satisfied with this intimation; but the marquis de Monte Leone, ambassador from Spain, expressed his concern, that no other way could be found to preserve the peace of the kingdom, without arresting the person of a public minister, and seizing all his papers, which were the sacred repositories of his master's secrets: he observed, that in whatever manner these two facts might seem to be understood, they very sensibly wounded the law of nations. About the same time baron Gortz, the Swedish residentiary in Holland, was seized with his papers at Arnheim, at the desire of king George, communicated to the states by Mr. Leathes his minister at the Hague. The baron owned he had projected the invasion, a design that was justified by the conduct of king George, who had assisted the princes in confederacy against the king of Sweden, without having received the least provocation; who assisted the king of Denmark in subduing the dutchies of Bremen and Verden; and then purchased them of the usurper; and who had, in the course of this very summer, sent a strong squadron of ships to the Baltic, where it joined the Danes and Russians against the Swedish fleet.

§ XXXVIII. When the parliament of Great Britain met on the twentieth day of February, the king informed them of the triple alliance he had concluded with France and Holland. He mentioned the projected invasion; told them he had given orders for laying before them copies of the letters which had passed between the Swedish ministers on that subject; and he demanded of the commons such supplies as should be found necessary for the defence of the kingdom. By those papers it appeared, that the scheme projected by baron Gortz was very plausible, and even ripe for execution; which, however, was postponed until the army should be reduced, and the Dutch auxiliaries sent back to their own country. The letters being read in parliament, both houses presented addresses, in which they extolled the king's prudence in establishing such conventions with foreign potentates, as might repair the gross defects, and prevent the pernicious consequences of the treaty of Utrecht, which they termed a treacherous and dishonourable peace: and, they expressed their horror and indignation at the malice and ingratitude of those who had encouraged an invasion of their country. He likewise received an address of the same kind from the convocation; another from the dissenting ministers; a third from the university of Cambridge; but Oxford was not so lavish of her compliments. At a meeting of the vice-chancellor and heads of that university, a motion was made for an address to the king, on the suppression of the late unnatural rebellion; his majesty's safe return; and the favour lately shewn to the university, in omitting, at their request, the ceremony of burning in effigy the devil, the pope, the pretender, the duke of Ormond, and the earl of Mar, on the anniversary of his majesty's accession. Dr. Smalridge bishop of Bristol, observed, that the rebellion had been long suppressed: that there would be no end of addresses, should one be presented

resented every time that his majesty returned from his German dominions: that the late favour they had received was overbalanced by a whole regiment now quartered upon them: and, that there was no precedent for addressing a king upon his return from his German dominions. The university thought they had reason to complain of the little regard payed to their remonstrance, touching a riot raised in that city by the soldiers there quartered, on pretence, that the anniversary of the prince's birth-day had not been celebrated with the usual rejoicings. Affidavits had been sent up to the council, which seemed to favour the officers of the regiment. When the house of lords deliberated upon the mutiny-bill, by which the soldiers were exempted from arrest for debts, complaint was made of their licentious behaviour at Oxford; with a motion, that they should inquire into the riot. They presented an address, desiring, that the papers relating to that affair might be layed before the house. These being perused, were found to be recriminations between the Oxonians and the officers of the regiment. A warm debate ensued, during which, the earl of Abingdon offered a petition from the vice-chancellor of the university, the mayor, and magistrates of Oxford, praying to be heard. One of the court-members observing, that it would be irregular to receive a petition while the house was in a grand committee, a motion was made, that the chairman should leave the chair: but, this being carried in the negative, the debate was resumed, and the majority agreed to the following resolutions: That the heads of the university, and mayor of the city, neglected to make public rejoicings on the prince's birth-day: That the officers having met to celebrate that day, the house in which they were was assaulted, and the windows were broken by the rabble: That this assault was the beginning and occasion of the riots that ensued: That the conduct of the major seemed well justified by the affidavits produced on his part: That the printing and publishing the depositions, upon which the complaints relating to the riots at Oxford, were founded, while that matter was under the examination of the lords of the committee of the council, and before they had time to come to any resolution touching the same, was irregular, disrespectful to his royal highness, and tending to sedition. An inquiry of this nature so managed, did not much redound to the honour of such an august assembly.

Annals.
State Trials.
Deb. in Parl.
Tindal.
Voltaire.

§ XXXIX. The commons passed a bill, prohibiting all commerce with Sweden, a branch of trade which was of the utmost consequence to the English merchants. They voted ten thousand seamen for the ensuing year, granted about a million for the maintenance of guards, garrisons, and land-forces; and passed the bill relating to mutiny and desertion. The house likewise voted four and twenty thousand pounds for the payment of four battalions of Munster and two of Saxegotha, which the king had taken into his service, to supply the place of such as might be, during the rebellion, drawn from the garrisons of the states-general to the assistance of England. This vote, however, was not carried without a violent debate. The demand was inveighed against as an imposition, seeing no such troops had ever served. A motion was made for an address, desiring, that the instructions of those who concluded the treaties, might be layed before the house; but this was over-ruled by the majority*. The sup-

* This year was rendered famous by a complete victory which prince Eugene obtained over the Turks at Peterwaradin upon the Danube. The battle was fought on the fifth day of August. The Imperial army did not exceed sixty thousand men: that of the Infidels amounted to

plies were raised by a land-tax of three shillings in the pound, and a malt-tax. What the commons had given was not thought sufficient for the expence of the year; therefore Mr. secretary Stanhope brought a message from his majesty, demanding an extraordinary supply, that he might be the better enabled to secure his kingdoms against the danger with which they were threatened from Sweden; and he moved, that a supply should be granted to his majesty for this purpose. Mr. Shippen said, it was a great misfortune that the king was as little acquainted with the parliamentary proceedings as with the language of the country: that the message was unparliamentary and unprecedented; and, in his opinion, penned by some foreign minister: he had been often told, that his majesty had retrieved the honour and reputation of the nation; a truth which appeared in the flourishing condition of trade: that the supply demanded seemed to be inconsistent with the glorious advantages which his majesty had obtained for the people. He was seconded by Mr. Hungerford, who declared, that for his part he could not understand what occasion there was for new alliances; much less, that they should be purchased with money. He expressed his surprize, that a nation so lately the terror of France and Spain, should now seem to fear so inconsiderable an enemy as the king of Sweden. The motion was supported by Mr. Boscawen, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, and others; but some of the Whigs spoke against it; and Mr. Robert Walpole was silent. The speaker and Mr. Smith, one of the tellers of the exchequer, opposed this unparliamentary way of demanding the supply: the former proposed, that part of the army should be disbanded, and the money applied towards the making good such new engagements as were deemed necessary. After several successive debates, the resolution for a supply was carried by a majority of four voices.

§ XL. The ministry was now divided within itself. Lord Townshend had been removed from the office of secretary of state by the intrigues of the earl of Sunderland; and he was now likewise dismissed from the place of lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Mr. Robert Walpole resigned his posts of first commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; and his example was followed by Mr. Pulteney secretary at war, and Mr. Methuen secretary of state. When the affair of the supply was resumed in the house of commons, Mr. Stanhope made a motion for granting two hundred and fifty thousand pounds for that purpose. Mr. Pulteney observed, that having resigned his place, he might now act with the freedom becoming an Englishman: he declared against the manner of granting the supply as unparliamentary and unprecedented. He said, he could not persuade himself that any Englishman advised his majesty to send such a message; but he doubted not, the resolution of a British parliament would make a German ministry tremble. Mr. Stanhope having harangued the house in vindication of the ministry, Mr. Smith answered every article of his speech: he affirmed, that if an estimate of the conduct of the ministry in relation to affairs abroad, was to be made from a comparison of their conduct at home, they would not appear altogether so faultless as they were represented. "Was it not a

one hundred and fifty thousand, commanded by the grand vizir, who was mortally wounded in the engagement. The Infidels were totally defeated, with the loss of all their tents, artillery, and baggage; so that the victors obtained an immense booty.

VOL. IV.

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"mistake,

"mistake, said he, not to preserve the peace at home, after the king had ascended the throne with the universal applause and joyful acclamations of all his subjects? Was it not a mistake, upon the breaking out of the rebellion, not to issue a proclamation, to offer pardon to such as should return home peaceably, according to the custom on former occasions of the same nature? Was it not a mistake, after the suppression of the rebellion, and the trial and execution of the principal authors of it, to keep up animosities, and drive people to despair by not passing an act of indemnity; by keeping so many persons under hard and tedious confinement; and by granting pardons to some, without leaving them any means to subsist? Is it not a mistake, not to trust to a vote of parliament for making good such engagements as his majesty shall think proper to enter into; and, instead of that, to insist on the granting this supply in such an extraordinary manner? Is it not mistake, to take this opportunity to create divisions, and render some of the king's best friends suspected and obnoxious? Is it not a mistake, in short, to form parties and cabals, in order to bring in a bill to repeal the act of occasional conformity?"

A great number of members had agreed to this measure in private, though at this period it was not brought into the house of commons. After a long debate the sum was granted. These were the first-fruits of Britain's being wedded to the interests of the continent. The elector of Hanover quarrelled with the king of Sweden; and England was not only deprived of a necessary branch of commerce, but even obliged to support him in the prosecution of the war. The ministry now underwent a new revolution. The earl of Sunderland and Mr. Addison were appointed secretaries of state; and Mr. Stanhope became first commissioner of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer.

§ XLI. On the sixth day of May the king going to the house of peers, gave the parliament to understand, that the fleet under Sir George Byng, which had sailed to the Baltic to observe the motion of the Swedes, was safely arrived in the Sound. He said, he had given orders for the immediate reduction of ten thousand soldiers, as well as directions to prepare an act of indemnity. He desired they would take proper measures for reducing the public debts with a just regard to parliamentary credit; and, that they would go through the public business with all possible dispatch and unanimity. Some progress had already been made in deliberations upon the debt of the nation, which was comprehended under the two heads of redeemable and irredeemable incumbrances. The first had been contracted with a redeemable interest; and these the public had a right to discharge: the others consisted of long and short annuities granted for a greater or less number of years, which could not be altered without the consent of the proprietors. Mr. Robert Walpole had projected a scheme for lessening the interest, and paying the capital of those debts, before he resigned his place in the exchequer. He proposed, in the house of commons, to reduce the interest of redeemable funds, and offer an alternative to the proprietors of annuities. His plan was approved; but when he resigned his places, the ministers made some small alterations in it, which furnished him with a pretence for opposing the scheme. In the course of the debate some warm altercation passed between him and Mr. Stanhope, by which it appeared, they had made a practice

practice of selling places and reversions. Mr. Hungerford standing up, said, he was sorry to see two such great men running foul of one another : that, however, they ought to be looked upon as patriots and fathers of their country ; and, since they had by mischance discovered their nakedness, the other members ought, according to the custom of the East, to turn their backs upon them, that they might not be seen in such a shameful condition. Mr. Boscawen moved, That the house would lay their commands upon them, that no further notice should be taken of what had passed. He was seconded by Mr. Methuen : the house approved of the motion ; and the speaker took their word and honour, that they should not prosecute their resentment. The money-corporations having agreed to provide cash for such creditors as should be willing to receive their principal, the house came to certain resolutions, on which were founded the three bills that passed into laws, under the names of " The South-sea act, the Bank act, and the General-fund act." The original stock of the South-sea company did not exceed nine millions four hundred and seventy-one thousand three hundred and twenty-five pounds ; but the funds granted being sufficient to answer the interest of ten millions at six per cent. the company made up that sum to the government, for which they received six hundred thousand pounds yearly, and eight thousand pounds a-year for management. By this act they declared themselves willing to receive five hundred thousand pounds, and the eight thousand for management. It was enacted, That the company should continue a corporation, until the redemption of their annuity, towards which not less than a million should be payed at a time. They were likewise required to advance a sum not exceeding two millions, towards discharging the principal and interest, due on the four lottery funds of the ninth and tenth years of queen Anne. By the bank-act the governors and company declared themselves willing to accept an annuity of eighty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty-one pounds, seven shillings, and ten pence halfpenny, or the principal of one million seven hundred and seventy-five thousand twenty-seven pounds, seventeen shillings, and ten-pence halfpenny, in lieu of the present annuity, amounting to one hundred and six thousand five hundred and one pounds, thirteen shillings, and five pence. They likewise declared themselves willing to discharge, and deliver up to be cancelled, as many exchequer-bills as amounted to two millions, and to accept of an annuity of one hundred thousand pounds, being after the rate of five per cent. redeemable after one year's notice ; to circulate the remaining exchequer-bills at three per cent. and one penny per day. It was enacted, That the former allowances should be continued to Christmas, and then the bank should have for circulating the two millions five hundred and sixty-one thousand and twenty-five pounds remaining exchequer-bills, an annuity of seventy-six thousand eight hundred and thirty pounds fifteen shillings, at the rate of three pounds per cent. till redeemed, over and above the one penny a-day for interest. By the same act the bank was required to advance a sum not exceeding two millions five hundred thousand pounds, towards discharging the national debt, if wanted, on condition, that they should have five pounds per cent. for as much as they might advance, redeemable by parliament. The general-fund act recited the several acts of parliament, for establishing the four lotteries in the ninth and tenth years of the

late queen, and stated the annual produce of the several funds, amounting in all to seven hundred twenty-four thousand eight hundred forty-nine pounds, six shillings, and ten-pence one fifth. This was the general fund; the deficiency of which was to be made good annually, out of the first aids granted by parliament. For the regular payment of all such annuities as should be made payable by this act, it was enacted, That all the duties and revenues mentioned therein, should continue for ever, with the proviso, however, That the revenues rendered by this act perpetual, should be subject to redemption. This act contained a clause by which the sinking fund was established. The reduction of interest to five per cent. producing a surplus or excess upon the appropriated funds, it was enacted, That all the monies arising from time to time, as well for the surplus, by virtue of the acts for redeeming the funds of the bank and of the South-sea company, as also for the surplus of the duties and revenues by this act appropriated, to make good the general fund, should be appropriated and employed for the discharging the principal and interest of such national debts as were incurred before the twenty-fifth of December of the preceding year, in such manner as should be directed or appointed by any future act of parliament, to be discharged out of the same, and for none other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever.

§ XLII. The earl of Oxford, who had now remained almost two years a prisoner in the Tower, presented a petition to the house of lords, praying, that his imprisonment might not be indefinite. Some of the Tory lords affirmed, that the impeachment was destroyed and determined by the prorogation of parliament, which superseded the whole proceedings; but the contrary was voted by a considerable majority. The thirteenth day of June was fixed for the trial; and the house of commons made acquainted with this determination. The commons appointed a committee to inquire into the state of the earl's impeachment; and, in consequence of their report, sent a message to the lords, demanding longer time to prepare for the trial. Accordingly the day was prolonged to the twenty-fourth of June; and the commons appointed the committee, with four other members, to be the managers for making good the articles of impeachment. At the appointed time the peers repaired to the court in Westminster-hall, where lord Cowper presided as lord-steward. The commons were assembled as a committee of the whole house: the king, the rest of the royal family, and the foreign ministers, assisted at the solemnity: the earl of Oxford was brought from the Tower: the articles of impeachment were read, with his answers, and the replication of the commons. Sir Joseph Jekyll standing up to make good the first article, lord Harcourt signified to their lordships, that he had a motion to make, and they adjourned to their own house. There he represented, that a great deal of time would be unnecessarily consumed in going through all the articles of the impeachment: that if the commons would make good the two articles for high-treason, the earl of Oxford would forfeit both life and estate, and there would be an end of the matter: whereas, to proceed on the method proposed by the commons, would draw the trial on to a prodigious length. He therefore moved, that the commons might not be admitted to proceed, until judgment should be first given upon the articles for high-treason. He was supported by the earls of Anglesey and Nottingham, the lord

Trevor,

Trevor, and a considerable number of both parties; and though opposed by the earl of Sunderland, the lords Coningsby, and Parker, the motion was carried in the affirmative. It produced a dispute between the two houses. The commons, at a conference, delivered a paper, containing their reasons for asserting it as their undoubted right to impeach a peer either for treason, or for high crimes and misdemeanours; or, should they see occasion, to mix both in the same accusation. The house of lords insisted on their former resolution; and, in another conference delivered a paper, wherein they asserted it to be a right inherent in every court of justice, to order and direct such methods of proceeding as it should think fit to be observed in all causes that fall under its cognizance. The commons demanded a free conference, which was refused. The dispute grew more and more warm. The lords sent a message to the lower house, importing, that they intended presently to proceed on the trial of the earl of Oxford. They commons paid no regard to this intimation; but adjourned to the third day of July. The lords repairing to Westminster-hall, took their places, ordered the earl to be brought to the bar, and made proclamation for his accusers to appear. Having waited a quarter of an hour, they adjourned to their own house, where, after some debate, the earl was acquitted upon a division: then returning to the hall, they voted, That he should be set at liberty. Oxford owed his safety to the dissensions among the ministers, and to the late change in the administration, in consequence of which he was delivered from the persecution of Walpole; and numbered among his friends the dukes of Devonshire and Argyle, the earls of Nottingham and Ilay, and the lord Townshend. The commons, in order to express their sense of his demerit, presented an address to the king, desiring he might be excepted out of the intended act of grace. The king promised to comply with their request; and in the mean time forbade the earl to appear at court. On the fifteenth day of July the earl of Sunderland delivered in the house of peers the act of grace, which passed through both houses with great expedition. From this indulgence were excepted the earl of Oxford, Mr. Prior, Mr. Thomas Harley, Mr. Arthur Moor, Crisp, Nodes, Obryan, Redmayne the printer, and Thompson, the assassina-tors in Newgate, and the clan of Macgregor in Scotland. By virtue of this act, the earl of Carnwath, the lords Widdrington and Nairn were immediately discharged; together with all the gentlemen under sentence of death in Newgate, and those that were confined on account of the rebellion, in the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and other prisons of the kingdom. The act of grace being prepared for the royal assent, the king went to the house of peers on the fifteenth day of July, and having given his sanction to all the bills that were ready, closed the session with a speech on the usual topics.

§ XLIII. The proceedings in the convocation turned chiefly upon two performances of Dr. Hoadley bishop of Bangor. One was intituled, "A prefervative against the principles and practices of the Nonjurors:" the other was a sermon preached before the king, under the title of, "The nature of the kingdom of Christ." An answer to this discourse was published by Dr. Snape master of Eton college, and the convocation appointed a committee to examine the bishop's two performances. They drew up a representation, in which

which the Preservative and the sermon were censured, as tending to subvert all government and discipline in the church of Christ; to reduce his kingdom to a state of anarchy and confusion; to impugn and impeach the royal supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, and the authority of the legislature, to enforce obedience in matters of religion by civil sanctions. The government thought proper to put a stop to these proceedings by a prorogation; which, however, inflamed the controversy. A great number of pens were drawn against the bishop; but, his chief antagonists were Dr. Snape and Dr. Sherlock, whom the king removed from the office of his chaplains; and the convocation has not been permitted to sit and do business since that period.

The proceedings in the convocation turned chiefly upon two points, the one of the royal supremacy, and the other of the royal prerogative. The first was the subject of a sermon, which was preached by Dr. Snape, and was entitled, "The royal supremacy, as it respects the church of England, is a subject of great importance, and one which has of late years attracted much of the public attention." The second was the subject of a sermon, which was preached by Dr. Sherlock, and was entitled, "The royal prerogative, as it respects the church of England, is a subject of great importance, and one which has of late years attracted much of the public attention." The two sermons were both published, and were both very popular. The first was published by Dr. Snape, and the second by Dr. Sherlock. The two sermons were both very popular, and were both published by Dr. Snape and Dr. Sherlock. The two sermons were both very popular, and were both published by Dr. Snape and Dr. Sherlock.

CHAP.

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CHAP. II.

§ I. Difference between king George and the czar of Muscovy. § II. The king of Sweden is killed at Frederickstadt. § III. Negotiation for the quadruple alliance. § IV. Proceedings in parliament. § V. James Shepberd executed for a design against the king's life. Parliament prorogued. § VI. Nature of the quadruple alliance. § VII. Admiral Byng sails to the Mediterranean. § VIII. He destroys the French fleet off cape Passaro. § IX. Remonstrances of the Spanish ministry. § X. Disputes in parliament touching the admiral's attacking the Spanish fleet. § XI. Act for strengthening the protestant interest. § XII. War declared against Spain. § XIII. Conspiracy against the regent of France. § XIV. Intended invasion by the duke of Ormond. § XV. Three hundred Spaniards land and are taken in Scotland. § XVI. Account of the peerage bill. § XVII. Count Merci assumes the command of the Imperial army in Sicily. § XVIII. Activity of admiral Byng. § XIX. The Spanish troops evacuate Sicily. § XX. Philip obliged to accede to the quadruple alliance. § XXI. Bill for securing the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Great-Britain. § XXII. South-sea act. § XXIII. Charters granted to the royal and London assurance-offices. § XXIV. Treaty of alliance with Sweden. § XXV. The prince of Hesse elected king of Sweden. § XXVI. Effects of the South-sea scheme. § XXVII. The bubble breaks. § XXVIII. A secret committee appointed by the house of commons. § XXIX. Inquiry carried on by both houses. § XXX. Death of earl Stanhope and Mr. Craggs, both secretaries of state. § XXXI. The estates of the directors of the South-sea company are confiscated. § XXXII. Proceedings of the commons with respect to the stock of the South-sea company.

§ I. **D**URING these transactions, the negotiations of the North were continued against the king of Sweden, who had penetrated into Norway, and advanced towards Christianstadt, the capital of that kingdom. The czar had sent five and twenty thousand Russians to assist the allies in the reduction of Wismar, which he intended to bestow upon his niece, lately married to the duke of Mecklenburg Swerin: but before his troops arrived, the place had surrendered, and the Russians were not admitted into the garrison; a circumstance which increased the misunderstanding between him and the king of Great Britain. Nevertheless, he consented to a project for making a descent upon Schonen, and actually took upon him the command of the allied fleet; though he was not at all pleased to see Sir John Norris in the Baltic, because he had formed designs against Denmark, which he knew the English squadron would protect. He suddenly desisted from the expedition against Schonen, on pretence that the season was too far advanced; and the king of Denmark published a manifesto remonstrating against his conduct on this occasion. By this time baron Gortz had planned a pacification between his master and the czar, who was discontented with all his German allies, because they opposed his having any footing in the empire. This monarch arrived at Amsterdam in December, whither he was followed by the czarina; and he actually resided at the

the Hague when king George passed through it, in return to his British dominions : but he declined an interview with the king of England. When Gyllenburg's letters were published in London, some passages seemed to favour the supposition of the czar's being privy to the conspiracy. His minister at the English court presented a long memorial, complaining that the king had caused to be printed, the malicious insinuations of his enemies. He denied his having the least concern in the design of the Swedish king. He charged the court of England with having privately treated of a separate peace with Charles, and even with having promised to assist him against the czar, on condition that he would relinquish his pretensions to Bremen and Verden. Nevertheless, he expressed an inclination to re-establish the antient good understanding, and to engage in vigorous measures for prosecuting the war against the common enemy. The memorial was answered by the king of Great Britain, who assured the czar he should have reason to be fully satisfied, if he would remove the only obstacle to their mutual good understanding; in other words, withdraw the Russian troops from the empire. Notwithstanding these professions, the two monarchs were never perfectly reconciled.

§ II. The czar made an excursion to the court of France, where he concluded a treaty of friendship with the regent, at whose earnest desire he promised to recall his troops from Mecklenburg. At his return to Amsterdam, he had a private interview with Gortz, who, as well as Gyllenburg, had been set at liberty. That minister undertook to adjust all differences between the czar and the king of Sweden within three months; and Peter engaged to suspend all operations against Sweden, until that term should be expired. A congress was opened at Abo, between the Swedish and Russian ministers; but the conferences were afterwards removed to Aland. By this convention, the czar obliged himself to assist Charles in the conquest of Norway; and they promised to unite all their forces against the king of Great Britain, should he presume to interpose. Both were incensed against that prince; and one part of their design was to raise the pretender to the throne of England. Baron Gortz set out from Aland for Frederickstadt in Norway, with the plan of peace; but, before he arrived, Charles was killed by a cannon-ball from the town, as he visited the trenches, on the thirtieth of November. Baron Gortz was immediately arrested, and brought to the scaffold by the nobles of Sweden, whose hatred he had incurred by his insolence of behaviour. The death of Charles was fortunate for king George. Sweden was now obliged to submit: while the czar, the king of Denmark, and the elector of Hanover, kept possession of what they had acquired in the course of the war.

§ III. Thus Bremen and Verden were secured to the house of Hanover: an acquisition towards which the English nation contributed by her money, as well as by her arms: an acquisition made in contradiction to the engagements into which England entered when king William became guarantee for the treaty of Travendahl: an acquisition that may be considered as the first link of a political chain by which the English nation was dragged back into expensive connexions with the continent. The king had not yet received the investiture of these dutchies; and, until that should be procured, it was necessary to espouse with warmth the interests of the emperor. This was another source of misunderstanding between Great Britain and Spain. Prince Eugene gained

gained another complete victory over a prodigious army of the Turks at Belgrade, which was surrendered to him after the battle. The emperor had engaged in this war as an ally of the Venetians, whom the Turks had attacked and driven from the Morea. The pope considered it as a religious war against the infidels; and obtained repeated assurances from the king of Spain, that he would not undertake any thing against the emperor, while he was engaged in such a laudable quarrel. Philip had even sent a squadron of ships and gallies to the assistance of the Venetians. In the course of this year, however, he equipped a strong armament, the command of which he bestowed on the marquis de Lede, who sailed from Barcelona in July, and landing at Cagliari in Sardinia, which belonged to the emperor, made a conquest of the whole island. At the same time, the king of Spain endeavoured to justify these proceedings by a manifesto, in which he alledged that the archduke, contrary to the faith of treaties, encouraged and supported the rebellion of his subjects in Catalonia, by frequent succours from Naples and other places; and that the great inquisitor of Spain had been seized, though furnished with a passport from his holiness. He promised, however, to proceed no farther, and suspend all operations, that the powers of Europe might have time and opportunity to contrive expedients for reconciling all differences, and securing the peace and balance of power in Italy: nay, he consented that this important affair should be left to the arbitration of king George and the states-general. These powers undertook the office. Conferences were begun between the ministers of the emperor, France, England, and Holland; and these produced, in the course of the following year, the famous quadruple alliance. In this treaty it was stipulated, That the emperor should renounce all pretensions to the crown of Spain, and exchange Sardinia for Sicily, with the duke of Savoy: That the succession to the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, which the queen of Spain claimed by inheritance, as princess of the house of Farnese, should be settled on her eldest son, in case the present possessors should die without male issue. Philip, dissatisfied with this partition, continued to make formidable preparations by sea and land. The king of England and the regent of France interposed their admonitions to no purpose. At length his Britannic majesty had recourse to more substantial arguments, and ordered a strong squadron to be equipped with all possible expedition*.

§ IV. On the third day of November the princess of Wales was delivered of a prince, the ceremony of whose baptism was productive of a difference be-

* The pretender, who resided at Urbino, having received intelligence from Paris, that there was a design formed against his life, pope Clement XI. gave directions that all foreigners in that neighbourhood, especially English, should be arrested. The earl of Peterborough arriving at Bologna with a few armed followers, was seized, with all his papers. Being interrogated, he said he came to pass some time in Italy, for the benefit of the air. He was close confined for a whole month in Fort Urbino, and his attendants were sent to prison. Nothing appearing to justify the suspicion, he was dismissed with

uncommon civility. The king demanding reparation for this insult, the pope wrote with his own hand a letter to an ally of Great Britain, declaring, that the legate of Bologna had violently and unjustly, without the knowledge of his holiness, caused the earl of Peterborough to be seized upon suspicions which proved to be ill grounded. The cardinal-legate sent a declaration to the English admiral in the Mediterranean, that he had asked forgiveness of his holiness, and now begged pardon of his Britannic majesty, for having unadvisedly arrested a peer of Great Britain on his travels.

tween the grandfather and father. The prince of Wales intended that his uncle the duke of York should stand godfather. The king ordered the duke of Newcastle to stand for himself. After the ceremony, the prince expressed his resentment against this nobleman in very warm terms. The king ordered the prince to confine himself within his own apartments; and afterwards signified his pleasure that he should quit the palace of St. James's. He retired with the princess to a house belonging to the earl of Grantham; but the children were detained at the palace. All peers and peeresses, and all privy-counsellors and their wives, were given to understand, that in case they visited the prince and princess, they should have no access to his majesty's presence; and all who enjoyed posts and places under both king and prince, were obliged to quit the service of one or other, at their option. When the parliament met on the twenty-first day of November, the king, in his speech, told both houses, that he had reduced the army to very near one half, since the beginning of the last session: he expressed his desire that all those who were friends to the present happy establishment, might unanimously concur in some proper method for the greater strengthening the protestant interest, of which, as the church of England was unquestionably the main support and bulwark, so would she reap the principal benefit of every advantage accruing from the union and mutual charity of all protestants. After the addresses of thanks, which were couched in the usual stile, the commons proceeded to take into consideration the estimates and accounts, in order to settle the establishment of the army, navy, and ordnance. Ten thousand men were voted for the sea-service. When the supply for the army fell under deliberation, a very warm debate ensued upon the number of troops necessary to be maintained. Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, and Mr. Walpole, in a long elaborate harrangue, insisted upon its being reduced to twelve thousand. They were answered by Mr. Craggs secretary at war, and Sir David Dalrymple. Mr. Shippen, in the course of the debate, said the second paragraph of the king's speech seemed rather to be calculated for the meridian of Germany than for Great Britain; and it was a great misfortune that the king was a stranger to our language and constitution. Mr. Lechmere affirmed this was a scandalous invective against the king's person and government; and moved that he should be sent to the Tower. Mr. Shippen refusing to retract or excuse what he had said, was voted to the Tower by a great majority; and the number of standing forces was fixed at sixteen thousand three hundred and forty-seven effective men.

§ V. On account of the great scarcity of silver coin, occasioned by the exportation of silver and the importation of gold, a motion was made to put a stop to this growing evil, by lowering the value of gold species. The commons examined a representation which had been made to the treasury by Sir Isaac Newton master of the mint, on this subject. Mr. Caswel explained the nature of a clandestine trade carried on by the Dutch and Hamburgers, in concert with the Jews of England and other traders, for exporting the silver coin and importing gold, which being coined at the mint, yielded a profit of fifteen pence upon every guinea. The house, in an address to the king, desired that a proclamation might be issued, forbidding all persons to utter or receive guineas at a higher rate than one and twenty shillings each. His majesty complied with

with their request: but people hoarding up their silver, in hope that the price of it would be raised; or in apprehension that the gold would be lowered still farther, the two houses resolved that the standard of the gold and silver coins of the kingdom should not be altered in fineness, weight, or denomination; and they ordered a bill to be brought in to prevent the melting down of the silver coin. At this period, one James Shepherd, a youth of eighteen, apprentice to a coachmaker, and an enthusiast in Jacobitism, sent a letter to a nonjuring clergyman, proposing a scheme for assassinating king George. He was immediately apprehended, owned the design, was tried, condemned, and executed at Tyburn. This was likewise the fate of the marquis de Palleroiti, an Italian nobleman, brother to the dutchess of Shrewsbury. He had, in a transport of passion, killed his own servant; and seemed indeed to be disordered in his brain. After he had received sentence of death, the king's pardon was earnestly solicited by his sister the dutchess, and many other persons of the first distinction: but the common people became so clamorous, that it was thought dangerous to rescue him from the penalties of the law, which he accordingly underwent in the most ignominious manner. No subject produced so much heat and altercation in parliament during this session, as did the bill for regulating the land-forces, and punishing mutiny and desertion: a bill which was looked upon as an incroachment upon the liberties and constitution of England, in as much as it established martial law, which wrested from the civil magistrate the cognizance of crimes and misdemeanours committed by the soldiers and officers of the army: a jurisdiction inconsistent with the genius and disposition of the people. The dangers that might accrue from such a power were explained in the lower house by Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Harley, and Mr. Robert Walpole, which last, however, voted afterwards for the bill. In the house of lords, it was strenuously opposed by the earls of Oxford, Strafford, and lord Harcourt. Their objections were answered by lord Carteret. The bill passed by a great majority; but divers lords entered a protest. This affair being discussed, a bill was brought in for vesting in trustees the forfeited estates in Britain and Ireland, to be sold for the use of the public; for giving relief to lawful creditors, by determining the claims; and for the more effectual bringing into the respective exchequers, the rents and profits of the estates till sold. The time of claiming was prolonged: the sum of twenty thousand pounds was reserved out of the sale of the estates in Scotland, for erecting schools; and eight thousand pounds for building barracks in that kingdom. The king having signified, by a message to the house of commons, that he had lately received such information from abroad, as gave reason to believe that a naval force, employed where it should be necessary, would give weight to his endeavours: he therefore thought fit to acquaint the house with this circumstance, not doubting but that in case he should be obliged, at this critical juncture, to exceed the number of men granted this year for the sea-service, the house would provide for such exceeding. The commons immediately drew up and presented an address, assuring his majesty that they would make good such exceedings of seamen as he should find necessary to preserve the tranquillity of Europe. On the twenty-first day of March the king went to the house

Oldmixon.
Annals.
Lamberti.
Burchet.
Hist. Reg.
Tindal.
State Trials.
Deb. in Parl.
Bolingbroke.
Lives of the
Admirals.

“ the emperor in Italy, or to land in any part of Italy, which can only be with
“ a design to invade the emperor’s dominions, against whom only they have
“ declared war by invading Sardinia; or if they should endeavour to make
“ themselves masters of the kingdom of Sicily, which must be with a design to
“ invade the kingdom of Naples; in which case you are, with all your power,
“ to hinder and obstruct the same. If it should so happen, that at your ar-
“ rival, with our fleet under your command, in the Mediterranean, the Spa-
“ niards should already have landed any troops in Italy, in order to invade the
“ emperor’s territories, you shall endeavour amicably to dissuade them from
“ persevering in such an attempt, and offer them your assistance to help
“ them to withdraw their troops, and put an end to all further acts of
“ hostility. But, in case these your friendly endeavours should prove in-
“ effectual, you shall, by keeping company with, or intercepting their ships or
“ convoy; or, if it be necessary, by openly opposing them, defend the empe-
“ ror’s territories from any further attempt.” When cardinal Alberoni pe-
rused these instructions, he told colonel Stanhope with some warmth, that his
master would run all hazards, and even suffer himself to be driven out of Spain,
rather than recall his troops, or consent to a suspension of arms. He said the
Spaniards were not to be frightened; and he was so well convinced that the
fleet would do their duty, that in case of their being attacked by admiral Byng,
he should be in no pain for the success. Mr. Stanhope presenting him with a
list of the British squadron, he threw it upon the ground with great emotion.
He promised, however, to lay the admiral’s letters before the king, and to let
the envoy know his majesty’s resolution. Such an interposition could not but
be very provoking to the Spanish minister, who had layed his account with the
conquest of Sicily, and for that purpose prepared an armament which was al-
together surprising, considering the late shattered condition of the Spanish af-
fairs. He seems to have put too much confidence in the strength of the Spanish
fleet. In a few days he sent back the admiral’s letter to Mr. Stanhope, with a
note under it, importing, that the chevalier Byng might execute the orders he
had received from the king his master.

§ VIII. The admiral, in passing by Gibraltar, was joined by vice-admiral
Cornwal with two ships. He proceeded to Minorca, where he relieved the
garrison of Portmahon. Then he sailed for Naples, where he arrived on the
first day of August, and was received as a deliverer: for the Neapolitans had
been under the utmost terror of an invasion from the Spaniards. Sir George
Byng received intelligence from the viceroy count Daun, who treated him with
the most distinguishing marks of respect, that the Spanish army amounting to
thirty thousand men, commanded by the marquis de Lede, had landed in Si-
cily, reduced Palermo and Messina, and were then employed in the siege of the
citadel belonging to this last city: that the Piedmontese garrison would be
obliged to surrender, if not speedily relieved: that an alliance was upon the
carpet between the emperor and the king of Sicily, which last had desired the
assistance of the Imperial troops, and agreed to receive them into the citadel
of Messina. The admiral immediately resolved to sail thither, and took under
his convoy a reinforcement of two thousand Germans for the citadel, under the
command of general Wetzell. He forthwith sailed from Naples, and on the
ninth day of August was in sight of the Faro of Messina. He dispatched his
own

own captain with a polite message to the marquis de Lede, proposing a cessation of arms in Sicily for two months, that the powers of Europe might have time to concert measures for restoring a lasting peace; and declaring, that should this proposal be rejected, he would, in pursuance of his instructions, use all his force to prevent further attempts to disturb the dominions his master had engaged to defend. The Spanish general answered, that he had no powers to treat, consequently could not agree to an armistice, but should obey his orders, which directed him to reduce Sicily for his master the king of Spain. The Spanish fleet had sailed from the harbour of Messina on the day before the English squadron appeared. Admiral Byng supposed they had retired to Malta, and directed his course towards Messina, in order to encourage and support the garrison in the citadel. But, in doubling the point of Faro, he descried two Spanish scouts, and learned from the people of a felucca from the Calabrian shore, that they had seen from the hills the Spanish fleet lying to in order of battle. The admiral immediately detached the German troops to Reggio, under convoy of two ships of war. Then he stood through the Faro after the Spanish scouts that led him to their main fleet, which before noon he descried in line of battle, amounting to seven and twenty sail large and small, besides two fireships, four bomb vessels, and seven gallies. They were commanded in chief by Don Antonio de Castanita, under whom were the four rear admirals Chacon, Mari, Guevara, and Cammock. At sight of the English squadron they stood away large, and Byng gave chase all the rest of the day. In the morning, which was the eleventh of August, the rear-admiral de Mari, with six ships of war, the gallies, fire-ships and bomb-ketches, separated from the main fleet, and stood in for the Sicilian shore. The English admiral detached captain Walton with five ships in pursuit of them; and they were soon engaged. He himself continued to chase their main fleet; and about ten o'clock the battle began. The Spaniards seemed to be distracted in their counsels, and acted in confusion. They made a running fight, and the admirals behaved with courage and activity, in spite of which they were all taken but Cammock, who made his escape with three ships of war and three frigates. In this engagement, which happened off cape Passaro, captain Haddock of the Grafton signalized his courage in an extraordinary manner. On the eighteenth the admiral received a letter from captain Walton, dated off Syracuse, intimating that he had taken four Spanish ships of war, together with a bomb-ketch, and a vessel laden with arms; and that he had burned four ships of the line, a fireship, and a bomb-vessel*. Had the Spaniards followed the advice of rear-admiral Cammock, who was a native of Ireland, Sir George Byng would not have obtained such an easy victory; that officer proposed that they should remain at anchor in the road of Paradise, with their broadsides to the sea; in which case the English admiral would have found it a very difficult task to attack them: for the coast is so bold, that the largest ships could ride with a cable ashore; whereas farther out the currents are so various and rapid, that the English squadron could not have come to anchor, or lie near them in

* This letter is justly deemed a curious specimen of the laconic style.

"Sir, We have taken and destroyed all the

Spanish ships and vessels which were upon the coasts, the number as per margin. I am, &c. G. Walton!"

order of battle : besides, the Spaniards might have been reinforced from the army on shore, which would have raised batteries to annoy the assailants. Before king George had received an account of this engagement from the admiral, he wrote him a letter with his own hand, approving his conduct. When Sir George's eldest son arrived in England, with a circumstantial account of the action, he was graciously received, and sent back with plenipotentiary powers to his father, that he might negotiate with the several princes and states of Italy, as he should see occasion. The son likewise carried the king's royal grant to the officers and seamen, of all the prizes they had taken from the Spaniards. Notwithstanding this victory, the Spanish army carried on the siege of the citadel of Messina with such vigour, that the governor surrendered the place by capitulation on the twenty-ninth day of September. A treaty was now concluded at Vienna between the emperor and the duke of Savoy. They agreed to form an army for the conquest of Sardinia in behalf of the duke ; and in the mean time this prince engaged to evacuate Sicily : but until his troops could be conveyed from that island, he consented that they should co-operate with the Germans against the common enemy. Admiral Byng continued to assist the Imperialists in Sicily, during the best part of the winter, by scouring the seas of the Spaniards, and keeping the communication open between the German forces and the Calabrian shore, from whence they were supplied with provisions. He acted in this service with equal conduct, resolution, and activity. He conferred with the viceroy of Naples, and the other Imperial generals, about the operations of the ensuing campaign, and count Hamilton was dispatched to Vienna, to lay before the emperor the result of their deliberations : then the admiral set sail for Mahon, where his ships might be refitted, and put in a condition to take the sea in the spring.

§ IX. The destruction of the Spanish fleet was a subject that employed the deliberations and conjecture of all the politicians in Europe. Spain exclaimed against the conduct of England, as inconsistent with the rules of good faith, for the observation of which she had always been so famous. The marquis de Monteleone wrote a letter to Mr. secretary Craggs, in which he expostulated with him upon such an unprecedented outrage. Cardinal Alberoni, in a letter to that minister, inveighed against it as a base unworthy action. He said the neutrality of Italy was a weak pretence, since every body knew that neutrality had long been at an end ; and that the princes guarantees of the treaty of Utrecht were intirely discharged from their engagements, not only by the scandalous infringements committed by the Austrians in the evacuation of Catalonia and Majorca ; but also because the guaranty was no longer binding than till a peace was concluded with France. He taxed the British ministry with having revived and supported this neutrality, not by an amicable mediation, but by open violence, and artfully abusing the confidence and security of the Spaniards. This was the language of disappointed ambition. Nevertheless, it must be owned, that the conduct of England on this occasion was irregular, partial, and precipitate.

§ X. The parliament meeting on the eleventh day of November, the king, in his speech, declared that the court of Spain had rejected all his amicable proposals, and broke through their most solemn engagements for the security of the British commerce. To vindicate therefore the faith of his former treaties,

treaties, as well as to maintain those he had lately made, and to protect and defend the trade of his subjects, which had in every branch been violently and unjustly oppressed, it became necessary for his naval forces to check their progress: that notwithstanding the success of his arms, that court had lately given orders at all the ports of Spain and of the West Indies, to fit out privateers against the English. He said he was persuaded that a British parliament would enable him to resent such treatment; and he assured them that his good brother the regent of France was ready to concur with him in the most vigorous measures. A strong opposition was made in both houses to the motion for an address of thanks and congratulation proposed by lord Carteret. Several peers observed, that such an address was, in effect, to approve a sea-fight which might be attended with dangerous consequences, and to give the sanction of that august assembly to measures which, upon examination, might appear either to clash with the law of nations, or former treaties, or to be prejudicial to the trade of Great Britain: that they ought to proceed with the utmost caution and maturest deliberation, in an affair wherein the honour, as well as the interest of the nation were so highly concerned. Lord Strafford moved for an address, that Sir George Byng's instructions might be layed before the house. Earl Stanhope replied, that there was no occasion for such an address, since by his majesty's command he had already layed before the house the treaties, of which the late sea-fight was a consequence: particularly the treaty for a defensive alliance between the emperor and his majesty, concluded at Westminster on the twenty-fifth day of May, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen; and the treaty of alliance for restoring and settling the public peace, signed at London on the twenty-second day of July. He affirmed, that the court of Spain had violated the treaty of Utrecht, and acted against the public faith, in attacking the emperor's dominions, while he was engaged in a war against the enemies of Christendom: that they had rejected his majesty's friendly offices and offers for mediating an accommodation. He explained the cause of his own journey to Spain, and his negotiations at Madrid. He added, it was high time to check the growth of the naval power of Spain, in order to protect and secure the trade of the British subjects, which had been violently oppressed by the Spaniards. After a long debate, the motion was carried by a considerable majority. The same subject excited disputes of the same nature in the house of commons, where the lord Hinchinbroke moved, that, in their address of thanks, they should declare their intire satisfaction in those measures which the king had already taken for strengthening the protestant succession, and establishing a lasting tranquillity in Europe. The members in the opposition urged, that it was unparliamentary and unprecedented, on the first day of the session, to enter upon particulars: that the business in question was of the highest importance, and deserved the most mature deliberation: that, before they approved the measures which had been taken, they ought to examine the reasons on which those measures were founded. Mr. Robert Walpole affirmed, that the giving sanction in the manner proposed, to the late measures, could have no other view than that of screening ministers who were conscious of having begun a war against Spain, and now wanted to make it the parliament's war. He observed, that instead of an intire satisfaction, they ought to express their intire dissatisfaction with such conduct

conduct as was contrary to the law of nations, and a breach of the most solemn treaties. Mr. secretary Craggs, in a long speech, explained the nature of the quadruple alliance, and justified all the measures which had been taken. The address, as moved by lord Hinchinbroke, was at length carried, and presented to his majesty. Then the commons proceeded to consider the supply. They voted thirteen thousand five hundred sailors; and twelve thousand four hundred thirty-five men for the land-service. The whole estimate amounted to two millions two hundred and fifty-seven thousand five hundred and eighty-one pounds, nineteen shillings. The money was raised by a land-tax, malt-tax, and lottery.

§ XI. On the thirteenth day of December, earl Stanhope declared, in the house of lords, that, in order to unite the hearts of the well-affected to the present establishment, he had a bill to offer under the title of "An act for strengthening the protestant interest in these kingdoms." It was accordingly read, and appeared to be a bill repealing the acts against occasional conformity, the growth of schism, and some clauses in the corporation and test acts. This had been concerted by the ministry, in private meetings with the most eminent dissenters. The Tory lords were astonished at this motion, for which they were altogether unprepared. Nevertheless, they were strenuous in their opposition. They alledged that the bill, instead of strengthening, would certainly weaken the church of England, by plucking off her best feathers, investing her enemies with power, and sharing with churchmen the civil and military employments of which they were then wholly possessed. Earl Cowper declared himself against that part of the bill by which some clauses of the test and corporation acts were repealed; because he looked upon those acts as the main bulwark of our excellent constitution in church and state, which ought to be inviolably preserved. The earl of Ilay opposed the bill, because, in his opinion, it infringed the *pacta conventa* of the treaty of union, by which the bounds both of the church of England and of the church of Scotland were fixed and settled; and he was apprehensive, if the articles of the union were broke with respect to one church, it might afterwards be a precedent to break them with respect to the other. The archbishop of Canterbury said, the acts which by this bill would be repealed, were the main bulwark and supporters of the English church: he expressed all imaginable tenderness for well-meaning conscientious dissenters; but he could not forbear saying, some among that sect made a wrong use of the favour and indulgence shewn to them at the revolution, though they had the least share in that happy event: it was therefore thought necessary for the legislature to interpose, and put a stop to the scandalous practice of occasional conformity. He added, that it would be needless to repeal the act against schism, since no advantage had been taken of it, to the prejudice of the dissenters. Dr. Hoadly bishop of Bangor endeavoured to prove that the occasional and schism acts were in effect persecuting laws; and that by admitting the principle of self-defence and self-preservation, in matters of religion, all the persecutions maintained by the heathens against the professors of Christianity, and even the popish inquisition, might be justified. With respect to the power of which many clergymen appeared so fond and so zealous, he owned the desire of power and riches was natural to all men; but that he had learned both from reason and from the gospel, that

this desire must be kept within due bounds, and not intrench upon the rights and liberties of their fellow-creatures and countrymen. After a long debate, the house agreed to leave out some clauses concerning the test and corporation-acts: then the bill was committed, and afterwards passed. In the lower house it met with violent opposition, in spite of which it was carried by the majority.

§ XII. The king, on the seventeenth day of December, sent a message to the commons, importing, that all his endeavours to procure redress for the injuries done to his subjects by the king of Spain, having proved ineffectual, he had found it necessary to declare war against that monarch. When a motion was made for an address, to assure the king they would cheerfully support him in the prosecution of the war, Mr. Shippen and some other members said, they did not see the necessity of involving the nation in a war on account of some grievances of which the merchants complained, as these might be amicably redressed. Mr. Stanhope assured the house, that he had presented five and twenty memorials to the ministry of Spain on that subject, without success. Mr. Methuen accounted for the dilatory proceedings of the Spanish court in commercial affairs, by explaining the great variety of regulations in the several provinces and ports of that kingdom. It was suggested, that the ministry paid very little regard to the trade and interest of the nation; inasmuch as it appeared by the answer from a secretary of state to the letter of the marquis de Monteleone, that they would have overlooked the violation of the treaties of commerce, provided Spain had accepted the conditions stipulated in the quadruple alliance: that his majesty the king of Great-Britain did not seek to aggrandize himself by any new acquisition, but was rather inclined to sacrifice something of his own to procure the general quiet and tranquillity of Europe. A member observed, that no body could tell how far that sacrifice would have extended; but, certainly it was a very uncommon stretch of condescension. This sacrifice was said to be the cession of Gibraltar and Portmahon, which the regent of France had offered to the king of Spain, provided he would accede to the quadruple alliance. Horatio Walpole observed, that the disposition of Sicily in favour of the emperor, was an infraction of the treaty of Utrecht; and his brother exclaimed against the injustice of attacking the Spanish fleet before a declaration of war. Notwithstanding all these arguments and objections, the majority agreed to the address; and such another was carried in the upper house without a division. The declaration of war against Spain was published with the usual solemnities; but this war was not a favourite of the people, and therefore did not produce those acclamations that were usual on such occasions.

§ XIII. Mean while cardinal Alberoni employed all his intrigues, power, and industry, for the gratification of his revenge. He caused new ships to be built, the sea-ports to be put in a posture of defence, succours to be sent to Sicily, and the proper measures to be taken for the security of Sardinia. He, by means of the prince de Cellamare, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, caballed with the malcontents of that kingdom, who were numerous and powerful. A scheme was actually formed for seizing the regent, and securing the person of the king. The duke of Orleans owed the first intimation of this plot to king George, who gave him to understand, that a conspiracy was formed against his person and government. The regent immediately took measures for watching the conduct

conduct of all suspected persons; but the whole intrigue was discovered by accident. The prince de Cellamare intrusted his dispatches to the abbé Portocarrero, and to a son of the marquis de Monteleone. They set out from Paris in a post-chaise, and were overturned. The postilion overheard Portocarrero say, he would not have lost his portmanteau for an hundred thousand pistoles. The man, at his return to Paris, gave notice to the government of what he had observed. The Spaniards being pursued, were overtaken and seized at Poitiers, with the portmanteau, in which the regent found two letters that made him acquainted with the particulars of the conspiracy. The prince de Cellamare was immediately conducted to the frontiers; the duke of Maine, the marquis de Pompadour, the cardinal de Polignac, and many other persons of distinction, were committed to different persons. The regent declared war against Spain on the twenty-ninth day of December; and an army of six and thirty thousand men began its march towards that kingdom in January, under the command of the duke of Berwick.

§ XIV. Cardinal Alberoni had likewise formed a scheme in favour of the pretender. The duke of Ormond repairing to Madrid, held conferences with his eminence; and measures were concerted for exciting another insurrection in Great-Britain. The chevalier de St. George quitted Urbino by stealth; and embarking at Nettuno, landed at Cagliari in March. From thence he took his passage to Roses in Catalonia, and proceeded to Madrid, where he was received with great cordiality, and treated as king of Great-Britain. An armament had been equipped of ten ships of war and transports, having on board six thousand regular troops, with arms for twelve thousand men. The command of this fleet was bestowed on the duke of Ormond, with the title of captain-general of his most catholic majesty. He was provided with declarations in the name of that king, importing, that for many good reasons he had sent part of his land and sea-forces into England and Scotland, to act as auxiliaries to king James. King George, having received from the regent of France timely notice of this intended invasion, offered, by proclamation, rewards to those that should apprehend the duke of Ormond, or any gentleman embarked in that expedition. Troops were ordered to assemble in the north and in the west of England: two thousand men were demanded of the states-general: a strong squadron was equipped to oppose the Spanish armament; and the duke of Orleans made a proffer to king George of twenty battalions for his service.

§ XV. His majesty having communicated to both houses of parliament the repeated advices he had received touching this projected descent, they promised to support him against all his enemies. They desired he would augment his forces by sea and land; and assured him they would make good the extraordinary expence. Two thousand men were landed from Holland, and six battalions of Imperialists from the Austrian Netherlands. The duke of Ormond sailed from Cadiz, and proceeded as far as Cape Finisterre, where his fleet was dispersed and disabled by a violent storm, which entirely defeated the purposed expedition. Two frigates, however, arrived in Scotland, with the earls Marischal and Seaforth, the marquis of Tullibardine, some field-officers, three hundred Spaniards, and arms for two thousand men. They were joined by a small body of Highlanders, and possessed themselves of Donan-castle. Against these adventurers general Wightman marched with a body of regular troops from

Inverness. They had taken possession of the pass of Glenhiel; but, at the approach of the king's forces, retired to the pass at Strachell, which they resolved to defend. They were attacked and driven from one eminence to another till night, when the Highlanders dispersed; and next day the Spaniards surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Marischal, Seaforth, and Tullibardine, with some officers, retired to one of the western isles, in order to wait for an opportunity of being conveyed to the continent.

§ XVI. On the last day of February the duke of Somerset represented, in the house of lords, that the number of peers being very much increased, especially since the union of the two kingdoms, it seemed absolutely necessary to take effectual measures for preventing the inconveniencies that might attend the creation of a great number of peers, to serve a present purpose; an expedient which had been actually taken in the late reign. He therefore moved, that a bill should be brought in to settle and limit the peerage, in such a manner, that the number of English peers should not be enlarged beyond six above the present number, which, upon failure of male issue, might be supplied by new creations: that instead of the sixteen elective peers from Scotland, twenty-five should be made hereditary on the part of that kingdom; and, that this number, upon failure of heirs male, should be supplied from the other members of the Scottish peerage. This bill was intended as a restraint upon the prince of Wales, who happened to be at variance with the present ministry. The motion was supported by the duke of Argyle, now lord-steward of the household, the earls of Sunderland and Carlisle. It was opposed by the earl of Oxford, who said, that although he expected nothing from the crown, he would never give his vote for lopping off so valuable a branch of the prerogative, which enabled the king to reward merit and virtuous actions. The debate was adjourned to the second day of March, when earl Stanhope delivered a message from the king, intimating, that as they had under consideration the state of the British peerage, he had so much at heart the settling it upon such a foundation as might secure the freedom and constitution of parliaments in all future ages, that he was willing his prerogative should not stand in the way of so great and necessary a work. Another violent debate ensued between the two factions. The question here, as in almost every other dispute, was not, Whether the measure proposed was advantageous to the nation? but, Whether the Tory or the Whig interest should predominate in parliament? Earl Cowper affirmed, that the part of the bill relating to the Scottish peerage was a manifest violation of the treaty of union, as well as a flagrant piece of injustice, as it would deprive persons of their right, without being heard, and without any pretence or forfeiture on their part. He observed, that the Scottish peers excluded from the number of the twenty-five, would be in a worse condition than any other subjects in the kingdom; for they would be neither electing nor elected, neither representing nor represented. These objections were over-ruled: several resolutions were taken agreeable to the motion; and the judges were ordered to prepare and bring in the bill. This measure alarmed the generality of the Scottish peers, as well as many English commoners, who saw in the bill the avenues of dignity and title shut up against them; and they did not fail to exclaim against it, as an encroachment upon the fundamental maxims of the constitution. Treatises were writ and published on both sides of the question; and a national clamour began

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to arise, when earl Stanhope observed, in the house, that as the bill had raised strange apprehensions, he thought it adviseable to postpone the further consideration of it till a more proper opportunity. It was accordingly dropped, and the parliament prorogued on the eighteenth day of April, on which occasion his majesty told both houses, that the Spanish king had acknowledged the pretender.

§ XVII. The king having appointed lords-justices to rule the kingdom in his absence, embarked in May for Holland, from whence he proceeded to Hanover, An.Ch.1719. where he concluded a peace with Ulrica the new queen of Sweden. By this treaty Sweden yielded for ever to the royal and electoral house of Brunswick, the dutchies of Bremen and Verden, with all their dependencies: king George obliged himself to pay a million of rixdollars to the queen of Sweden; and to renew, as king of Great-Britain and elector of Hanover, the alliances formerly subsisting between his predecessors and that kingdom. He likewise mediated a peace between Sweden and his former allies the Danes, the Prussians, and the Poles. The czar, however, refused to give up his schemes of conquest. He sent his fleet to the Scheuron or Batses of Sweden, where his troops landing to the number of fifteen thousand, committed dreadful outrages; but, Sir John Norris, who commanded an English squadron in those seas, having orders to support the negotiations, and oppose any hostilities that might be committed, the czar, dreading the fate of the Spanish navy, thought proper to recall his fleet. In the Mediterranean admiral Byng acted with unwearied vigour in assisting the Imperialists to finish the conquest of Sicily. The court of Vienna had agreed to send a strong body of forces to finish the reduction of that island; and the command in this expedition was bestowed upon the count de Merci, with whom Sir George Byng conferred at Naples. This admiral supplied them with ammunition and artillery from the Spanish prizes. He took the whole reinforcement under his convoy, and saw them safely landed in the bay of Patti, to the number of three thousand five hundred horse, and ten thousand infantry. Count Merci thinking himself more than a match for the Spanish forces commanded by the marquis de Lede, attacked him in a strong camp at Franca-villa; and was repulsed with the loss of five thousand men, himself being dangerously wounded in the action. Here his army must have perished for want of provision, had not they been supplied by the English navy.

§ XVIII. Admiral Byng no sooner learned the bad success of the attack at Franca-villa, than he embarked two battalions from the garrison of Melazzo, and about a thousand recruits, whom he sent under a convoy through the Faro to Scheso-bay, in order to reinforce the Imperial army. He afterwards assisted at a council of war with the German generals, who, in consequence of his advice, undertook the siege of Messina. Then he repaired to Naples, where he proposed to count Gallas the new viceroy, that the troops destined for the conquest of Sardinia should be first landed in Sicily, and co-operate towards the conquest of that island. The proposal was immediately dispatched to the court of Vienna. In the mean time the admiral returned to Sicily, and assisted in the siege of Messina. The town surrendered, the garrison retired into the citadel, and the remains of the Spanish navy which had escaped at Passaro, were now destroyed in the Mole. The emperor approved of the scheme proposed by the English admiral, to whom he wrote a very gracious letter, intimating, that he had dispatched

dispatched orders to the governor of Milan, to detach the troops designed for Sardinia to Vado, in order to be transported into Italy. The admiral charged himself with the performance of this service. Having furnished the Imperial army before Messina with another supply of cannon, powder, and shot, upon his own credit, he set sail for Vado, where he surmounted numberless difficulties started by the jealousy of count Bonneval, who was unwilling to see his troops destined for Sardinia, now diverted to another expedition, in which he could not enjoy the chief command. At length, admiral Byng saw the forces embarked, and convoyed them to Messina, the citadel of which surrendered in a few days after their arrival. By this time the marquis de Lede had fortified a strong post at Castro-Giovanne, in the centre of the island; and cantoned his troops about Aderno, Palermo, and Catanea. The Imperialists could not pretend to attack him in this situation, nor could they remain in the neighbourhood of Messina, on account of the scarcity of provisions. They would therefore have been obliged to quit the island during the winter, had not the admiral undertaken to transport them by sea to Trapani, where they could extend themselves in a plentiful country. He not only executed this enterprize, but even supplied them with corn from Tunis, as the harvests of Sicily had been gathered into the Spanish magazines. It was the second day of March before the last embarkation of the Imperial troops were landed at Trapani.

§ XIX. The marquis de Lede immediately retired with his army to Alcamo, from whence he sent his marechal de camp to count Merci and the English admiral, with overtures for evacuating Sicily. The proposals were not disagreeable to the Germans; but, Sir George Byng declared, that the Spaniards should not quit the island while the war continued, as he foresaw that these troops would be employed against France or England. He agreed, however, with count Merci, in proposing, that if the marquis would surrender Palermo, and retire into the middle part of the island, they would consent to an armistice for six weeks, until the sentiments of their different courts should be known. The marquis offered to surrender Palermo, in consideration of a suspension of arms for three months; but, while this negotiation was depending, he received advice from Madrid, that a general peace was concluded. Nevertheless, he broke off the treaty, in obedience to a secret order for that purpose. The king of Spain hoped to obtain the restitution of St. Sebastian's, Fontarabia, and other places taken in the course of the war, in exchange for the evacuation of Sicily. Hostilities were continued until the admiral received advice from the earl of Stair at Paris, that the Spanish ambassador at the Hague had signed the quadruple alliance. By the same courier packets were delivered to the count de Merci and the marquis de Lede, which last gave the admiral, and Imperial general to understand, that he looked upon the peace as a thing concluded; and was ready to treat for a cessation of hostilities. They insisted upon his delivering up Palermo; while he urged, that as their masters were in treaty for settling the terms of evacuating Sicily and Sardinia, he did not think himself authorised to agree to a cessation, except on condition, that each party should remain on the ground they occupied, and expect further orders from their principals. After a fruitless interview between the three chiefs at the Cassine de Rossignola, the Imperial general resolved to undertake the siege of Palermo: with this view he decamped from Alcamo on the eighteenth day of April, and followed the

the marquis de Lede, who retreated before him, and took possession of the advantageous posts that commanded the passes into the plain of Palermo; but count Merci with indefatigable diligence marched over the mountains, while the admiral coasted along-shore, attending the motions of the army. The Spanish general perceiving the Germans advancing into the plain, retired under the cannon of Palermo; and fortified his camp with strong intrenchments. On the second day of May the Germans took one of the enemy's redoubts by surprise, and the marquis de Lede ordered all his forces to be drawn out to retake this fortification: both armies were on the point of engaging when a courier arrived in a felucca with a packet for the marquis, containing full powers to treat and agree about the evacuation of the island, and the transportation of the army to Spain. He forthwith drew off his army; and sent a trumpet to the general and admiral, with letters, informing them of the orders he had received. Commissioners were appointed on each side, the negotiations begun, and the conventions signed in a very few days. The Germans were put in possession of Palermo; and the Spanish army marched to Termini, from whence they were transported to Barcelona.

§ XX. The admiral continued in the Mediterranean until he had seen the islands of Sicily and Sardinia evacuated by the Spaniards, and the mutual cessions executed between the emperor and the duke of Savoy, in consequence of which, four battalions of Piedmontese troops were transported from Palermo to Sardinia, and took possession of Cagliari in the name of their master. In a word, admiral Byng bore such a considerable share in this war of Sicily, that the fate of the island depended wholly on his courage, vigilance, and conduct. When he waited on his majesty at Hanover, he met with a very gracious reception. The king told him he had found out the secret of obliging his enemies as well as his friends; for the court of Spain had mentioned him in the most honourable terms; with respect to his candid and friendly deportment, in providing transports and other necessaries for the embarkation of their troops, and in protecting them from oppression. He was appointed treasurer of the navy, and rear-admiral of Great Britain: in a little time the king ennobled him by the title of viscount Torrington; he was declared a privy-counsellor; and afterwards made knight of the Bath, at the revival of that order. During these occurrences in the Mediterranean, the duke of Berwick advanced with the French army to the frontiers of Spain, where he took Fort Passage, and destroyed six ships of war that were on the stocks: then he reduced Fontarabia and St. Sebastian's, together with Port Antonio in the bottom of the Bay of Biscay. In this last exploit the French were assisted by a detachment of English seamen, who burned two large ships unfinished, and a great quantity of naval stores. The king of England, with a view to indemnify himself for the expence of the war, projected the conquest of Corunna in Biscay, and of Peru in South America. Four thousand men, commanded by lord Cobham, were embarked at the Isle of Wight, and sailed on the twenty-first day of September, under convoy of five ships of war, conducted by admiral Mighels. Instead of making an attempt upon Corunna, they reduced Vigo with very little difficulty; and Pont-a-Vedra submitted without resistance: here they found some brass artillery, small arms, and military stores, with which they returned to England. In the mean time captain Johnson, with two English ships of war, destroyed the
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same number of Spanish ships in the port of Ribadeo to the eastward of Cape Ortigas; so that the naval power of Spain was totally ruined. The expedition to the West-Indies was prevented by the peace. Spain being oppressed on all sides, and utterly exhausted, Philip saw the necessity of a speedy pacification. He now perceived the madness of Alberoni's ambitious projects. That minister was personally disagreeable to the emperor, the king of England, and the regent of France, who had declared they would hearken to no proposals while he should continue in office: the Spanish monarch, therefore, divested him of his employment; and ordered him to quit the kingdom in three weeks. The marquis de Beretti Landi, minister from the court of Madrid at the Hague, delivered a plan of pacification to the states: but it was rejected by the allies; and Philip was obliged at last to accede to the quadruple alliance.

§ XXI. On the fourteenth day of November king George returned to England, and on the twenty-third opened the session of parliament with a speech, in which he told them, that all Europe, as well as Great-Britain, was on the point of being delivered from the calamities of war, by the influence of British arms and councils. He exhorted the commons to concert proper means for lessening the debts of the nation; and concluded with a panegyric upon his own government. It must be owned he had acted with equal vigour and deliberation, in all the troubles he had encountered since his accession to the throne. The addresses of both houses were as warm as he could desire. They in particular extolled him for having interposed in behalf of the protestants of Hungary, Poland, and Germany, who had been oppressed by the practices of the popish clergy; and presented to him memorials containing a detail of their grievances. He and all the other protestant powers warmly interceded in their favour; but the grievances were not redressed. The peerage-bill was now revived by the duke of Buckingham; and, in spite of all opposition, passed through the house of lords. It had been projected by earl Stanhope, and eagerly supported by the earl of Sunderland; therefore Mr. Robert Walpole attacked it in the house of commons with extraordinary vehemence. Here too it was opposed by a considerable number of Whig members; and after warm debates, rejected by a large majority. The next object that engrossed the attention of the parliament, was a bill for better securing the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Great-Britain. Maurice Annesley had appealed to the house of peers in England, from a decree of the house of peers in Ireland, which was reversed. The British peers ordered the barons of the exchequer in Ireland, to put Mr. Annesley in possession of the lands he had lost by the decree in that kingdom. The barons obeyed this order; and the Irish house of peers passed a vote against them, as having acted in derogation to the king's prerogative in his high court of parliament in Ireland, as also of the rights and privileges of that kingdom, and of the parliament thereof: they likewise ordered them to be taken into custody of the usher of the black-rod: they transmitted a long representation to the king, demonstrating their right to the final judicature of causes; and the duke of Leeds, in the upper house, urged fifteen reasons to support the claim of the Irish peers. Notwithstanding these arguments, the house of lords in England resolved, That the barons of the exchequer in Ireland had acted with courage, according to law, in support of his majesty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the crown of Great-Britain. They addressed the king to confer
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on them some marks of his royal favour, as a recompence for the ill usage they had undergone. Finally, they prepared the bill, by which the Irish house of lords was deprived of all right to pass sentence, affirm, or reverse any judgment or decree, given or made in any court within that kingdom. In the house of commons it was opposed by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Hungerford, the lords Moleſworth and Tyrconnel; but was carried by the majority, and received the royal assent.

§ XXII. The king's having recommended to the commons the consideration of proper means for lessening the national debt, was a prelude to the famous South-sea act, which became productive of so much mischief and infatuation. The scheme was projected by Sir John Blunt, who had been bred a scrivener; and was possessed of all the cunning, plausibility, and boldness, requisite for such an undertaking. He communicated his plan to Mr. Aislaby, the chancellor of the exchequer, as well as to one of the secretaries of state. He answered all their objections; and the project was adopted. They foresaw their own private advantage in the execution of the design, which was imparted, in the name of the South-sea company, of which Blunt was a director, who influenced all their proceedings. The pretence for the scheme, was to discharge the national debt, by reducing all the funds into one. The bank and South-sea company outbid each other. The South-sea company altered their original plan, and offered such high terms to the government, that the proposals of the bank were rejected; and a bill was ordered to be brought into the house of commons, formed on the plan presented by the South-sea company. While this affair was in agitation, the stock of that company rose from one hundred and thirty to near four hundred, in consequence of the conduct of the commons, who had rejected a motion for a clause in the bill, to fix what share in the capital stock of the company should be vested in those proprietors of the annuities who might voluntarily subscribe; or how many years purchase in money they should receive in subscribing, at the choice of the proprietors. In the house of lords the bill was opposed by the lord North and Grey, the earl Cowper, the dukes of Wharton, Buckingham, and other peers. They affirmed, it was calculated for enriching a few and impoverishing a great number: that it countenanced the fraudulent and pernicious practice of stock-jobbing, which diverted the genius of the people from trade and industry: that it would give foreigners the opportunity to double and treble the vast sums they had in the public funds; and they would be tempted to realize and withdraw their capital and immense gains to other countries; so that Great-Britain would be drained of its gold and silver: that the artificial and prodigious rise of the South-sea stock was a dangerous bait, which might decoy many unwary people to their ruin, alluring them by a false prospect of gain to part with the fruits of their industry, to purchase imaginary riches: that the addition of above thirty millions capital would give such power to the South-sea company, as might endanger the liberties of the nation; for, by their extensive interest they would be able to influence most, if not all the elections of the members; and consequently over-rule the resolutions of the house of commons. Earl Cowper urged, that in all public bargains the persons in the administration ought to take care, that they shall be more advantageous to the state than to private persons; but that a contrary method had been followed in the contract made with the South-sea company; for, should

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the stocks be kept at the advanced price to which they had been raised by the oblique arts of stock-jobbing, either that company or its principal members would gain above thirty millions, of which no more than one fourth part would be given towards the discharge of the national debts. He apprehended, that the re-purchase of annuities would meet with insuperable difficulties; and, in such case, none but a few persons who were in the secret, who, had bought stocks at a low rate, and afterwards sold them at a high price, would in the end be gainers by the project. The earl of Sunderland answered their objections. He declared, that those who countenanced the scheme of the South-sea company, had nothing in view but the advantage of the nation. He owned, that the managers for that company had undoubtedly a prospect of private gain, either to themselves or to their corporation; but, he said, when the scheme was accepted, neither the one nor the other could foresee that the stocks would have risen to such a height: that if they had continued as they were, the public would have had the far greater share of the advantage accruing from the scheme; and, should they be kept up to the present high price, it was but reasonable, that the South-sea company should enjoy the profits procured to it by the wise management and industry of the directors, which would enable it to make large dividends, and thereby accomplish the purpose of the scheme. The bill passed without amendment or division; and, on the seventh day of April received the royal assent. By this act the South-sea company was authorised to take in by purchase or subscription, the irredeemable debts of the nation, stated at sixteen millions five hundred forty-six thousand four hundred eighty-two pounds, seven shillings, one penny farthing, at such times as they should find convenient before the first day of March of the ensuing year, and without any compulsion on any of the proprietors, at such rates and prices as should be agreed upon between the company and the respective proprietors. They were likewise authorised to take in all the redeemable debts, amounting to the same sum as that of the irredeemables, either by purchase, by taking subscriptions, or by paying off the creditors. For the liberty of taking in the national debts, and increasing their capital stock accordingly, the company consented, that their present, and to be increased annuity, should be continued at five per cent. till Midsummer, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven; from thence to be reduced to four per cent. and be redeemable by parliament. In consideration of this and other advantages expressed in the act, the company declared themselves willing to make such payments into the receipt of the exchequer, as were specified for the use of the public, to be applied to the discharge of the public debts incurred before Christmas, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen. The sums they were obliged to pay for the liberty of taking in the redeemable debts, four years and a half's purchase for all the long and short annuities that should be subscribed, and one year's purchase for such long annuities as should not be subscribed, amounted on the execution of the act to about seven millions. For enabling the company to raise this sum, they were impowered to make calls for money from their members; to open books of subscription; to grant annuities redeemable by the company; to borrow money upon any contract or bill under their common seal, or on the credit of their capital stock; to convert the money demanded of their members into additional stock, without, however, making any addition to the company's annuities,

annuities, payable out of the public duties. It was enacted, That out of the first monies arising from the sums payed by the company into the exchequer, such public debts carrying interest at five per cent. incurred before the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, founded upon any former act of parliament, as were now redeemable, or might be redeemed before the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-two, should be discharged in the first place: then all the remainder should be applied towards paying off so much of the capital stock of the company as should then carry an interest of five per cent. It was likewise provided, That after Midsummer, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, the company should not be payed off in any sums being less than one million at a time.

§ XXIII. The heads of the royal-assurance and London-assurance companies, understanding that the civil list was considerably in arrears, offered to the ministry six hundred thousand pounds towards the discharge of that debt, on condition of their obtaining the king's charter, with a parliamentary sanction for the establishment of their respective companies. The proposal was embraced; and the king communicated it in a message to the house of commons, desiring their concurrence. A bill was immediately passed, enabling his majesty to grant letters of incorporation to the two companies. It soon obtained the royal assent; and on the eleventh day of June an end was put to the session. This was the age of interested projects inspired by a venal spirit of adventure; the natural consequence of that avarice, fraud, and profligacy, which the monied corporations had introduced. This, of all others is the most unfavourable æra for a historian. A reader of sentiment and imagination cannot be entertained or interested by a dry detail of such transactions as admit of no warmth, no colouring, no embellishment; a detail which serves only to exhibit an inanimated picture of tasteless vice and mean degeneracy.

§ XXIV. By this time an alliance offensive and defensive was concluded at Stockholm between king George and the queen of Sweden, by which his majesty engaged to send a fleet into the Baltic to act against the czar of Muscovy, in case that monarch should reject reasonable proposals of peace. Peter loudly complained of the insolent interposition of king George, alledging, that he had failed in his engagements, both as elector of Hanover and king of Great-Britain. His resident at London presented a long memorial on this subject, which was answered by the British and Hanoverian ministry. These recriminations served only to inflame the difference. The czar continued to prosecute the war; and at length concluded a peace without a mediator. At the instances, however, of king George and the regent of France, a treaty of peace was signed between the queen of Sweden and the king of Prussia, to whom that prince ceded the city of Stetin, the district between the rivers Oder and Pehnne, with the isles of Wollin and Usedom. On the other hand, he engaged to join the king of Great-Britain in his endeavours to effect a peace between Sweden and Denmark, on condition that the Danish king should restore to queen Ulrica that part of Pomerania which he had seized: he likewise promised to pay to that queen two millions of rixdollars, in consideration of the cessions she had made. The treaty between Sweden and Denmark was signed at Frederickstadt in the month of June, through the mediation of the king of

Great-Britain, who became guaranty for the Dane's keeping possession of Sleswick. He consented, however, to restore the Upper Pomerania, the isle of Rugen, the city of Wismar, and whatever he had taken from Sweden during the war, in consideration of Sweden's renouncing the exemption from toll in the Sound, and the two Belts; and paying to Denmark six hundred thousand rixdollars.

§ XXV. Sir John Norris had again sailed to the Baltic with a strong squadron, to give weight to the king's mediation. When he arrived at Copenhagen he wrote a letter to prince Dolgorouki the czar's ambassador at the court of Denmark, signifying, that he and the king's envoy at Stockholm were vested with full powers to act jointly or separately in quality of plenipotentiaries, in order to effect a peace between Sweden and Muscovy, in the way of mediation. The prince answered, that the czar had nothing more at heart than peace and tranquillity; and, in case his Britannic majesty had any proposals to make to that prince, he hoped the admiral would excuse him from receiving them, as they might be delivered in a much more compendious way. The English fleet immediately joined that of Sweden as auxiliaries; but they had no opportunity of acting against the Russian squadron, which secured itself in Revel. Ulrica queen of Sweden and sister to Charles XII. had married the prince of Hesse, and was extremely desirous that he should be joined with her in the administration of the regal power. She wrote a separate letter to each of the four states, desiring they would confer upon him the sovereignty; and, after some opposition from the nobles, he was actually elected king of Sweden. He sent one of his general officers to notify his elevation to the czar, who congratulated him upon his accession to the throne; and this was the beginning of a negotiation which ended in peace, and established the tranquillity of the North. In the midst of these transactions king George set out from England for his Hanoverian dominions; but, before he departed from Great-Britain he was reconciled to the prince of Wales, through the endeavours of the duke of Devonshire and Mr. Walpole, who, with the earl Cowper, lord Townshend, Mr. Methuen, and Mr. Pulteney, was received into favour, and reunited with the ministry. The earls of Dorset and Bridgewater were promoted to the title of dukes; the lord viscount Castleton was made an earl; Hugh Boscawen was created a baron, and viscount Falmouth; and John Wallop baron and viscount of Lymington.

§ XXVI. While the king was involved at Hanover in a labyrinth of negotiations, the South-sea scheme produced a kind of national delirium in his English dominions. Blunt the projector had taken the hint of his plan from the famous Mississippi scheme formed by Law, which in the preceding year had raised such a ferment in France, and intailed ruin upon many thousand families of that kingdom. In the scheme of Law there was something substantial. An exclusive trade to Louisiana promised some advantage; though the design was defeated by the frantic eagerness of the people. Law himself became the dupe of the regent, who transferred the burthen of fifteen hundred millions of the king's debts to the shoulders of the subjects; while the projector was sacrificed as the scape-goat of political iniquity. The South-sea scheme promised no commercial advantage of any consequence. It was buoyed up by nothing but the folly and rapaciousness of individuals, which became so blind and extravagant, that Blunt, with moderate talents, was able to impose upon the whole nation, and

make

make tools of the other directors, to serve his own purposes, and those of a few associates. When this projector found, that the South-sea stock did not rise according to his expectation upon the bill's being passed, he circulated a report, that Gibraltar and Portmahon would be exchanged for some places in Peru; by which means the English trade to the South-sea would be protected and enlarged. This rumour, diffused by his emissaries, acted like a contagion. In five days the directors opened their books for a subscription of one million, at the rate of three hundred pounds for every hundred pounds capital. Persons of all ranks crowded to the house in such a manner, that the first subscription exceeded two millions of original stock. In a few days this stock advanced to three hundred and forty pounds; and the subscriptions were sold for double the price of the first payment. Without entering into a detail of the proceedings, or explaining the scandalous arts that were practised to enhance the value of the stock, and decoy the unwary, we shall only observe, that by the promise of prodigious dividends, and other infamous arts, the stock was raised to one thousand; and the whole nation infected with the spirit of stock-jobbing to an astonishing degree. All distinctions of party, religion, sex, character, and circumstance, were swallowed up in this universal concern, or in some such pecuniary project. Exchange-alley was filled with a strange concourse of statesmen and clergymen, churchmen and dissenters, Whigs and Tories, physicians, lawyers, tradesmen, and even multitudes of females. All other professions and employments were utterly neglected; and the people's attention wholly engrossed by this and other chimerical schemes, which were known by the denomination of Bubbles. New companies started up every day, under the countenance of the prime nobility. The prince of Wales was constituted governor of the Welch copper company: the duke of Chandos appeared at the head of the York-building company: the duke of Bridgewater formed a third, for building houses in London and Westminster. About an hundred such schemes were projected and put in execution, to the ruin of many thousands. The sums proposed to be raised by these expedients amounted to three hundred millions sterling, which exceeded the value of all the lands in England. The nation was so intoxicated with the spirit of adventure, that people became a prey to the grossest delusion. An obscure projector pretending to have formed a very advantageous scheme, which, however, he did not explain, published proposals for a subscription, in which he promised, that in one month the particulars of his project should be disclosed. In the mean time he declared, that every person paying two guineas, should be intitled to a subscription for one hundred pounds, which would produce that sum yearly. In one forenoon this adventurer received a thousand of these subscriptions; and in the evening set out for another kingdom. The king, before his departure, had issued a proclamation against these unlawful projects; the lords-justices afterwards dismissed all the petitions that had been presented for charters and patents; and the prince of Wales renounced the company of which he had been elected governor. The South-sea scheme raised such a flood of eager avidity and extravagant hope, that the majority of the directors were swept along with it, even contrary to their own sense and inclination; but, Blunt and his accomplices still directed the stream.

§ XXVII. The infatuation prevailed till the eighth day of September, when the stock began to fall. Then did some of the adventurers awake from their delirium. The number of the sellers daily increased. On the twenty-ninth day of the month, the stock had sunk to one hundred and fifty: several eminent goldsmiths and bankers, who had lent great sums upon it, were obliged to stop payment and abscond. The ebb of this portentous tide was so violent, that it bore down every thing in its way; and an infinite number of families was overwhelmed with ruin. Public credit sustained a terrible shock: the nation was thrown into a dangerous ferment; and nothing was heard but the ravings of grief, disappointment, and despair. Some principal members of the ministry were deeply concerned in these fraudulent transactions: when they saw the price of stock sinking daily, they employed all their influence with the bank to support the credit of the South-sea company. That corporation agreed, though with reluctance, to subscribe into the stock of the South-sea company, valued at four hundred per cent. three millions five hundred thousand pounds, which the company was to repay to the bank on Ladyday and Michaelmas of the ensuing year. Books were opened at the bank to take in a subscription for the support of public credit; and considerable sums of money were brought in. By this expedient the stock was raised at first, and those who contrived it seized the opportunity to realize. But the bankruptcy of goldsmiths and the sword-blade company, from the fall of South-sea stock, occasioned such a run upon the bank, that the money was paid away faster than it could be received from the subscription. Then the South-sea stock sunk again; and the directors of the bank finding themselves in danger of being involved in that company's ruin, renounced the agreement, which they were under no obligation to perform. All expedients having failed, and the clamours of the people daily increasing, expresses were dispatched to Hanover, representing the state of the nation, and pressing the king to return. He accordingly shortened his intended stay in Germany, and arrived in England on the eleventh day of November.

§ XXVIII. The parliament being assembled on the eighth day of December, his majesty expressed his concern for the unhappy turn of affairs, which had so deeply affected the public credit at home; and he earnestly desired the commons to consider of the most effectual and speedy methods to restore the national credit, and fix it upon a lasting establishment. The lower house was too much interested in the calamity to postpone the consideration of that subject. The members seemed to lay aside all party distinctions, and vie with each other in promoting an inquiry, by which justice might be done to the injured nation. They ordered the directors to produce an account of all their proceedings. Sir Joseph Jekyll moved, that a select committee might be appointed to examine the particulars of this transaction. Mr. Walpole, now paymaster of the forces, observed, that such a method would protract the inquiry, while the public credit lay in a bleeding condition. He told the house he had formed a scheme for restoring public credit; but, before he would communicate this plan, desired to know whether the subscriptions of public debts and incumbrances, money-subscriptions, and other contracts made with the South-sea company, should remain in the present state. After a warm debate, the question was carried in the affirmative, with this addition, "Unless altered for the ease and relief of the proprietors, by a general court of the
" South-

"South-sea company, or set aside in due course of law." Next day Walpole produced his scheme to ingraft nine millions of South-sea stock into the bank of England, and the like sum into the East-India company, on certain conditions. The house voted, that proposals should be received from the bank, and those two companies, on this subject; and these being delivered, the commons resolved, that an ingrossment of nine millions of the capital stock of the South-sea company, into the capital stock of the bank and East India company, as proposed by these companies, would contribute very much to the restoring public credit. A bill upon this resolution was brought in, passed through both houses, and received the royal assent. Another bill was enacted into a law, for restraining the sub-governor, deputy-governor, directors, treasurer, under-treasurer, cashier, secretary, and accountants, of the South-sea company, from quitting the kingdom, till the end of the next session of parliament; and for discovering their estates and effects, so as to prevent them from being transported or alienated. A committee of secrecy was chosen by ballot, to examine all the books, papers, and proceedings, relating to the execution of the South-sea act.

§ XXIX. The lords were not less eager than the commons, to prosecute this inquiry; though divers members in both houses were deeply involved in the guilt and infamy of the transaction. Earl Stanhope said the estates of the criminals, whether directors or not directors, ought to be confiscated to repair the public losses. He was seconded by lord Carteret, and even by the earl of Sunderland. The duke of Wharton declared he would give up the best friend he had, should he be found guilty. He observed, that the nation had been plundered in a most flagrant and notorious manner; therefore they ought to find out and punish the offenders severely, without respect of persons. The sub and deputy-governors, the directors and officers of the South-sea company, were examined at the bar of the house. Then a bill was brought in, disabling them to enjoy any office in that company, or in the East-India company, or in the bank of England. Three brokers were likewise examined, and made great discoveries. Knight, the treasurer of the South-company, who had been intrusted with the secrets of the whole affair, thought proper to withdraw himself from the kingdom. A proclamation was issued to apprehend him; and another for preventing any of the directors from escaping out of the kingdom. At this period, the secret committee informed the house of commons, that they had already discovered a train of the deepest villainy and fraud that hell ever contrived to ruin a nation, which in due time they would lay before the house; in the mean while, they thought it highly necessary to secure the persons of some of the directors and principal officers of the South-sea company, as well as to seize their papers. An order was made to secure the books and papers of Knight, Surman, and Turner. The persons of Sir George Caswel, Sir John Blunt, Sir John Lambert, Sir John Fellows, and Mr. Grigsby, were taken into custody. Sir Theodore Jansen, Mr. Sawbridge, Sir Robert Chaplain, and Mr. Eyles, were expelled the house and apprehended. Mr. Aislable resigned his employments of chancellor of the exchequer and lord of the treasury; and orders were given to remove all directors of the South-sea company from the places they possessed under the government.

§ XXX.

§ XXX. The lords, in the course of their examination, discovered that large portions of South-sea stock had been given to several persons in the administration and house of commons, for promoting the passage of the South-sea act. The house immediately resolved, that this practice was a notorious and most dangerous species of corruption: that the directors of the South-sea company having ordered great quantities of their stock to be bought for the service of the company, when it was at a very high price, and on pretence of keeping up the price of stock; and at the same time several of the directors, and other officers belonging to the company, having, in a clandestine manner, sold their own stock to the company, such directors and officers were guilty of a notorious fraud and breach of trust; and their so doing was one great cause of the unhappy turn of affairs, that had so much affected public credit. Many other resolutions were taken against that infamous confederacy, in which, however, the innocent were confounded with the guilty. Sir John Blunt refusing to answer certain interrogations, a violent debate arose about the manner in which he should be treated. The duke of Wharton observed, that the government of the best princes was sometimes rendered intolerable to their subjects by bad ministers: he mentioned the example of Sejanus, who had made a division in the Imperial family, and rendered the reign of Claudius hateful to the Romans. Earl Stanhope conceiving this reflection was aimed at him, was seized with a transport of anger. He undertook to vindicate the ministry; and spoke with such vehemence as produced a violent headach, which obliged him to retire. He underwent proper evacuations, and seemed to recover; but next day, in the evening, became lethargic, and being seized with a suffocation, instantly expired. The king deeply regretted the death of this favourite minister, which was the more unfortunate as it happened at such a critical conjuncture; and he appointed the lord Townshend to fill his place of secretary. Earl Stanhope was survived but a few days by the other secretary Mr. Craggs, who died of the small-pox on the sixteenth day of February. Knight, the cashier of the South-sea company, being seized at Tirlmont, by the vigilance of Mr. Gandot, secretary to Mr. Leathes, the British resident at Brussels, was confined in the citadel of Antwerp. Application was made to the court of Vienna, that he should be delivered up to such persons as might be appointed to receive him: but he had found means to interest the states of Brabant in his behalf. They insisted upon their privilege granted by charter, that no person apprehended for any crime in Brabant, should be tried in any other country. The house of commons expressed their indignation at this frivolous pretence: instances were renewed to the emperor; and in the mean time Knight escaped from the citadel of Antwerp.

§ XXXI. The committee of secrecy found, that before any subscription could be made, a fictitious stock of five hundred and seventy-four thousand pounds had been disposed of by the directors, to facilitate the passing the bill. Great part of this was distributed among the earl of Sunderland, Mr. Craggs senior, the dutchess of Kendal, the countess of Platen and her two nieces, Mr. secretary Craggs, and Mr. Aislabye chancellor of the exchequer. In consequence of the committee's report, the house came to several severe though just resolutions, against the directors and officers of the South-sea company; and a bill

bill was prepared for the relief of the unhappy sufferers. Mr. Stanhope, one of the secretaries of the treasury, charged, in the report, with having large quantities of stock and subscriptions, desired that he might have an opportunity to clear himself. His request was granted; and the affair being discussed, he was cleared by a majority of three voices. Fifty thousand pounds in stock had been taken by Knight for the use of the earl of Sunderland. Great part of the house entered eagerly into this inquiry; and a violent dispute ensued. The whole strength of the ministry was mustered in his defence. The majority declared him innocent: the nation in general was of another opinion. He resigned his place of first commissioner in the treasury, which was bestowed upon Mr. Robert Walpole; but he still retained the confidence of his master. With respect to Mr. Aislaby, the evidence appeared so strong against him, that the commons resolved, he had promoted the destructive execution of the South-sea scheme, with a view to his own exorbitant profit, and combined with the directors in their pernicious practices, to the ruin of public credit. He was expelled the house, and committed to the Tower. Mr. Craggs senior died of the lethargy before he underwent the censure of the house. Nevertheless, they resolved, that he was a notorious accomplice with Robert Knight, and some of the directors, in carrying on their scandalous practices; and therefore, that all the estate of which he was possessed, from the first day of December, in the preceding year, should be applied towards the relief of the unhappy sufferers in the South-sea company. The directors, in obedience to the order of the house, delivered inventories of their estates, which were confiscated by act of parliament, towards making good the damages sustained by the company, after a certain allowance was deducted for each, according to his conduct and circumstances.

Earl of Sunderland
Cont. of the Treasury
Oldmixon.
Annals.
Hist. Reg.
Polit. State.
Deb. in Parl.
Tindal.

§ XXXII. The delinquents being thus punished by the forfeiture of their fortunes, the house converted their attention to means for repairing the mischiefs which the scheme had produced. This was a very difficult task, on account of the contending interests of those engaged in the South-sea company, which rendered it impossible to relieve some but at the expence of others. Several wholesome resolutions were taken, and presented with an address to the king, explaining the motives of their proceedings. On the twenty-ninth day of July, the parliament was prorogued for two days only. Then his majesty going to the house of peers, declared, that he had called them together again so suddenly, that they might resume the consideration of the state of public credit. The commons immediately prepared a bill upon the resolutions they had taken. The whole capital stock, at the end of the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty, amounted to about thirty-seven millions eight hundred thousand pounds. The stock allotted to all the proprietors did not exceed twenty four millions five hundred thousand pounds; the remaining capital stock belonged to the company in their corporate capacity. It was the profit arising from the execution of the South-sea scheme; and out of this the bill enacted, that seven millions should be paid to the public. The present act likewise directed several additions to be made to the stock of the proprietors, out of that possessed by the company in their own right: it made a particular distribution of stock, amounting to two millions two hundred thousand pounds; and, upon remitting five millions of the seven

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to be paid to the public, annihilated two millions of their capital. It was enacted, that after these distributions, the remaining capital stock should be divided among all the proprietors. This dividend amounted to thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight pence per cent. and deprived the company of eight millions nine hundred thousand pounds. They had lent above eleven millions on stock unredeemed. Of which the parliament discharged all the debtors upon their paying ten per cent. Upon this article the company's loss exceeded six millions nine hundred thousand pounds; for many debtors refused to make any payment. The proprietors of the stock loudly complained of their being deprived of two millions; and the parliament, in the sequel, revived that sum which had been annihilated. While this affair was in agitation, petitions from counties, cities, and boroughs, in all parts of the kingdom, were presented to the house, crying for justice against the villainy of the directors. Pamphlets and papers were daily published on the same subject; so that the whole nation was exasperated to the highest pitch of resentment. By the wise and vigorous resolutions of the parliament, the South-sea company was soon in a condition to fulfil their engagements with the public; the ferment of the people subsided, and the credit of the nation was restored.

During the reign of George I. the nation was in a state of confusion and disorder. The king's health was declining, and he was unable to govern. The parliament was divided into two parties, the Whigs and the Tories. The Whigs were in power, but they were weak and divided. The Tories were in opposition, but they were strong and united. The nation was in a state of confusion and disorder. The king's health was declining, and he was unable to govern. The parliament was divided into two parties, the Whigs and the Tories. The Whigs were in power, but they were weak and divided. The Tories were in opposition, but they were strong and united. The nation was in a state of confusion and disorder.

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C H A P. III.

§ I. Bill against atheism and immorality postponed. § II. Session closed. § III. Alliance between Great Britain, France, and Spain. § IV. Plague at Marseilles. § V. Debates in the house of lords about Mr. Law the projector. § VI. Sentiments of some lords touching the war with Spain. § VII. Petition of the quakers. The parliament dissolved. § VIII. Rumours of a conspiracy. The bishop of Rochester is committed to the Tower. § IX. New parliament. § X. Declaration of the pretender. § XI. Report of the secret committee. § XII. Bill of pains and penalties against the bishop of Rochester. § XIII. Who is deprived, and driven into perpetual exile. § XIV. Proceedings against those concerned in the lottery at Harburgh. § XV. Affairs of the continent. § XVI. Clamour in Ireland on account of Wood's coinage. § XVII. Death of the duke of Orleans. § XVIII. An act for lessening the public debts. § XIX. Philip king of Spain abdicates the throne. § XX. Abuses in chancery. § XXI. Trial of the earl of Macclesfield. § XXII. Debate about the debts of the civil list. § XXIII. A bill in favour of the late lord Bolingbroke. § XXIV. Treaty of alliance between the courts of Vienna and Madrid. § XXV. Treaty of Hanover. § XXVI. Approved in parliament. § XXVII. Riots in Scotland on account of the malt-tax. § XXVIII. A small squadron sent to the Baltic. § XXIX. Admiral Hoyer's expedition to the West Indies. § XXX. Disgrace of the duke de Ripperda. § XXXI. Substance of the king's speech to parliament. § XXXII. Debate in the house of lords upon the approaching rupture with the emperor and Spain. § XXXIII. Memorial of Mr. Palms the Imperial resident at London. § XXXIV. Conventions with Sweden and Hesse-Cassel. § XXXV. Vote of credit. § XXXVI. Siege of Gibraltar by the Spaniards. § XXXVII. Preliminaries of peace. § XXXVIII. Death and character of George I. king of Great-Britain.

§ I. **D**URING the infatuation produced by this infamous scheme, luxury, vice, and profligacy, increased to a shocking degree of extravagance. The adventurers, intoxicated by their imaginary wealth, pampered themselves with the rarest dainties, and the most expensive wines that could be imported: they purchased the most sumptuous furniture, equipage, and apparel, though without taste or discernment: they indulged their criminal passions to the most scandalous excess: their discourse was the language of pride, insolence, and the most ridiculous ostentation: they affected to scoff at religion and morality; and even to set heaven at defiance. The earl of Nottingham complained, in the house of lords, of the growth of atheism, profaneness, and immorality; and a bill was brought in for suppressing blasphemy and profaneness. It contained several articles seemingly calculated to restrain the liberty granted to nonconformists, by the laws of the last session: for that reason it met with violent opposition. It was supported by the archbishop of Canterbury, the earl of Nottingham, the lords Bathurst and Trevor, the bishops of

London, Winchester, Litchfield, and Coventry. One of these said, he verily believed the present calamity, occasioned by the South-sea project, was a judgment of God on the blasphemy and profaneness of the nation. Lord Onslow replied, "That noble peer must then be a great sinner, for he has lost considerably by the South-sea scheme." The duke of Wharton, who had rendered himself famous by his wit and profligacy, said he was not insensible of the common opinion of the town concerning himself; and gladly seized this opportunity of vindicating his character, by declaring he was far from being a patron of blasphemy, or an enemy to religion. On the other hand, he could not but oppose the bill, because he conceived it to be repugnant to the holy scripture. Then pulling an old family bible from his pocket, he quoted several passages from the epistles of St. Peter and St. Paul; concluding that the bill might be thrown out. The earl of Peterborough declared, that though he was for a parliamentary king, yet he did not desire to have a parliamentary god, or a parliamentary religion; and, should the house declare for one of this kind, he would go to Rome and endeavour to be chosen a cardinal; for he had rather sit in the conclave than with their lordships upon those terms. After a vehement debate, the bill was postponed to a long day, by a considerable majority.

§ II. The season was far advanced before the supplies were granted; and at length they were not voted with that cheerfulness and good humour which the majority had hitherto manifested on such occasions. On the sixteenth day of June, the king sent a message to the house of commons, importing, that he had agreed to pay a subsidy to the crown of Sweden, and he hoped they would enable him to make good his engagements. The leaders of the opposition took fire at this intimation. They desired to know whether this subsidy, amounting to seventy two thousand pounds, was to be payed to Sweden over and above the expence of maintaining a strong squadron in the Baltic? Lord Moleworth observed, that, by our late conduct, we were become the allies of the whole world, and the bubbles of all our allies; for we were obliged to pay them well for their assistance. He affirmed, that the treaties which had been made with Sweden, at different times, were inconsistent and contradictory: that our late engagements with that crown were contrary to the treaties subsisting with Denmark, and directly opposite to the measures formerly concerted with the czar of Muscovy. He said, that in order to engage the czar to yield what he had gained in the course of the war, the king of Prussia ought to give up Stetin, and the elector of Hanover restore Bremen and Verden: that, after all, England had no business to intermeddle with the affairs of the empire: that we reaped little or no advantage by our trade to the Baltic but that of procuring naval stores: he owned that hemp was a very necessary commodity, particularly at this juncture; but he insisted, that if due encouragement were given to some of our plantations in America, we might be supplied from thence at a much cheaper rate than from Sweden and Norway. Notwithstanding these arguments, the Swedish supply was granted; and, in about in three weeks, their complaisance was put to another proof. They were given to understand, by a second message, that the debts of the civil list amounted to five hundred and fifty thousand pounds; and his majesty hoped they would empower him to raise that sum upon the revenue, as he proposed it

it should be replaced to the civil list, and reimbursed by a deduction from the salaries and wages of all officers, and the pensions and other payments from the crown. A bill was prepared for this purpose, though not without warm opposition; and, at the same time, an act passed for a general pardon. On the tenth day of August, the king closed the session with a speech, in which he expressed his concern for the sufferings of the innocent, and a just indignation against the guilty, with respect to the South-sea scheme. These professions were judged necessary to clear his own character, which had incurred the suspicion of some people, who whispered that he was not altogether free from connexions with the projectors of that design; that the emperor had, at his desire, refused to deliver up Knight; and that he favoured the directors and their accomplices.

§ III. The lords Townshend, and Carteret, were now appointed secretaries of state; and the earl of Illy was vested with the office of lord privy-seal of Scotland. In June the treaty of peace between Great Britain and Spain was signed at Madrid. The contracting parties engaged to restore mutually all the effects seized and confiscated on both sides. In particular, the king of England promised to restore all the ships of the Spanish fleet which had been taken in the Mediterranean, or the value of them, if they were sold. He likewise promised, in a secret article, that he would no longer interfere in the affairs of Italy; and the king of Spain made an absolute cession of Gibraltar and Portmahon. At the same time, a defensive alliance was concluded between Great Britain, France, and Spain. All remaining difficulties were referred to a congress at Cambray, where they hoped to consolidate a general peace, by determining all differences between the emperor and his catholic majesty. In the mean time, the powers of Great Britain, France, and Spain, engaged, by virtue of the present treaty, to grant to the duke of Parma a particular protection for the preservation of his territories and rights, and for the support of his dignity. It was also stipulated, that the states-general should be invited to accede to this alliance. The congress at Cambray was opened; but the demands on both sides were so high, that it proved ineffectual. In the mean time, the peace between Russia and Sweden was concluded, on condition that the czar should retain Livonia, Ingria, Estonia, part of Carelia, and of the territory of Wyburg, Riga, Revel, and Narva, in consideration of his restoring part of Finland, and paying two millions of rixdollars to the king of Sweden. The personal animosity subsisting between king George and the czar seemed to increase. Bastagif, the Russian resident at London, having presented a memorial that contained some unguarded expressions, was ordered to quit the kingdom in a fortnight. The czar published a declaration at Petersburg, complaining of this outrage, which, he said, ought naturally to have engaged him to use reprisals; but, as he perceived it was done without any regard to the concerns of England, and only in favour of the Hanoverian interest, he was unwilling that the English nation should suffer for a peace of injustice in which they had no share. He therefore granted to them all manner of security, and free liberty to trade in all his dominions. To finish this strange tissue of negotiations, king George concluded a treaty with the Moors of Afric, against which the Spaniards loudly exclaimed.

§ IV.

§ IV. In the course of this year pope Clement XI. died; and the princess of Wales was delivered of a prince, baptized by the name of William-Augustus, now duke of Cumberland. A dreadful plague raging at Marseilles, a proclamation was published, forbidding any person to come into England, from any part of France between the bay of Biscay and Dunkirk, without certificates of health. Other precautions were taken to guard against contagion. An act of parliament had passed in the preceding session for the prevention of infection, by building pest-houses, to which all infected persons, and all persons of an infected family, should be conveyed; and, by drawing trenches and lines round any city, town, or place infected. The king, in his speech at opening the session of parliament, on the nineteenth day of October, intimated the pacification of the North, by the conclusion of the treaty between Muscovy and Sweden. He desired the house of commons to consider of means for easing the duties upon the imported commodities used in the manufactures of the kingdom. He observed, that the nation might be supplied with naval stores from our own colonies in North America; and that their being employed in this useful and advantageous branch of commerce would divert them from setting up manufactures which directly interfered with those of Great-Britain. He expressed a desire that, with respect to the supplies, his people might reap some immediate benefit from the present circumstances of affairs abroad; and he earnestly recommended to their consideration, means for preventing the plague, particularly by providing against the practice of smuggling.

§ V. One of the first objects that attracted the attention of the upper house, was Law the famous projector. The resentment of the people on account of his Mississippi scheme, had obliged him to leave France. He retired to Italy; was said to have visited the pretender at Rome, from whence he repaired to Hanover; and returned to England from the Baltic, in the fleet commanded by Sir John Norris. The king favoured him with a private audience: he kept open house, and was visited by great numbers of persons of the first quality. Earl Coningsby represented, in the house of lords, that he could not but entertain some jealousy of a person who had done so much mischief in a neighbouring kingdom; who being immensely rich, might do a great deal more hurt here, by tampering with those who were grown desperate, in consequence of being involved in the calamity occasioned by the fatal imitation of his pernicious projects. He observed, that this person was the more dangerous, as he had renounced his natural affection to his country, his allegiance to his lawful sovereign, and his religion, by turning roman catholic. Lord Carteret replied, that Mr. Law had, many years ago, the misfortune to kill a gentleman in a duel; but that having at last received the benefit of the king's clemency, and the appeal lodged by the relations of the deceased being taken off, he was come over to plead his majesty's pardon. He said there was no law to keep any Englishman out of his country; and, as Mr. Law was a subject of Great-Britain, it was not even in the king's power to hinder him from coming over. After some dispute, the subject was dropped, and this great projector pleaded his pardon in the king's bench, according to the usual form.

§ VI.

§ VI. The ministry had by this time secured such a majority in both houses, as enabled them to carry any point without the least difficulty. Some chiefs of the opposition they had brought over to their measures, and among the rest lord Harcourt, who was created a viscount, and gratified with a pension of four thousand pounds. Nevertheless, they could not shut the mouths of the minority, who still preserved the privilege of complaining. Great debates were occasioned by the navy-debt, which was increased to one million seven hundred thousand pounds. Some members in both houses affirmed, that such extraordinary expence could not be for the immediate service of Great-Britain; but, in all probability, for the preservation of foreign acquisitions. The ministers answered, that near two-thirds of the navy-debts were contracted in the late reign: and the parliament acquiesced in this declaration; though, in reality, the navy-debt had been unnecessarily increased by keeping seamen in pay during the winter, and sending fleets to the Mediterranean and Baltic, in order to support the interests of Germany. The duke of Wharton moved, that the treaty with Spain might be layed before the house. The earl of Sunderland said it contained a secret article, which the king of Spain desired might not be made public, until after the treaty of Cambray should be discussed. The question was put, and the duke's motion rejected. The earl of Strafford asserted, that as the war with Spain had been undertaken without necessity or just provocation, so the peace was concluded without any benefit or advantage: that, contrary to the law of nations, the Spanish fleet had been attacked without any declaration of war; even while a British minister and a secretary of state were treating amicably at Madrid: that the war was neither just nor politic, since it interrupted one of the most valuable branches of the English commerce, at a time when the nation groaned under the pressure of heavy debts, incurred by the former long expensive war. He therefore moved for an address to his majesty, desiring, that the instructions given to Sir George Byng, now lord Torrington, should be layed before the house. This motion being likewise, upon the question, rejected, a protest was entered. They voted an address, however, to know in what manner the king had disposed of the ships taken from the Spaniards. Disputes arose also from the bill to prevent infection. Earl Cowper represented, that the removal of persons to a Lazaret, or pest-house, by order of the government, and the drawing lines and trenches round places infected, were powers unknown to the British constitution, inconsistent with the lenity of a free government; such as could never be wisely or usefully put in practice; the more odious because copied from the arbitrary government of France; and impracticable, except by military compulsion. These obnoxious clauses were accordingly appealed, though not without great opposition. Indeed nothing can be more absurd than a constitution that will not admit of just and necessary laws and regulations to prevent the dire consequences of the worst of all calamities. Such restrictions, instead of favouring the lenity of a free government, would be the most cruel imposition that could be layed on a free people, as it would act in diametrical opposition to the great principle of society, which is the preservation of the individual.

§ VII. The quakers having presented a petition to the house of commons, praying that a bill might be brought in for omitting in their solemn affirmation, the words "In the presence of Almighty God:" The house complied

Annals.
Hist. Reg.
Deb. in Parl.
Politic. State.
Tindal.

An. Ch. 1722.

plied with their request: but the bill gave rise to a warm debate among the peers. Dr. Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, said he did not know why such a distinguishing mark of indulgence should be allowed to a set of people who were hardly christians. He was supported by the archbishop of York, the earl of Strafford, and the lord North and Grey. A petition was presented against the bill by the London clergy, who expressed a serious concern lest the minds of good men should be grieved and wounded, and the enemies of Christianity triumph, when they should see such condescension made by a christian legislature, to a set of men who renounce the divine institutions of Christ; particularly that by which the faithful are initiated into his religion, and denominated christians. The petition, though presented by the archbishop of York, was branded by the ministry as a seditious libel, and rejected by the majority. Then, upon a motion by the earl of Sunderland, the house resolved, that such lords as might enter protestations with reasons, should do it before two o'clock on the next sitting day, and sign them before the house rises. The supplies being granted, and the business of the session dispatched, as the court was pleased to dictate, on the seventh day of March the parliament was prorogued. In a few days it was dissolved, and another convoked by proclamation. In the election of members for the new parliament, the ministry exerted itself with such success, as returned a great majority in the house of commons, extremely well adapted for all the purposes of an administration*.

§ VIII. In the beginning of May, the king is said to have received of the duke of Orleans, full and certain information of a fresh conspiracy formed against his person and government. A camp was immediately formed in Hyde-park. All military officers were ordered to repair to their respective commands. Lieutenant-general Maccartney was dispatched to Ireland, to bring over some troops from that kingdom. Some suspected persons were apprehended in Scotland: the states of Holland were desired to have their auxiliary or guaranty troops in readiness to be embarked; and colonel Churchill was sent to the court of France with a private commission. The apprehension raised by this supposed plot, affected the public credit. South-sea stock began to fall; and crowds of people called in their money from the bank. The lord Townshend wrote a letter to the mayor of London, by the king's command, signifying his majesty's having received unquestionable advices, that several of his subjects had entered into a wicked conspiracy, in concert with traitors abroad, for raising a rebellion in favour of a popish pretender; but that he was firmly assured the authors of it neither were nor would be supported by any foreign power. This letter was immediately answered by an affectionate address from the court of aldermen; and the example of London was followed by many other cities and boroughs. The king had determined to visit Hanover, and actually settled a regency, in which the prince of Wales was not

* The earl of Sunderland died in April, after having incurred a great load of popular odium, from his supposed connexions with the directors of the South-sea company. He was a minister of abilities, but violent, impetuous, and headstrong. His death was soon followed by that of his father-in-law the great duke of Marlborough, whose faculties had been for some time greatly

impaired. He was interred in Westminster-abbey, with such profusion of funeral pomp, as evinced the pride and ostentation, much more than the taste and concern of those who directed his obsequies. He was succeeded as master of the ordnance, and colonel of the first regiment of foot-guards, by the earl of Cadogan.

included: but now this intended journey was layed aside: the court was removed to Kensington, and the prince retired to Richmond. The bishop of Rochester having been seized, with his papers, was examined before a committee of the council, who committed him to the Tower for high-treason. The earl of Orrery, the lord North and Grey, Mr. Cochran and Mr. Smith, from Scotland, and Mr. Christopher Layer, a young gentleman of the Temple, were confined in the same place. Mr. George Kelly, an Irish clergyman, Mr. Robert Cotton of Huntingdonshire, Mr. Bingley, Mr. Fleetwood, Neynoe an Irish priest, and several persons, were taken into custody; and Mr. Shippen's house was searched. After bishop Atterbury had remained a fortnight in the Tower, Sir Constantine Phipps presented a petition to the court at the Old Bailey, in the name of Mrs. Morris, that prelate's daughter, praying, that, in consideration of the bishop's ill state of health, he might be either brought to a speedy trial, bailed, or discharged: but this was over-ruled. The churchmen through the whole kingdom were filled with indignation at the confinement of a bishop, which they said was an outrage upon the church of England, and the episcopal order. Far from concealing their sentiments on this subject, the clergy ventured to offer up public prayers for his health, in almost all the churches and chapels of London and Westminster. In the mean time, the king, attended by the prince of Wales, made a summer-progress through the western counties.

§ IX. The new parliament being assembled on the ninth day of October, his majesty made them acquainted with the nature of the conspiracy. He said the conspirators had, by their emissaries, made the strongest instances for succours from foreign powers; but were disappointed in their expectations. Nevertheless, confiding in their numbers, they resolved once more, upon their own strength, to attempt the subversion of his government. He said they had provided considerable sums of money, engaged great numbers of officers from abroad, secured large quantities of arms and ammunition; and, had not the plot been timely discovered, the whole nation, and particularly the city of London, would have been involved in blood and confusion. He expatiated upon the mildness and integrity of his own government; and inveighed against the ingratitude, the implacability, and madness, of the disaffected; concluding with an assurance, that he would steadily adhere to the constitution in church and state, and continue to make the laws of the realm the rule and measure of all his actions. Such addresses were presented by both houses as the fears and attachment of the majority may be supposed to have dictated on such an occasion. A bill was brought into the house of lords, for suspending the habeas corpus act for a whole year: but they were far from being unanimous in agreeing to such an unusual length of time. By this suspension, they, in effect, vested the ministry with a dictatorial power over the liberties of the people.

§ X. The opposition in the house of commons was so violent, that Mr. Robert Walpole found it necessary to alarm their apprehensions by a dreadful story of a design to seize the bank and the exchequer, and then proclaim the pretender on the Royal Exchange. Their passions being inflamed by this ridiculous artifice, they passed the bill, which immediately received the royal assent. The duke of Norfolk being brought from Bath, was examined before

the council, and committed to the Tower on suspicion of high-treason. On the sixteenth day of November, the king sent to the house of peers the original, and printed copy, of a declaration signed by the pretender. It was dated at Lucca on the twentieth day of September, in the present year, and appeared to be a proposal addressed to the subjects of Great-Britain and Ireland, as well as to all foreign princes and states. In this paper, the chevalier de St. George having mentioned the late violations of the freedom of elections; conspiracies invented to give a colour to new oppressions; infamous informers; and the state of proscription, in which he supposed every honest man to be, very gravely proposed, that if king George would relinquish to him the throne of Great-Britain, he would, in return, bestow upon him the title of king in his native dominions, and invite all other states to confirm it: he likewise promised to leave to king George his succession to the British dominions secure, whenever, in due course, his natural right should take place. The lords unanimously resolved, that this declaration was a false, insolent, and traitorous libel; and ordered it to be burned at the Royal Exchange. The commons concurred in these resolutions. Both houses joined in an address, expressing their utmost astonishment and indignation at the surprising insolence of the pretender; and assuring his majesty, they were determined to support his title to the crown with their lives and fortunes. The commons prepared a bill for raising one hundred thousand pounds upon the real and personal estates of all papists, or persons educated in the popish religion, towards defraying the expences occasioned by the late rebellion and disorders. This bill, though strenuously opposed by some moderate members, as a species of persecution, was sent up to the house of lords, together with another obliging all persons, being papists, in Scotland, and all persons in Great-Britain refusing and neglecting to take the oaths appointed for the security of the king's person and government, to register their names and real estates. Both these bills passed through the upper house without amendments, and received the royal sanction.

§ XI. Mr. Laver being brought to his trial at the king's-bench, on the twenty-first day of November, was convicted of having enlisted men for the pretender's service, in order to stir up a rebellion; and received sentence of death. He was reprieved for some time, and examined by a committee of the house of commons: but he either could not, or would not, discover the particulars of the conspiracy; so that he suffered death at Tyburn, and his head was fixed up at Temple-bar. Mr. Pulteney, chairman of the committee, reported to the house, that, from the examination of Laver and others, a design had been formed by persons of figure and distinction at home, in conjunction with traitors abroad, for placing the pretender on the throne of these realms: that their first intention was to procure a body of foreign troops to invade the kingdom at the time of the late elections; but the conspirators being disappointed in this expectation, resolved to make an attempt at the time that it was generally believed the king intended to go to Hanover, by the help of such officers and soldiers as could pass into England unobserved, from abroad, under the command of the late duke of Ormond, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms, provided in Spain for that purpose; at which time the Tower was to have been seized. That this scheme being also defeated by the vigilance of the government, they de-
ferred

ferred their enterprize till the breaking up of the camp; and, in the meantime, employed their agents to corrupt and seduce the officers and soldiers of the army: that it appeared from several letters and circumstances, that the late duke of Ormond, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, the lord North and Grey, and the bishop of Rochester, were concerned in this conspiracy: that their acting agents were Christopher Layer and John Plunket, who travelled with him to Rome; Dennis Kelly, George Kelly, and Thomas Carte, nonjuring clergymen; Neynoe the Irish priest, who by this time was drowned in the river Thames, in attempting to make his escape from the messenger's house, Mrs. Spilman, alias Yallop, and John Sample.

§ XII. This pretended conspiracy, in all likelihood, extended no farther than the first rudiments of a design that was never digested into any regular form; otherwise the persons said to be concerned in it must have been infatuated to a degree of frenzy: for they were charged with having made application to the regent of France, who was well known to be intimately connected with the king of Great-Britain. The house of commons, however, resolved, that it was a detestable and horrid conspiracy, for raising a rebellion, seizing the Tower and the city of London, laying violent hands upon the persons of his most sacred majesty and the prince of Wales, in order to subvert our present happy establishment in church and state, by placing a popish pretender upon the throne: that it was formed and carried on by persons of figure and distinction, and their agents and instruments, in conjunction with traitors abroad. Bills were brought in and passed, for inflicting pains and penalties against John Plunket and George Kelly, who were by these acts to be kept in close custody during his majesty's pleasure, in any prison in Great-Britain; and that they should not attempt to escape on pain of death, to be inflicted upon them and their assistants. Mr. Yonge made a motion for a bill of the same nature against the bishop of Rochester. This was immediately brought into the house, though Sir William Wyndham affirmed there was no evidence against him but conjectures and hearsays. The bishop wrote a letter to the speaker, importing, that though conscious of his own innocence, he should decline giving the house any trouble that day, contenting himself with the opportunity of making his defence before another, of which he had the honour to be a member. Counsel being heard for the bill, it was committed to a grand committee on the sixth day of April, when the majority of the Tory members quitted the house. It was then moved, that the bishop should be deprived of his office and benefice, and banished the kingdom for ever: Mr. Lawson and Mr. Oglethorpe spoke in his favour.

§ XIII. The bill being passed and sent up to the lords, the bishop was brought to his trial before them on the ninth of May. Himself and his counsel having been heard, the lords proceeded to consider the articles of the bill; when they read it a third time, a motion was made to pass it, and then a long and warm debate ensued. Earl Powlet demonstrated the danger and injustice of swerving in such an extraordinary manner from the fixed rules of evidence. The duke of Wharton having summed up the depositions, and proved the insufficiency of them, concluded with saying, that let the consequences be what they would, he hoped such a hellish stain would never fully the lustre and glory of that illustrious house, as to condemn a man without the least evidence.

The lord Bathurst spoke against the bill with equal strength and eloquence. He said, if such extraordinary proceedings were countenanced, he saw nothing remaining for him and others to do, but to retire to their country-houses, and there, if possible, quietly enjoy their estates within their own families, since the least correspondence, the least intercepted letter, might be made criminal. He observed, that cardinal Mazarin boasted, that if he had but two lines of any man's writing, he could, by means of a few circumstances, attested by witnesses, deprive him of life at his pleasure. Turning to the bench of bishops, who had been generally unfavourable to Dr. Atterbury, he said, he could hardly account for the inveterate hatred and malice some persons bore the learned and ingenious bishop of Rochester, unless they were intoxicated with the infatuation of some savage Indians, who believed they inherited not only the spoils, but even the abilities of any great enemy whom they had killed in battle. The bill was supported by the duke of Argyle, the earl of Seafield, and the lord Lechmere, who was answered by earl Cowper. This nobleman observed, that the strongest argument urged in behalf of the bill, was necessity; but, that for his part, he saw no necessity that could justify such unprecedented, and such dangerous proceedings, as the conspiracy had above twelve months before been happily discovered, and the effects of it prevented: that besides the intrinsic weight and strength of the government, the hands of those at the helm had been still further fortified by the suspension of the habeas corpus act, and the additional troops which had been raised. He said, the known rules of evidence, as layed down at first, and established by the law of the land, were the birthright of every subject in the nation, and ought to be constantly observed, not only in the inferior courts of judicature, but also in both houses of parliament, till altered by the legislature: that the admitting of the precarious and uncertain evidence of the clerks of the post-office, was a very dangerous precedent. In former times it was thought very grievous, that in capital cases a man should be affected by similitude of hands; but here the case was much worse, since it was allowed, that the clerks of the post-office could carry the similitude of hands four months in their minds. He applauded the bishop's noble deportment in declining to answer before the house of commons, whose proceedings in this unprecedented manner, against a lord of parliament, was such an incroachment on the prerogative of the peerage, that if they submitted to it, by passing the bill, they might be termed the last of British peers, for giving up their antient privileges. The other party were not so solicitous about answering reasons, as eager to put the question; when the bill passed, and a protest was entered. By this act the bishop was deprived of all offices, benefices, and dignities; and rendered incapable of enjoying any for the future: he was banished the realm, and subjected to the pains of death, in case he should return, as were all persons that should correspond with him during his exile. Doctor Friend the celebrated physician, who was a member of the house, and had exerted himself strenuously in behalf of the bishop, was now taken into custody on suspicion of treasonable practices.

§ XIV. The next object that excited the resentment of the commons, was the scheme of a lottery to be drawn at Harburgh in the king's German dominions. The house appointed a committee to inquire into this and other lotteries, at that time on foot in London. The scheme was published, on pretence of raising

raising a subscription for maintaining a trade between Great-Britain and the king's territories on the Elbe; but, it was a mysterious scene of iniquity, which the committee, with all their penetration, could not fully discover. They reported, however, that it was an infamous fraudulent undertaking, whereby many unwary persons had been drawn in, to their great loss: and, that the manner of carrying it on had been a manifest violation of the laws of the kingdom: that the managers and agents of this lottery had, without any authority for so doing, made use of his majesty's royal name, thereby to give countenance to the infamous project, and induce his majesty's subjects to engage or be concerned therein. A bill was brought in to suppress this lottery; and to oblige the managers of it to make restitution of the money they had received from the contributors. At the same time the house resolved, That John lord viscount Barrington had been notoriously guilty of promoting, abetting, and carrying on that fraudulent undertaking; for which offence he should be expelled the house. The court of Vienna having erected an East-India company at Ostend, upon a scheme formed by one Colebrook an English merchant, Sir Nathaniel Gould represented to the house of commons, the great detriment which the English East-India company had already received, and was likely further to sustain by this Ostend company. The house immediately resolved, That for the subjects of this kingdom to subscribe, or be concerned in encouraging any subscription, to promote an East-India company now erecting in the Austrian Netherlands, was a high crime and misdemeanour: and a law was enacted for preventing British subjects from engaging in that enterprize. By another act relating to the South-sea company, the two millions of stock which had been annihilated, were revived, added to the capital, and divided among the proprietors. A third law passed, for the more effectual execution of justice in a part of Southwark, called the Mint, where a great number of debtors had taken sanctuary, on the supposition that it was a privileged place. On the twenty-seventh of May the session was closed, with a speech that breathed nothing but panegyric, acknowledgment, and affection, to a parliament which had complied with all his majesty's wishes.

§ XV. His majesty having ennobled the son of Mr. Robert Walpole, in consideration of the father's services, made a good number of church-promotions, admitted the imprisoned lords and gentlemen to bail, granted a pardon to lord Bolingbroke, and ordered the bishop of Rochester to be conveyed to the continent, set out himself for Hanover, leaving the administration of his kingdoms in the hands of a regency, lord Harcourt being one of the justices. The king was attended by the two secretaries, the lords Townshend and Carteret, who were counted able negotiators. The affairs of the continent had begun to take a new turn. The interests and connexions of the different princes were become perplexed and embarrassed; and king George resolved to unravel them by dint of negotiation. Understanding that a treaty was on the carpet between the czar and the king of Sweden, favourable to the duke of Holstein's pretensions to Sleswick, the possession of which the elector of Hanover had guaranteed to Denmark, his majesty began to be in pain for Bremen and Verden. The regent of France and the king of Spain had now compromised all differences; and their reconciliation was cemented by a double marriage between Philip's sons and the regent's daughters. The former proposed new treaties to England; but insisted upon the restitution of Gibraltar and Portmahon, as well as upon

upon the king's openly declaring against the Ostend company. His Britannic majesty was apprehensive, that should the emperor be hard pressed on that subject, he might join the czar and the king of Sweden, and promote their designs in favour of the duke of Holstein. On the other hand, all the Italian powers exclaimed against the treaty of London. The pope had protested against any thing that might have been decided at Cambray to the prejudice of his right. Memorials to the same effect had been presented by the king of Sardinia, the dukes of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena. France and Spain were inclined to support them against the house of Austria. Europe seemed to be on the eve of a new war. King George was intangled in such a variety of treaties and interests, that he knew not well how to extricate himself from the troublesome engagements he had contracted. By declaring for the emperor he must have countenanced the new establishment at Ostend, which was so prejudicial to his British subjects, and incurred the resentment of France, Spain, and their allies of Italy. In renouncing the interest of the emperor, he would have exposed his German dominions. In vain he exhorted the emperor to relax in his disputes with Spain, and give up the Ostend company, which was so detrimental and disagreeable to his faithful allies: the court of Vienna promised in general to observe the treaties which it had concluded; but, declined entering into any particular discussion; so that all his majesty's endeavours issued in contracting closer connexions with Prussia and Denmark. All those negotiations carried on, all those treaties concluded by king George, with almost every prince and state in Christendom, which succeeded one another so fast, and appear, at first view, so intricate and unaccountable, were founded upon two simple and natural principles, namely, the desire of ascertaining his acquisitions as elector of Hanover; and his resolution to secure himself against the disaffection of his British subjects, and the efforts of the pretender.

§ XVI. Great Britain, at this period, enjoyed profound tranquillity. Ireland was a little ruffled by an incident which seems to have been misrepresented to the people of that kingdom. William Wood had obtained a patent for furnishing Ireland with copper currency, in which it was deficient. A great clamour was raised against this coin. The parliament of that kingdom, which met in September, resolved, That it would be prejudicial to the revenue, destructive of trade, and of dangerous consequence to the rights of the subject: That the patent had been obtained by misrepresentation: That the halfpence wanted weight: That even, if the terms of the patent had been complied with, there would have been a great loss to the nation: That granting the power of coinage to a private person had ever been highly prejudicial to the kingdom; and would at all times be of dangerous consequence. Addresses from both houses were presented to the king on this subject. The affair was referred to the lords of the privy-council of England. They justified the conduct of the patentee, upon the report of Sir Isaac Newton and other officers of the mint, who had made the assay and trial of Wood's halfpence; and found he had complied with the terms of the patent. They declared, that this currency exceeded in goodness, fineness, and value of metal, all the copper money which had been coined for Ireland, in the reigns of king Charles II. king James II. king William and queen Mary. The privy council likewise demonstrated, that his majesty's predecessors had always exercised the undoubted prerogative.

prerogative of granting patents for copper coinage in Ireland to private persons: that none of these patents had been so beneficial to the kingdom as this granted to William Wood, who had not obtained it in an unprecedented manner; but after a reference to the attorney and solicitor-general, and after Sir Isaac Newton had been consulted in every particular: finally, they proved, by a great number of witnesses, that there was a real want of such money in Ireland. Notwithstanding this decision, the ferment of the Irish nation was industriously kept up by clamour, pamphlets, papers, and lampoons, written by dean Swift, and other authors; so that Wood voluntarily reduced his coinage from the value of one hundred thousand to that of forty thousand pounds. Thus the noise was silenced. The commons of Ireland passed an act for accepting the affirmation of the quakers instead of an oath; and voted three hundred and forty thousand pounds towards discharging the debt of the nation, which amounted to about double that sum.

§ XVII. In the month of October England lost a worthy nobleman in the death of earl Cowper, who had twice discharged the office of lord chancellor, with equal discernment and integrity. He was profoundly skilled in the laws of his country; in his apprehension quick and penetrating; in his judgment clear and determinate. He possessed a manly eloquence: his manner was agreeable, and deportment graceful. This year was likewise remarkable for the death of the duke of Orleans regent of France; who, since the decease of Lewis XIV. had ruled that nation with the most absolute authority. He was a prince of taste and spirit, endowed with shining talents for empire, which he did not fail to display, even in the midst of effeminate pursuits and idle debauchery. From the infirm constitution of the infant king, he had conceived hopes of ascending the throne, and taken his measures accordingly; but the young monarch's health began to be established, and all the duke's schemes were defeated by an apoplexy, of which he died in the fiftieth year of his age, after having nominated the duke of Bourbon as prime minister. King George immediately received assurances of the good disposition of the French court, to cultivate and even improve the good understanding so happily established between France and Great-Britain. The king arrived in England on the eighteenth day of December; and on the ninth of January the parliament was assembled. His majesty, in his speech, recommended to the commons the care of the public debts; and he expressed his satisfaction at seeing the sinking fund improved and augmented, so as to put the debt of the nation into a method of being speedily and gradually discharged.

§ XVIII. This was the repeated theory of patriotism, which unhappily for the subjects was never reduced to practice: not, but that a beginning of such a laudable work was made in this very session, by an act for lessening the public debts, by which it was provided, that the annuities at five per cent. charged on the general fund by a former act, except such as had been subscribed into the South-sea, together with the unsubscribed blanks of the lottery, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fourteen, should be payed off at Lady-day of the year next ensuing, with the money arising from the sinking fund. The ministry, however, did not persevere in this path of prudent oeconomy. The commons granted all the supplies that were demanded. They voted ten thousand seamen; and the majority, though not without violent opposition, agreed

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Polit. State.
Hist. Regist.
Annals of K.
George.
Mem. Hist.
Tindal.

An. Ch. 1724.

to maintain four thousand additional troops which had been raised in the preceding year; so that the establishment of the land-forces amounted to eighteen thousand two hundred and sixty-four. The expence of the year was defrayed by a land-tax and malt-tax. The commons having dispatched the supply, took into consideration a grievance arising from protections granted by foreign ministers, peers, and members of parliament, under which profligate persons used to screen themselves from the prosecution of their just creditors. The commons resolved, That all protections granted by members of that house should be declared void, and immediately withdrawn. The lords made a declaration to the same purpose, with an exception of menial servants, and those necessarily employed about the estates of peers*. On the twenty-fourth day of April his majesty closed the session in the usual manner; made some alterations in the disposition of the great offices of state; and sent Mr. Horatio Walpole as ambassador extraordinary to the court of France.

§ XIX. In the beginning of this year Philip king of Spain, retiring with his queen to the monastery of St. Ildefonso, sent the marquis of Grimaldi, his principal secretary of state, to his son the prince of Asturias, with a solemn renunciation of the crown, and a letter of advice, in which he exhorted him to cultivate the Blessed Virgin with the warmest devotion; and put himself and his kingdoms under her protection. The renunciation was published through the whole monarchy of Spain; and the council of Castile resolved, That Lewis might assume the reins of government without assembling the cortes. The English minister at Paris was instructed to interpose in behalf of the French protestants, against whom a severe edict had been lately published; but his remonstrances produced no effect. England, in the mean time, was quite barren of such events as deserve a place in history. The government was now firmly established on the neck of opposition; and commerce flourished even under the load of grievous imposition.

§ XX. The next parliament, which met on the twelfth day of November, seemed to be assembled for no other purpose than that of establishing funds for the expence of the ensuing year; tho' the session was distinguished by a remarkable incident; namely, the trial of the earl of Macclesfield lord-chancellor of England. This nobleman had connived at certain venal practices touching the sale of places, and the money of suitors deposited with the masters of chancery, so as to incur the general reproach of the nation. He found it necessary to resign the great-seal in the beginning of January. On the ninth day of the ensuing month the king sent a message to the commons, importing, that his majesty having reason to apprehend, that the suitors in the court of chancery were in danger of losing a considerable sum of money, from the insufficiency of some of the mas-

* The duke of Newcastle was now appointed secretary of state; the duke of Grafton lord-chamberlain; and lord Carteret lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

The king instituted a professorship for the modern languages in each university.

In the month of May died Robert Harley earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, who had been a munificent patron of genius and literature; and completed a very valuable collection of manuscripts.

The practice of inoculation for the small-pox was by this time introduced into England from Turkey. Prince Frederick, the two princesses Amelia and Carolina, the duke of Bedford and his sister, with many other persons of distinction, underwent this operation with success.

Dr. Henry Sacheverel died in June, after having bequeathed five hundred pounds to the late bishop of Rochester.

ters,

ters, thought himself obliged in justice and compassion to the said sufferers, to take the most speedy and proper method the law would allow, for inquiring into the state of the masters accounts, and securing their effects for the benefit of the suitors; and his majesty having had several reports layed before him, in pursuance of the directions he had given, had ordered the reports to be communicated to the house, that they may have as full and as perfect a view of this important affair as the shortness of the time, and the circumstances and nature of the proceedings would admit.

§ XXI. These papers being taken into consideration, Sir George Oxenden observed, that enormous abuses had crept into the high court of chancery: that the crimes and misdemeanors of the late lord-chancellor were many and various, but might be reduced to the following heads: that he had embezzled the estates and effects of many widows, orphans, and lunatics: that he had raised the offices of masters in chancery to an exorbitant price; trusting in their hands large sums of money belonging to suitors, that they might be enabled to comply with his exorbitant demands: and, that in several cases he had made divers irregular orders. He therefore moved, That Thomas earl of Macclesfield should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanor. Mr. Pulteney moved, That this affair might be left to the consideration of a select committee. Sir William Wyndham asserted, that in proceeding by way of impeachment upon reports from above, they would make a dangerous precedent; and seem to give up the most valuable of their privileges, the inquest after state-criminals. The question being put, it was carried for the impeachment. The earl was accordingly impeached at the bar of the upper house: a committee was appointed to prepare articles; and a bill was brought in to indemnify the masters in chancery from the penalties of the law, upon discovering what considerations they had payed for their admission to their respective offices. The trial lasted twenty days; the earl was convicted of fraudulent practices, and condemned in a fine of thirty thousand pounds, with imprisonment until that sum should be payed. He was immediately committed to the Tower, where he continued about six weeks; but, upon producing the money he was discharged; and Sir Peter King, created baron of Oakham, succeeded him in the office of chancellor.

Annals.
Mem. Hist.
Deb. in Parl.
Tindal.

An. Ch. 1725.

§ XXII. His majesty, on the eighth day of April, gave the house of commons to understand, that having been engaged in some extraordinary expences, he hoped he should be enabled to raise a sum of money, by making use of the funds lately established for the payment of the civil-list annuities, in order to discharge the debts contracted in his civil government. Mr. Pulteney, cofferer of the household, moved for an address, That an account should be layed before the house of all monies payed for secret-service, pensions, and bounties, from the twenty-fifth day of March in the year one thousand seven hundred and one, to the twenty-fifth of the same month in the present year. This address being voted, a motion was made to consider the king's message. Mr. Pulteney urged, that this consideration should be postponed until the house should have examined the papers that were the subject of the address. He expressed his surprize, that a debt amounting to above five hundred thousand pounds should be contracted in three years: he said, he did not wonder that some persons should be so eager to make good the deficiencies of the civil-list, since they

and their friends enjoyed such a share of that revenue; and, he desired to know, Whether this was all that was due, or, whether they should expect another reckoning? This gentleman began to be dissatisfied with the measures of the ministry; and his sarcasms were aimed at Mr. Walpole, who undertook to answer his objections. The commons took the message into consideration, and passed a bill, enabling his majesty to raise any sum not exceeding one million, by exchequer-bills, loans, or otherwise, on the credit of the deductions of sixpence per pound, directed by an act of parliament of the seventh year of his majesty, and of the civil-list revenues, at an interest not exceeding three pounds per cent. till repayment of the principal.

§ XXIII. On the twentieth day of April a petition was presented to the house by the lord Finch, in behalf of Henry St. John, late viscount Bolingbroke, praying, that the execution of the law with respect to his forfeitures might be suspended, as a pardon had suspended it with respect to his life. Mr. Walpole signified to the house, by his majesty's command, that seven years before the petitioner had made his humble application and submission to the king, with assurances of duty, allegiance, and fidelity: that from his behaviour since that time, his majesty was convinced of his being a fit object of his mercy; and consented to his petitioning the house. The petition being read, Mr. Walpole declared himself fully satisfied, that the petitioner had sufficiently atoned for his past offences; and therefore deserved the favour of that house, so far as to enable him to enjoy the family-inheritance that was settled upon him, which he could not do by virtue of his majesty's pardon, without an act of parliament. Lord Finch moved, That a bill might be brought in for this purpose; and was warmly opposed by Mr. Methuen, comptroller of the household, who represented Bolingbroke as a monster of iniquity. His remonstrance was supported by lord William Powlet and Mr. Onslow; nevertheless, the bill was prepared, passed through both houses, and received the royal assent. An act being passed for disarming the Highlanders of Scotland: another for regulating elections within the city of London: a third for reducing the interest of several bank annuities, together with some bills of a private nature; the parliament was prorogued in May, after the king had, in the warmest terms of acknowledgment*, expressed his approbation of their conduct. Then he appointed lords-justices to govern the nation in his absence; and set out in June for his German dominions.

§ XXIV. The tide of political interests on the continent had begun to flow in a new channel, so as to render ineffectual the mounds which he had raised by his multiplicity of negotiations. Lewis, the Spanish monarch, dying soon after his elevation to the throne, his father Philip resumed the crown which he had resigned; and gave himself up implicitly to the conduct of his queen, who was a princess of indefatigable intrigue and insatiate ambition. The infanta, who had been married to Lewis XV. of France, was so disagreeable to her

* On the fifth day of December the princess of Wales was delivered of a princess, christened by the name of Louisa; and afterwards married to the king of Denmark. She died December the nineteenth, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one.

Immediately after the session of parliament the

king revived the order of the Bath, thirty-eight in number, including the sovereign.

William Bateman was created baron of Calmore in Ireland, and viscount Bateman; and Sir Robert Walpole, who had been one of the revived knights of the Bath, was now honoured with the order of the garter.

husband,

husband, that the whole French nation began to be apprehensive of a civil war, in consequence of his dying without male issue: he therefore determined, with the advice of his council, to send back the infanta, as the nuptials had not been consummated; and she was attended to Madrid by the marquis de Monteleone. The queen of Spain resented this insult offered to her daughter; and, in revenge, dismissed mademoiselle de Beaujolois, one of the regent's daughters, who had been betrothed to her son Don Carlos. As the congress at Cambray had proved ineffectual, she offered to adjust her differences with the emperor under the sole mediation of Great-Britain. This was an honour which king George declined. He was averse to any undertaking that might interrupt the harmony subsisting between him and the court of Versailles; and he had taken umbrage at the emperor's refusing to grant the investiture of Bremen and Verden, except upon terms which he did not choose to embrace. The peace between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, which he refused to mediate, was effected by a private negotiation, under the management of the duke de Ripperda, a native of the states-general, who had renounced the protestant religion, and entered into the service of his catholic majesty. By two treaties, signed at Vienna in the month of April, the emperor acknowledged Philip as king of Spain and the Indies, promising, that he would not molest him in the possession of those dominions that were secured to him by the treaty of Utrecht. Philip renounced all pretensions to the dominions in Italy and the Netherlands, adjudged to the emperor by the treaty of London: Charles granted the investiture of the dukedoms of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, to the eldest son of the queen of Spain, in default of heirs in the present possessors, as masculine heirs of the empire. Spain became guaranty of the Austrian succession, according to the pragmatic sanction, by which the dominions of that house were settled on the emperor's heirs general, and declared to be a perpetual, indivisible, and inseparable fief to the primogeniture. By the commercial treaty of Vienna, the Austrian subjects were intitled to advantages in trade with Spain, which no other nation enjoyed. His catholic majesty guaranteed the Ostend East-India company; and agreed to pay an annual subsidy of four millions of piasters to the emperor. Great sums were remitted to Vienna: the Imperial forces were augmented to a formidable number; and other powers were solicited to engage in this alliance, to which the court of Petersburg actually acceded.

§ XXV. The king of Great-Britain took the alarm. The emperor and he had for some time treated each other with manifest coldness. He had reason to fear some attempt upon his German dominions; and projected a defensive treaty with France and Prussia. This alliance, limited to the term of fifteen years, was negotiated and concluded at Hanover, in the month of September. It implied a mutual guaranty of the dominions possessed by the contracting parties, their rights and privileges, those of commerce in particular, and an engagement to procure satisfaction to the protestants of Thörn, who had lately been oppressed by the catholics, contrary to the treaty of Oliva. The king having taken these precautions at Hanover, set out on his return for England, embarked at Helvoetsluys in the middle of December; and after having been exposed to the fury of a dreadful storm, was landed with great difficulty at Rye, from whence he proceeded by land to London. The parliament meeting on the twentieth day of the next month, he gave them to understand, that the dis-

treffed condition of some of their protestant brethren abroad, and the negotiations and engagements contracted by some foreign powers, which seemed to have layed the foundation of new troubles and disturbances in Europe, and to threaten his subjects with the loss of several of the most advantageous branches of their trade, had obliged him to concert with other powers, such measures as might give a check to the ambitious views of those who were endeavouring to render themselves formidable; and put a stop to the further progress of such dangerous designs. He told them, that the enemies of his government were already very busy, by their instruments and emissaries in those courts, whose measures seemed most to favour their purposes, in soliciting and promoting the cause of the pretender. One sees, at first sight, that the interests of Germany dictated the treaty of Hanover; but, in order to secure the approbation of Great-Britain, upon which the support of this alliance chiefly depended, it was judged necessary to insert the articles relating to commerce and the protestant religion, as if the engagement had been contracted purely for the advantage and glory of England. In a word, the ministry began now to ring the changes upon a few words that have been repeated ever since, like cabalistical sounds, by which the nation has been enchanted into a very dangerous connexion with the concerns of the continent. They harangued, they insisted upon the machinations of the disaffected, the designs of a popish pretender, the protestant interest, and the ballance of power, until these expressions became absolutely terms of ridicule, with every person of common sense and reflection. The people were told, that the emperor and king of Spain, exclusive of the public treaties concluded at Vienna, had entered into private engagements, importing, that the Imperialists should join the Spaniards in recovering Gibraltar and Portmahon by force of arms, in case the king of England should refuse to restore them amicably, according to a solemn promise he had made: that a double marriage should take place between the two infants of Spain, and the two archdutchesses of Austria: and, that means should be taken to place the pretender on the throne of Great-Britain.

§ XXVI. When the treaties of Vienna and Hanover fell under consideration of the house of commons, Horatio Walpole, afterwards termed "the ballance-master," in derision, opened the debate with a long unanimated oration, giving a detail of the affairs of Europe since the treaty of Utrecht. He enumerated the barrier-treaty, the convention for executing that treaty, the defensive alliance with the emperor, the other with the most christian king and the states-general, another convention, the quadruple alliance, the congress at Cambray, the treaty of Hanover, and that of Vienna. He explained the nature of each engagement. He said, the main design of the treaty of commerce concluded between the emperor and Spain, was to countenance and support the East-India company established at Ostend, which interfered so essentially with the East-India companies of England and Holland, and was directly contrary to several solemn treaties still in force. He enlarged upon the danger to which the ballance of power would be exposed, should the issue-male of this projected marriage between the houses of Austria and Spain, ever possess the Imperial dignity and the kingdom of Spain together. The reader will take notice, that this very man was one of those who exclaimed against that article of the treaty at Utrecht, which prevented the power of those two houses from being immediately united in the person of the emperor. He did not forget to expatiate upon the pretended secret engagement

engagement concerning Gibraltar and Minorca; and the king's pious concern for the distressed protestants of Thorn in Poland. In vain did Mr. Shippen urge, that the treaty of Hanover would engage the British nation in a war for the defence of the king's German dominions, contrary to an express provision made in the act of limitation. These arguments had lost all weight. The opposition was so inconsiderable, that the ministry had no reason to be in pain about any measure they should propose. An address was voted and delivered to his majesty, approving the alliance he had concluded at Hanover, in order to obviate and disappoint the dangerous views and consequences of the treaty of peace betwixt the emperor and the king of Spain; and promising to support his majesty against all insults and attacks that should be made upon any of his territories, though not belonging to the crown of Great-Britain. An address of the same kind was presented by the house of lords in a body. A bill was brought in, empowering the commissioners of the treasury to compound with Mr. Richard Hampden late treasurer of the navy, for a debt he owed to the crown, amounting to eight and forty thousand pounds. This deficiency was occasioned by his embarking in the South-sea scheme. The king recommended his petition; and the house complied with his request, in consideration of his great-grandfather the famous John Hampden, who made such a noble stand against the arbitrary measures of the first Charles.

§ XXVII. The malt-tax was found so grievous to Scotland, that the people refused to pay it, and riots were excited in different parts of the kingdom. At Glasgow, the populace, armed with clubs and staves, rifled the house of Daniel Campbell their representative in parliament, who had voted for the bill; and maltreated some excisemen who attempted to take an account of the malt. General Wade, who commanded the forces in Scotland, had sent two companies of soldiers under the command of captain Bushel, to prevent or appease any disturbance of this nature. He drew up his men in the street, where they were pelted with stones by the multitude, which he endeavoured to disperse by firing among them without shot. This expedient failing, he ordered his men to load their pieces with ball, and at a time when the magistrates were advancing towards him in a body, to assist him with their advice and influence, he commanded the soldiers to fire four different ways, without the sanction of the civil authority. Above twenty persons were killed or wounded on this occasion. The people seeing so many victims fall, were exasperated beyond all sense of danger. They began to procure arms, and breathed nothing but defiance and revenge. Bushel thought proper to retreat to the castle of Dumbarton; and was pursued above five miles by the enraged multitude. General Wade being informed of this transaction, assembled a body of forces; and being accompanied by Duncan Forbes lord advocate, took possession of Glasgow. The magistrates were apprehended and conveyed prisoners to Edinburgh, where the lords-justiciary having taken cognizance of the affair, declared them innocent; so that they were immediately discharged. Bushel was tried for murder, convicted and condemned; but, instead of undergoing the penalties of the law, he was indulged with a pardon, and promoted in the service. Daniel Campbell having petitioned the house of commons, that he might be indemnified for the damage he had sustained from the rioters, a bill passed in his favour, granting him a certain sum to be raised from an imposition layed upon all the beer and ale

*South-sea Scheme.
Hampden.*

Oldmixon.
Annals.
Deb. in Parl.
Mem. Hist.
Tindal.

An. Ch. 1726.

ale brewed within the city of Glasgow. The malt-tax was so sensibly felt in Scotland, that the convention of the royal burroughs presented a remonstrance against it, as a grievous burthen which their country could not bear: petitions to the same purport were delivered to the commons from different shires of that kingdom*. On the twenty-fourth day of March the king sent a message to the house by Sir Paul Methuen, desiring an extraordinary supply, that he might be able to augment his maritime force, and concert such other measures as should be necessary in the present conjuncture. A debate ensued; but the majority complied with the demand. Some members in the upper house complained, that the message was not sent to both houses of parliament; and this suggestion gave rise to another debate, in which lord Bathurst and others made some melancholy reflections upon the state of insignificance to which the peers of England were reduced. Such remarks, however, were very little minded by the ministry, which had obtained a complete victory over all opposition. The supplies ordinary and extraordinary being granted, with every thing else which the court thought proper to ask; and several bills passed for the regulation of civil oeconomy, the king dismissed the parliament on the twenty-fourth day of May.

§ XXVIII. By this time Peter the czar of Muscovy was dead, and his empress Catherine had succeeded him on the Russian throne. This princess had begun to assemble forces in the neighbourhood of Petersburg; and prepare a formidable armament for a naval expedition. King George concluding, that her design was against Sweden, sent a strong squadron into the Baltic, under the command of Sir Charles Wager, in order to anticipate her views upon his allies. The English fleet being joined at Copenhagen by a Danish squadron, alarmed the court of Russia, which immediately issued orders for reinforcing the garrisons of Wibourg, Cronstot, Revel, and Riga. The English admiral having had an audience of his Swedish majesty, steered towards Revel, and sent thither a lieutenant with a letter from the king of Great-Britain to the czarina. This was an expostulation, in which he observed, that he and his allies could not fail of being alarmed at her great preparations by sea and land. He complained, that measures had been taken at her court in favour of the pretender: that his repeated instances for establishing a lasting friendship with the crown of Russia, had been treated with neglect; and he gave her to understand, that he had ordered his admiral to prevent her ships from coming out of her harbours, should she persist in her resolution to execute the designs she had projected. The czarina, in her answer to the king, expressed her surprize, that she had not received his majesty's letter until his fleet was at anchor before Revel, since it would have been more agreeable to the custom established among sovereigns, and to the amity which had so long subsisted between her kingdoms and the crown of Great-Britain, to expostulate with her on her armament, and expect her answer

* The duke of Wharton having consumed his fortune in riot and extravagance, repaired to the court of Vienna, from whence he proceeded to Rome, and offered his service to the pretender. There he received the order of the garter, and the title of duke of Northumberland. He was

sent by the chevalier de St. George with credentials to the court of Madrid, where he abjured the protestant religion, married a lady of the queen of Spain's bedchamber, and obtained the rank and appointments of a lieutenant-colonel in the Spanish service.

before he had proceeded to such an offensive measure. She assured him, that nothing was farther from her thoughts than any designs to disturb the peace of the North; and with regard to the pretender, it was a frivolous and stale accusation, which had been frequently used as a pretext to cover all the unkind steps lately taken against the Russian empire. Sir Charles Wager continued in his station until he received certain intelligence, that the Russian galleys were layed up in their winter harbour: then he set sail for the coast of Denmark, from whence he returned to England in the month of November.

§ XXIX. King George, that he might not seem to convert all his attention to the affairs of the North, had equipped two other squadrons; one of which was destined for the West-Indies, under the command of admiral Hosier. The other, conducted by Sir John Jennings, having on board a body of land-forces, sailed from St. Helen's on the twentieth day of July, entered the bay of St. Antonio; then visited Lisbon, from whence he directed his course to the bay of Bulls near Cadiz, and cruised off Cape St. Mary's, so as to alarm the coast of Spain, and fill Madrid with consternation. Yet he committed no act of hostility; but was treated with great civility by the Spanish governor of Cadiz, who supplied him with refreshments. Rear-admiral Hosier, with seven ships of war, had sailed in April for the Spanish West-Indies, with instructions to block up the galleons in the ports of that country; or, should they presume to come out, seize and bring them to England. Before his arrival at the Bastimentos near Porto Bello, the treasure, consisting of above six millions sterling, had been unloaded and carried back to Panama, in pursuance of an order sent by an advice-boat, which had the start of Hosier. This admiral lay inactive on that station, until he became the jest of the Spaniards. He returned to Jamaica, where he found means to reinforce his crews: then he stood over to Carthagene. The Spaniards had by this time seized the English South-sea ship at La Vera-Cruz, together with all the vessels and effects belonging to that company. Hosier in vain demanded restitution: he took some Spanish ships by way of reprisal, and continued cruising in those seas until the greater part of his men perished deplorably by the diseases of that unhealthy climate; and his ships were totally ruined by the worms. This brave officer being restricted by his orders from obeying the dictates of his courage; seeing his best officers and men daily swept off by an outrageous distemper, and his ships exposed to inevitable destruction, is said to have died of a broken heart; while the people of England loudly clamoured against this unfortunate expedition, in which so many lives were thrown away, and so much money expended without the least advantage to the nation. It seems to have been a mean pyratel scheme to rob the court of Spain of its expected treasure, even while a peace subsisted between the two nations. The ministry of Great-Britain indeed alledged, that the Spanish king had entered into engagements in favour of the pretender.

§ XXX. The dukes of Ormond and Wharton, and the earl Marischal, were certainly at Madrid; and the duke de Ripperda, now prime minister of Spain, dropped some expressions to the English envoy, that implied some such design, which, however, the court of Madrid positively denied. Ripperda, as a foreigner, fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of the Spanish ministers. He was suddenly dismissed from his employments, with a pension of three thousand pistoles. He forthwith took refuge in the house of Vandermeer the Dutch ambassador,

ambassador, who was unwilling to be troubled with such a guest. He therefore conveyed him in his coach to the house of colonel Stanhope the British minister, whose protection he craved and obtained. Nevertheless, he was dragged from thence by force, and committed prisoner to the castle of Segovia. He afterwards made his escape, and sheltered himself in England, from the resentment of his catholic majesty. Colonel Stanhope complained of this violation of the law of nations, which the Spanish ministers endeavoured to excuse. Memorials and letters passed between the two courts, and every thing tended to a rupture. The king of Spain purchased ships of war; began to make preparations for some important undertaking; and assembled an army of twenty thousand men at St. Roch, on pretence of rebuilding the old castle of Gibraltar. Mean while the states-general and the king of Sweden acceded to the treaty of Hanover: but the king of Prussia, though his majesty's son-in-law, was detached from the alliance by the emperor, with whom he contracted new engagements.

§ XXXI. On the seventeenth day of January, the British parliament was opened with a long elaborate speech, importing, That the proceedings and transactions of the emperor and king of Spain, and the secret offensive alliances concluded between them, had layed the foundations of a most exorbitant and formidable power: that they were directly levelled against the most valuable and darling interests and privileges of the English nation, which must either give up Gibraltar to Spain, and acquiesce in the emperor's usurped exercise of commerce, or resolve vigorously to defend their undoubted rights against those reciprocal engagements contracted in defiance and violation of all national faith, and the most solemn treaties. He assured them, that one of those secret articles was, the placing the pretender on the throne of Great-Britain; and another, the conquest of Gibraltar and Portmahon. He affirmed, that those combinations extended themselves into Russia; and that the English fleet seasonably prevented such designs as would have opened a way to the invasion of these kingdoms. He exhorted the commons to grant such supplies as should be necessary for the defence of their country, and for making good his engagements with the allies of Great-Britain. He told them, that the king of Spain had ordered his minister residing in England to quit the kingdom; and that he had left a memorial, little short of a declaration, in which he insisted upon the restitution of Gibraltar. He did not fail to touch the energetic strings which always moved their passions; the balance of power in Europe, the security of the British commerce, the designs of a popish pretender, the present happy establishment, the religion, liberties, and properties of a protestant people. Such addresses of thanks were penned in both houses as the ministers were pleased to dictate; yet not without opposition from a minority, which was far from being formidable, though headed by chiefs of uncommon talents and resolution. The commons voted twenty thousand seamen, and six and twenty thousand three hundred eighty-three men for the land-service; and to defray the extraordinary expence, a land-tax of four shillings in the pound was granted.

§ XXXII. The house of lords having taken into consideration the letters and memorials between the ministers of Great-Britain, France, and Spain, and the papers relating to the accession of the states-general to the treaty of Hanover; a warm debate ensued. The lord Bathurst took notice, that the accession

accession of the states-general to the treaty, was upon condition, that this their act should be approved and ratified by the king of Great-Britain, the most christian king, and the king of Prussia; but that the minister of his Prussian majesty had refused to sign the act of accession, which was therefore of no effect: that if the court of France should, for the same reason, think itself disengaged from the Hanover alliance, Britain alone would be obliged to bear the burthen of an expensive war against two of the greatest potentates of Europe. He said he could not see any just reason for a rupture with Spain: that indeed the duke de Ripperda might have dropped some indiscreet expressions: he was known to be a man of a violent temper; and he had been solemnly disavowed by his catholic majesty: that, in the memorial left by the Spanish ambassador, he imputed the violent state of affairs between the two crowns to the ministers of England; and mentioned a positive promise made by the king of Great-Britain for the restitution of Gibraltar: that methods of accommodation might be tried before the kingdom engaged in a war which must be attended with dangerous consequences: that the nation was loaded with a debt of fifty millions; and, in order to maintain such a war, would be obliged to raise seven millions yearly; an annual sum by which the people would soon be exhausted. He observed, that in some papers layed before the house, mention was made of great sums distributed in divers places, to bring certain measures to bear. He declared, that for his own part, he had touched neither Spanish nor English gold; he was neither a Spaniard nor a Frenchman, but a true Englishman, and so long as he had the honour to sit in that house, he would speak and act for the good of his country. He therefore desired their lordships seriously to consider the matter before them, which was of the last consequence and importance to the whole nation. He said, nothing could be gained by the war should it prove successful; and every thing would be lost should it be unprosperous. He was answered by lord Townshend, who affirmed, that his majesty had received positive and certain information with respect to the secret article of alliance between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, in favour of the pretender, though the safety of the state did not permit him to lay these advices before the parliament. After much altercation, the majority resolved, that the measures his majesty had thought fit to take, were honourable, just, and necessary, for preventing the execution of the dangerous engagements entered into in favour of the pretender; for preserving the dominions belonging to the crown of Great-Britain by solemn treaties, and particularly those of Gibraltar and the island of Minorca; and for maintaining to his people their most valuable rights and privileges of commerce, and the peace and tranquillity of Europe. Seventeen lords entered a protest against this resolution. Disputes of the same nature arose from the same subject in the lower house. Lord Townshend had affirmed in the house of peers, that no promise of restoring Gibraltar had been made: Sir Robert Walpole owned such a promise in the house of commons: a motion was made for an address, desiring these engagements might be layed before the house: another member moved for a copy of the memorial presented by Mr. Pointz to the king of Sweden, and for the secret offensive article between the courts of Vienna and Madrid: a third motion was made to address the king for such memorials and representations from the courts of Sweden and Denmark, as induced him, in the course

of the preceding year, to send a squadron to the Baltic. In the account of the money granted for the service of the last year, there was an article of one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds charged in general terms, as issued out for other engagements and expences, over and above such as were specified. Mr. Pulteney moved for an address on this subject; but each of these motions was rejected on a division; and the majority concurred in an address of thanks to his majesty, for the great wisdom of his conduct. They expressed the most implicit confidence in his goodness and discretion: they promised to support him in all such further measures as he should find necessary and expedient for preventing a rupture; and for the honour and advantage of these kingdoms.

§ XXXIII. His majesty's speech gave such umbrage to the court of Vienna, that Mr. Palms, the Imperial resident at London, was ordered to present a warm memorial to the king, and afterwards to publish it to the whole nation. In this bold remonstrance, the king was charged with having declared from the throne, as certain and undoubted facts, several things that were either wrested, misrepresented, or void of all foundation. The memorailist affirmed, that the treaty of Vienna was built on the quadruple alliance: that the treaty of commerce was calculated to promote the mutual and lawful advantages of the subjects of both parties, agreeably to the law of nations; and in no respect prejudicial to the British nation. He declared, that there was no offensive alliance concluded between the two crowns: that the supposed article relating to the pretender, was an absolute falshood: that the insinuation with respect to the siege of Gibraltar was equally untrue, his master having made no engagements with the king of Spain but such as were specified in the treaty communicated to his Britannic majesty. He said, the hostilities notoriously committed in the West-Indies, and elsewhere, against the king of Spain, in violation of treaties, seemed to justify that prince's undertaking the siege of Gibraltar. Finally, he demanded, in the name of his Imperial majesty, suitable reparation for the injury his honour had sustained from such calumnious imputations. Both houses of parliament expressed their indignation at the insolence of this memorial, in an address to his majesty; and Mr. Palms was ordered to depart the kingdom. Virulent declarations were presented by the ministers of the emperor and king of Great-Britain, to the diet of the empire at Ratisbon; and such personal reflections retorted between these two potentates, that all hope of reconciliation vanished.

§ XXXIV. King George, in order to secure himself against the impending storm, entered into more strict engagements with the French king; and agreed to pay fifty thousand pounds for three years to the king of Sweden, in consideration of that prince's holding in readiness a body of ten thousand troops for the occasions of the alliance. He concluded a fresh treaty with the king of Denmark, who promised to furnish a certain number of auxiliaries, on account of a large subsidy granted by the king of France. The proportions of troops to be sent into the field, in case of a rupture, were ascertained. His Britannic majesty engaged for four and twenty thousand men, and a strong squadron to be sent into the Baltic. He made a convention with the prince of Hesse-Cassel, who undertook to provide eight thousand infantry and four thousand horse, in consideration of seventy-four thousand pounds to be paid by

by Great-Britain immediately, and fifty thousand pounds more in case the troops should be required, besides their pay and subsistence. Such was the fruit of all the alliances so industriously planted since the accession of king George to the throne of Great Britain. In the day of his trouble, the king of Prussia, who had espoused his daughter, deserted his interest; and the states-general stood aloof. For the security of his German dominions, he had recourse to the king of France, who was a precarious ally; to the kings of Sweden and Denmark, and the principality of Hesse-Cassel: but none of these powers would contribute their assistance, without being gratified with exorbitant subsidies, though the danger was common, and the efforts ought to have been equal. Instead of allies, they professed themselves mercenaries. Great-Britain payed them for the defence of their own dominions: she moreover undertook to maintain a powerful fleet for their safety. Is there any Briton so weak as to think, or so fool-hardy as to affirm, that this was a British quarrel?

Annals.
Deb. in Parl.
Tindal.
Lives of the
Admirals.

§ XXXV. For the support of those expensive treaties, Mr. Scroope, secretary of the treasury, moved in the house of commons, that, in the malt-tax bill, they should insert a clause of appropriation, empowering the king to apply such sums as should be necessary for defraying the expences and engagements which had been or should be made before the twenty-fifth day of September, in concerting such measures as he should think most conducive to the security of trade, and restoring the peace of Europe. To little purpose did the members in the opposition urge, that this method of asking and granting supplies was unparliamentary: that such a clause would render ineffectual that appropriation of the public money, which the wisdom of all parliaments had thought a necessary security against misapplication, which was the more to be feared, as no provision was made to call any person to account for the money that should be disposed of by virtue of this clause: that great sums had already been granted: that such an unlimited power ought never to be given in a free government: that such confidence in the crown might, through the influence of evil ministers, be attended with the most dangerous consequences: that the constitution could not be preserved, but by a strict adherence to those essential parliamentary forms of granting supplies upon estimates, and of appropriating these supplies to services and occasions publicly avowed and judged necessary: that such clauses, if not seasonably checked, would become so frequent, as in time to lodge in the crown and in the ministers an absolute and uncontrollable power of raising money upon the people, which by the constitution is, and with safety can only be, lodged in the whole legislature. The motion was carried, the clause added, and the bill passed through the other house without amendment, though not without opposition. Notwithstanding this vote of credit, Sir William Yonge moved, that towards the supply granted to the king, the sum of three hundred and seventy thousand pounds should be raised by loans on exchequer-bills, to be charged on the surplus of the duties on coal and culm, which was reserved for the parliament's disposal. Though this motion was vigorously opposed by Sir Joseph Jekyl and Mr. Pulteney, as a dangerous deviation from several votes and acts of parliament, by which the exceedings of the public funds were appropriated to the discharge of the national debt, or to the increase of the sinking-fund, it was carried by the majority.

An. Ch. 1727.

§ XXXVI. On the fifteenth day of May the parliament was prorogued, after the king had acknowledged their zeal, liberality, and dispatch; and given them to understand, that the siege of Gibraltar was actually begun. The trenches were opened before this fortress on the eleventh day of February, by the Condé de las Torres, at the head of twenty thousand men. The place was well provided for a defence; and the old earl of Portmore, who was governor, embarked with a reinforcement from England, under convoy of a fleet commanded by Sir Charles Wager. He arrived at Gibraltar in the beginning of April, where he landed the troops, with a great quantity of ammunition, warlike stores, and four and twenty pieces of cannon. At the same time, five hundred men arrived from Minorca; so that the garrison amounted to six thousand, who were plentifully supplied with fresh provisions from the coast of Barbary, and treated the efforts of the besiegers with great contempt. The states general being apprehensive of an attempt upon their barrier in the Netherlands, desired the king would hold in readiness the ten thousand auxiliaries stipulated in the treaty. They were immediately prepared for embarkation, and the forces of England were augmented with thirty new-raised companies. Sir John Norris set sail with a powerful fleet for the Baltic, and was joined by a Danish squadron; but the czarina dying on the seventeenth day of May, he had no occasion to commit hostilities, as the Russian armament was layed aside.

§ XXXVII. Mean while, the powers at variance, though extremely irritated against each other, were all equally averse to a war that might again embroil all Europe. The king of France interposed his mediation, which was conducted by the duke of Richelieu, his ambassador at Vienna. Plans and counterplans of pacification were proposed between the two crowns and the allies. At length all parties agreed to twelve preliminary articles, which were signed in May at Paris, by the ministers of the Hanover alliance, and afterwards at Vienna, by the Imperial and Spanish ambassadors. They imported, that hostilities should immediately cease: that the charter of the Ostend company should be suspended for seven years; and that a congress should in four months be opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, for adjusting all differences, and consolidating the peace of Europe. This congress was afterwards transferred to Soissons, for the conveniency of the French minister, whose presence was necessary at court. The siege of Gibraltar was raised, after it had lasted four months, during which the Spaniards lost a great number of men by sickness, while the garrison sustained very little damage. The court of Madrid, however, started some new difficulties, and for some time would not consent to the restitution of the South-sea ship, which had been detained at La Vera Cruz, in the West-Indies; so that Sir Charles Wager continued to cruize on the coast of Spain. But these objections were removed in the sequel.

§ XXXVIII. King George having appointed a regency, embarked at Greenwich on the third day of June, and landing in Holland on the seventh, set out on his journey to Hanover. He was suddenly seized with a paralytic disorder on the road, lost the faculty of speech, became lethargic, was conveyed in a state of insensibility to Osnabrug, where he expired on Sunday the eleventh day of June, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and in the thirteenth of his reign. George I. was plain and simple in his person and address; grave and com-

composed in his deportment, though easy, familiar, and facetious in his hours of relaxation. Before he ascended the throne of Great-Britain, he had acquired the character of a circumspect general, a just and merciful prince, and a wise politician, who perfectly understood, and steadily pursued his own interest. With these qualities, it cannot be doubted but that he came to England extremely well disposed to govern his new subjects according to the maxims of the British constitution, and the genius of the people; and, if ever he seemed to deviate from these principles, we may take it for granted, that he was misled by the venal suggestions of a ministry whose power and influence were founded on corruption*.

* George I. married the princess Sophia Dorothy, daughter and heiress of the duke of Zell, by whom he had his present majesty George II. and the late queen of Prussia. The king's body was conveyed to Hanover, and interred among his ancestors.

From the death of Charles II. to this period, England made a considerable figure in every branch of literature. Dr. Atterbury and Dr. Clarke distinguished themselves in divinity: Mr. Whiston wrote in defence of Arianism: John Locke shone forth the great restorer of human reason: Cudworth traced the whole labyrinth of metaphysical argumentation: the earl of Shaftsbury raised an elegant, though feeble, system of moral philosophy: Berkeley, afterwards bishop of Cloyne in Ireland, surpassed all his contemporaries in subtlety and variety of metaphysical arguments, as well as in the art of deduction: lord Bolingbroke's talents as a metaphysician have been questioned since his posthumous works appeared: great progress was made in mathematics and astronomy, by Wallis, Halley, and Flamsteed: the art of medicine owed some valuable improvements to the classical Dr. Friend, and the elegant Dr. Mead. Among the poets of this æra we number John Phillips, author of a didactic poem called Cyder, a performance of real merit; he lived and died in obscurity: William Congreve, celebrated for his comedies, which are not so famous for strength of character and

power of humour, as for wit, elegance, and regularity: Vanbrugh, who wrote with more nature and fire, though with less art and precision: Steele, who in his comedies successfully ingrafted modern characters on the antient drama: Farquhar, who drew his pictures from fancy rather than from nature, and whose chief merit consists in the agreeable pertness and vivacity of his dialogue: Addison, whose fame as a poet greatly exceeded his genius, which was cold and enervate; though he yielded to none in the character of an essayist, either for style or matter: Swift, whose muse seems to have been meer misanthropy. He was a cynic rather than a poet; and his natural dryness and sarcastic severity would have been unpleasing, had not he qualified them by adopting the extravagant humour of Lucian and Rabelais: Prior, lively, familiar, and amusing: Rowe, solemn, florid, and declamatory: Pope, the prince of lyric poetry, unrivalled in satire, ethics, and polished versification: the agreeable Parnell: the wild, the witty, and the whimsical Garth: Gay, whose fables may vie with those of La Fontaine, in native humour, ease, and simplicity; and whose genius for pastoral was truly original. Dr. Bently stood foremost in the list of critics and commentators. Sir Christopher Wren raised some noble monuments of architecture. The most remarkable political writers were Davenant, Hare, Swift, Steele, Addison, Bolingbroke, and Trenchard.

CHAPTER IV.

§ I. *George II. ascends the throne of Great-Britain.* § II. *Characters of the principal persons concerned in the ministry.* § III. *Debates in parliament concerning the civil list.* § IV. *Changes and promotions.* § V. *New parliament.* § VI. *Violent dispute concerning the national debt.* § VII. *Vote of credit.* § VIII. *A double marriage between the houses of Spain and Portugal.* § IX. *Liberality of the commons.* § X. *Debate on the subsidies to Hesse-Cassel and Wolfembuttel.* § XI. *Committee for inspecting the goals.* § XII. *Address touching the Spanish depredations.* § XIII. *A sum voted to the king on account of arrears due on the civil list revenue.* § XIV. *Proceedings in the house of lords.* § XV. *Wise conduct of the Irish parliament.* § XVI. *Abdication of the king of Sardinia.* § XVII. *Substance of the king's speech to both houses.* § XVIII. *Objections to the treaty of Seville in the house of lords.* § XIX. *Opposition in the lower house to a standing army.* § XX. *Bill prohibiting loans to foreign princes or states.* § XXI. *Charter of the East-India company prolonged.* § XXII. *The emperor resents the treaty of Seville.* § XXIII. *Seven Indian chiefs arrive in England.* § XXIV. *Revolution at Constantinople.* § XXV. *England infested with robbers, assassins, and incendiaries.* § XXVI. *Bill against pensioners fitting as members in the house of commons.* § XXVII. *Treaty of Vienna.* § XXVIII. *Death of the duke of Parma.* § XXIX. *Don Carlos takes possession of his territories.* § XXX. *France distracted by religious disputes.* § XXXI. *The ministry violently opposed in parliament.* § XXXII. *Debate on a standing army.* § XXXIII. *Account of the charitable corporation.* § XXXIV. *Revival of the salt-tax.* § XXXV. *Mr. Pulteney's name struck out of the list of privy counsellors.* § XXXVI. *The king sets out for Hanover.*

§ I. **A**T the accession of George II. the nation had great reason to wish for an alteration of measures. The public debt, notwithstanding the boasted oeconomy and management of the ministers; notwithstanding the sinking fund, which had been extolled as a growing treasure sacred to the discharge of national incumbrances, was now encreased to fifty millions two hundred sixty-one thousand two hundred and six pounds, nineteen shillings, eight pence three farthings. The kingdom was bewildered in a labyrinth of treaties and conventions, by which it stood engaged in pecuniary subsidies to many powers upon the continent, with whom its real interests could never be connected. The wealth of the nation had been lavished upon these foreign connexions; upon unnecessary wars and fruitless expeditions. Dangerous incroachment had been made upon the constitution by the repeal of the act for triennial parliaments; by frequent suspensions of the Habeas corpus act upon frivolous occasions; by repealing clauses in the act of settlement; by votes of credit; by habituating the people to a standing army; and above all, by establishing a system of corruption, which at all times would secure a majority in parliament. The nature of prerogative, by which the liberties of the nation had formerly

been so often endangered, was now so well understood, and so securely restrained, that it could no longer be used for the same oppressive purposes: besides, an avowed extension of the prerogative required more ability, courage, and resolution, than the present ministry could exert. They understood their own strength, and had recourse to a more safe and effectual expedient. The vice, luxury, and prostitution of the age, the almost total extinction of sentiment, honour, and public spirit, had prepared the minds of men for slavery and corruption. The means were in the hands of the ministry: the public treasure was at their devotion: they multiplied places and pensions to increase the number of their dependents: they squandered away the money of the nation without taste, discernment, decency, or remorse: they enlisted an army of the most abandoned emissaries, whom they employed to vindicate the worst measures, in the face of truth, common sense, and common honesty; and they did not fail to stigmatize as Jacobites and enemies to the government, all those who presumed to question the merit of their administration.

§ II. The supreme direction of affairs was not yet engrossed by a single minister. Lord Townshend had the reputation of conducting the external transactions relating to treaties and negotiations. He is said to have understood that province, though he did not always follow the dictates of his own understanding. He possessed an extensive fund of knowledge; and was well acquainted with the functions of his office. The duke of N. his colleague, was not remarkable for any of these qualifications; he owed his promotion to his uncommon zeal for the illustrious house of Hanover, and to the strength of his interest in parliament, rather than to his judgment, precision, or any other intellectual merit. Lord C. who may be counted an auxiliary, though not immediately concerned in the administration, had distinguished himself in the character of envoy at several courts in Europe. He had attained an intimate knowledge of all the different interests and connexions subsisting among the powers of the continent; and he infinitely surpassed all the ministers in learning and capacity. He was, indeed, the only man of genius employed under this government. He spoke with ease and propriety; his conceptions were just and lively; his inferences bold; his counsels vigorous and warm. Yet he depreciated his talents by acting in a subordinate character to those whom he despised; and seemed to look upon the pernicious measures of a bad ministry with silent contempt, rather than with avowed detestation. The interior government of Great-Britain was chiefly managed by Sir Robert W. a man of extraordinary talents, who had from low beginnings raised himself to the head of the treasury. Having obtained a seat in the lower-house, he declared himself one of the most forward partisans of the Whig faction. He was endued with a species of eloquence, which though neither nervous nor elegant, flowed with great facility, and was so plausible on all subjects, that even when he misrepresented the truth, whether from ignorance or design, he seldom failed to persuade that part of his audience for whose hearing his harangue was chiefly intended. He was well acquainted with the nature of the public funds, and understood the whole mystery of stock-jobbing. This knowledge produced a connexion between him and the money-corporations, which served to enhance his importance. He perceived the bulk of mankind were actuated by a fordid thirst of lucre; had sagacity enough to convert the degeneracy

racy of the times to his own advantage; and on this, and this alone, he founded the whole superstructure of his subsequent administration. In the late reign he had, by dint of speaking decisively to every question, by boldly impeaching the conduct of the Tory ministers, by his activity in elections, and engaging as a projector in the schemes of the monied-interest, become a leading member in the house of commons. By his sufferings under the Tory parliament, he attained the rank of a martyr to his party: his interest, his reputation, and his presumption daily increased: he opposed Sunderland as his rival in power, and headed a dangerous defection from the ministry, which evinced the greatness of his influence and authority. He had the glory of being principally concerned in effecting a reconciliation between the late king and the prince of Wales: then he was reassociated in the administration with additional credit; and, from the death of the earls of Sunderland and Stanhope, he had been making long strides towards the office of prime-minister. He knew the maxims he had adopted would subject him to the hatred, the ridicule, and reproach of some individuals, who had not yet resigned all sentiments of patriotism, nor all views of opposition: but the number of these was inconsiderable when compared to that which constituted the body of the community; and he would not suffer the consideration of such antagonists to come in competition with his schemes of power, affluence, and authority. Nevertheless, low as he had humbled antiministerial association, it required all his artifice to elude, all his patience and natural phlegm, to bear the powerful arguments that were urged, and the keen satire that was exercised against his measures and management, by a few members in the opposition. Sir William Wyndham possessed all the energy of elocution; Mr. Shippen was calm, intrepid, shrewd, and sarcastic; Mr. Hungerford sly, insinuating, and ironical. Mr. W. P. inherited from nature a good understanding, which he had studiously cultivated. He was one of the most learned members in the house of commons, extremely well qualified to judge of literary productions; well read in history and politics; deeply skilled in the British constitution, the detail of government, and the nature of the finances. He spoke with freedom, fluency, and uncommon warmth of declamation, which was said to be the effect of personal animosity to Sir R. W. with whom he had been formerly connected.

§ III. An express arriving on the fourteenth day of June with an account of the late king's death, his present majesty king George II. repaired from Richmond, where he received this intelligence, to Leicester-house; and the members of the privy-council being assembled, were sworn a-new. The king declared his firm purpose to preserve the constitution in church and state, and to cultivate those alliances which his father had made with foreign princes. At the same time he took and subscribed the oath for the security of the church of Scotland, as required by the act of union. Next day he was proclaimed king of Great-Britain. The parliament assembled in pursuance of the act made for that purpose; but was immediately prorogued by commission to the twenty-seventh day of the month. All the great officers of state continued in their places: Sir Robert Walpole kept possession of the treasury; and the system of politics which the late king established underwent no sort of alteration. The king, in his speech to both houses at the opening of the session, professed a fixed resolution to merit the love and affection of his people, by maintaining them in the
full

full enjoyment of their religious and civil rights. He promised to lessen the public expence as soon as the circumstances of affairs would permit: he observed to the commons, that the grant of the greatest part of the civil list revenues was now determined; and, that it would be necessary for them to make a new provision for the support of him and his family: and he recommended it to both houses to dispatch the business that should be necessarily brought before them, as the season of the year and the circumstances of time required their presence in the country. Addresses of condolance and congratulation being drawn up and presented, the commons, in a committee of the whole house, took into consideration a motion for a supply to his majesty. Sir Robert Walpole having observed, that the annual sum of seven hundred thousand pounds granted to and settled on the late king, had fallen short every year; and, that his present majesty's expences were likely to increase by reason of the largeness of his family, moved, that the intire revenues of the civil list, which produced about eight hundred thousand pounds per annum, should be settled on the king during his life. Mr. Shippen opposed this motion, as inconsistent with the trust reposed in them as representatives of the people, who ought to be very frugal in exercising the right of giving away the public money. He said, the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds was not obtained for his late majesty without a long and solemn debate; and every member who contended for it at that time, allowed it to be an ample royal revenue: that, although his majesty's family should be enlarged, a circumstance which had been urged as one reason for the motion, he presumed the appointments of prince Frederick would be much inferior to those settled on his present majesty when he was prince of Wales; besides, it was to be hoped, that many personal, many particular expences in the late reign, especially those for frequent journeys to Hanover, would be discontinued, and intirely cease. He observed, that the civil list branches in the queen's reign did not often exceed the sum of five hundred and fifty thousand pounds; nevertheless, she called upon her parliament but once in a reign of thirteen years, to pay the debts contracted in her civil government; and, these were occasioned by the unparalelled instances of her piety and generosity. She gave the first-fruits and tenths, arising to nineteen thousand pounds a-year, as an augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy. She bestowed five thousand pounds per annum, out of the post-office, on the duke of Marlborough: she suffered seven hundred pounds to be charged weekly on the same office, for the service of the public: she expended several hundred thousand pounds in building the castle of Blenheim: she allowed four thousand pounds annually to prince Charles of Denmark: she sustained great losses by the tin contract: she supported the poor Palatines: she exhibited many other proofs of royal bounty, and, immediately before her death, she had formed a plan of retrenchment; which would have reduced her yearly expences to four hundred and fifty-nine thousand nine hundred and forty-one pounds. He affirmed, that a million a-year would not be sufficient to carry on the exorbitant expences, so often and so justly complained of in the house of commons: that over and above the yearly allowance of seven hundred thousand pounds, many occasional taxes, many excessive sums were raised, and all sunk in the bottomless gulph of secret service. Two hundred and fifty thousand pounds were raised in defiance of the antient parliamentary methods, to secure the kingdom from a Swedish invasion: then the

two insurance offices were erected, and payed near three hundred thousand pounds for their charters: our enmity with Sweden being changed into alliance, a subsidy of seventy-two thousand pounds was implicitly granted, to fulfil some secret engagement with that crown: four and twenty thousand pounds were given for burning merchant ships arrived from infected places, though the goods, which ought to have been destroyed for the public safety, were afterwards privately sold; a sum of five hundred thousand pounds was demanded and granted, for paying the debts of the civil list; and his majesty declared, by message, he was resolved to retrench his expences for the future. Notwithstanding this resolution, in less than four years, a new demand of the like sum was made and granted, to discharge new incumbrances: the Spanish ships of war which admiral Byng took in the Mediterranean, were sold for a considerable sum of money: one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds were granted in the last session, to be secretly disposed of for the public utility; and there was still a debt in the civil government, amounting to above six hundred thousand pounds. He took notice, that this amazing extravagance happened under the conduct of persons pretending to surpass all their predecessors in the knowledge and care of the public revenue: that, as none of these sums had been accounted for, they were, in all probability, employed in services not fit to be owned. He said, he heartily wished that time, the great discoverer of hidden truths, and concealed iniquities, might produce a list of all such as had been perverted from their public duty by private pensions; who had been the hired slaves, and the corrupt instruments of a profuse and vain-glorious administration. He proposed, that instead of granting an addition to the civil list, they should restrict that revenue to a certain sum, by concluding the question with these words, "in like manner as they were granted and continued to his late majesty, so as to make up the clear yearly sum of seven hundred thousand pounds." To these particulars, which were indeed unanswerable, no reply was made. Even this mark of decency was layed aside as idle and superfluous. The house agreed to the motion; and a bill was brought in for the better support of his majesty's household. The commons having received a message from the king, desiring they would make further provision for the queen his consort, resolved, That in case she should survive his majesty, the sum of one hundred thousand pounds should be settled upon her for life, charged upon the revenues of the civil list, together with his majesty's palace of Somerset-house, and Richmond Old Park. A bill was formed on this resolution, which, as well as the other, passed both houses; and received the royal assent on the seventeenth day of July, when the king, in a speech to both houses, expressed his satisfaction with their conduct; and congratulated them upon the wealth and glory of the nation, by which they had acquired such weight in holding the ballance of Europe. Then the lord-chancellor prorogued the parliament to the twenty-ninth day of August; but on the seventh of that month a proclamation was issued for dissolving this and convoking another.

§ IV. In the interim some changes were made in different departments of civil oeconomy. Lord viscount Torrington was placed at the head of the admiralty: the earl of Westmoreland was appointed first lord-commissioner of trade and plantations. Philip Dormer Stanhope, earl of Chesterfield, a nobleman remarkable for his wit, eloquence, and polished manners, was nominated ambassador

bassador to the Hague. The privy-council being dissolved, another was appointed of the members then present. The duke of Devonshire was dignified with the place of president; and the duke of St. Alban's was appointed master of the horse. On the eleventh day of October the coronation of the king and queen was performed at Westminster-abbey, with the usual solemnity*. By this time the courts of France and Spain were perfectly reconciled: all Europe was freed from the calamities of war; and the peace of Great-Britain suffered no interruption, except from some transient tumults among the tinnors of Cornwall, who, being provoked by a scarcity of corn, rose in arms, and plundered the granaries of that county.

§ V. The elections in England and Scotland for the parliament having succeeded on the new system, according to the wishes of the ministry, the two houses met on the twenty-third day of January, when the commons unanimously chose for their speaker Arthur Onslow esquire, knight of the shire for Surrey, a gentleman of extensive knowledge, worth, and probity, grave, eloquent, venerable, and every way qualified for the discharge of that honourable and important office. The king, in his speech to this new parliament, declared, that by the last advices from abroad, he had reason to hope the difficulties which had hitherto retarded the execution of the preliminaries, and the opening of the congress, would soon be intirely removed: in the mean time he represented the absolute necessity of continuing the preparations which had hitherto secured the nation, and prevented an open rupture in Europe. He promised, that his first care should be to reduce from time to time the expence of the public, as often, and as soon as the interest and safety of his people would permit such reduction. He expressed an earnest desire of seeing the foundation layed of an effectual scheme for the increase and encouragement of seamen in general, that they might be invited rather than compelled into the service of their country. Finally, he recommended unanimity, zeal, and dispatch of the public business. Those speeches, penned by the minister, were composed with a view to soothe the minds of the people into an immediate concurrence with the measures of the government; but without any intention of performing those promises of economy, reformation, and national advantage. The two houses seemed to vie with each other in expressions of applause and affection to his majesty. The lords, in their address, hailed him as the best of kings, and true father of his country. The commons expressed the warmest sense of gratitude for the blessings they enjoyed in his reign, though it was not yet eight months old. They approved of all his transactions; promised to support him in all his undertakings; and declared they would chearfully grant whatever supplies should be wanted for the public service. Having considered the estimates which were

* King George II. ascended the throne in the forty-fourth year of his age. On the second day of September, one thousand seven hundred and five, he espoused the princess Wilhelmina Charlotte Caroline, daughter to John Frederick marquis of Brandenburg-Anspach, by whom he had two sons, Frederic Lewis prince of Wales, born at Hanover on the thirty-first day of January, one

thousand seven hundred and seven; and William Augustus, born at London on the fifteenth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-one: she had likewise borne four princesses; namely, Anne, Amelia, Carolina, Mary, and was afterwards delivered of Louisa, married in the sequel to the king of Denmark.

laid before them by order of his majesty, they voted two and twenty thousand, nine hundred and fifty-five men for guards and garrisons; and fifteen thousand seamen for the service of the ensuing year. They granted two hundred and thirty thousand, nine hundred and twenty-three pounds, for the maintenance of twelve thousand Hessian troops; a subsidy of fifty thousand pounds to the king of Sweden; and half that sum to the duke of Brunswick Wolfenbüttele. The expence of the year amounted to four millions, raised by a land-tax of three shillings in the pound, a malt-tax, and by borrowing of the bank one million, seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds; for which annuities to the amount of seventy thousand pounds, to be raised by duties on coals imported into the city of London, were granted to that corporation.

§ VI. All these sums, however, were not granted without question. The number of land-forces occasioned a debate; and the Hessian auxiliaries were not allowed without dispute and opposition. When they deliberated on the loan of the bank, Mr. W. Pulteney observed, that the shifting of funds was but perpetuating taxes, and putting off the evil day: that notwithstanding the great merit which some persons had built on the sinking fund, it appeared that the national debt had been increased since the setting-up that pompous project. Some warm altercation passed between him and Sir Robert Walpole on this subject. The lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, presented a petition, setting forth, that the duties already laid upon coals and culm imported into London, affected the trade of that city only; that the inequality of the burthen was a great discouragement to their manufactures, and an hardship upon all the trading inhabitants. The petition was rejected, and the tax imposed. The house having addressed the king for a particular and distinct account of the distribution of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, charged to have been issued for securing the trade and navigation of the kingdom, and preserving and restoring the peace of Europe; he declined granting their request, but signified in general, that part of the money had been issued and disbursed by his late majesty, and the remainder by himself, for carrying on the same necessary services, which required the greatest secrecy. Such a message in the reign of king William would have raised a dangerous flame in the house of commons. Mr. W. Pulteney inveighed against such a vague and general way of accounting for the public money, as tending to render parliaments altogether insignificant, to cover embezzlements, and to screen corrupt and rapacious ministers. The commons having taken into consideration the state of the national debt, examined the accounts, and interrogated the proper officers; a motion was made by a court-member, that it appeared the monies already issued and applied towards discharging the national debts, together with a sum to be issued at Lady-day, amounted to six millions six hundred forty-eight thousand seven hundred and sixty-two pounds, five shillings, one penny, one farthing. In vain did the leaders of the opposition expose the fallacious tendency of this motion. In vain did they demonstrate the fraudulent artifice used in drawing up the accounts: the motion was carried; and several resolutions were taken on the state of the national debts. In the particular account of these debts, upon which the house resolved to form a representation to his majesty, an article of three hundred thousand pounds relating to the duty upon wrought plate, was totally omitted. This extraordinary omission being discovered, gave rise to a very warm debate, and

and to very severe reflections against those who superintended the public accounts. This error being rectified, a committee appointed for the purpose drew up the representation, containing a particular detail of the national debts discharged and incurred since the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, with a state of the sinking fund and of the public credit. The draught being approved by the house, was presented to the king, who received it graciously. He took this opportunity of saying, that the provision made for gradually discharging the national debt was now become so certain and considerable, that nothing but some unforeseen event could alter or diminish it: a circumstance that afforded the fairest prospect of seeing the old debts discharged, without any necessity of incurring new incumbrances.

§ VII. This answer, fraught with many other expressions of fatherly tenderness for his people, paved the way for a message to the house, demanding a vote of credit to fulfil certain engagements entered into, and concerted with the advice and concurrence of the last parliament, for securing the trade and navigation of the kingdom, and for restoring and preserving the peace of Europe. Though a debate ensued upon this message, the majority resolved that an address should be presented to his majesty, declaring the duty and fidelity of the commons, their entire confidence in his royal care and goodness, and their readiness to enable his majesty to fulfil his engagements. A vote of credit passed accordingly. During this session, the peers were chiefly employed in examining copies of several treaties and alliances which the king submitted to their perusal: they likewise prepared a bill for amending the statute of limitation, which however did not pass into a law: they considered the state of the national debt, a subject fruitful of debates: they passed the mutiny-bill, and those that were sent up from the commons, touching the supplies; together with an act, obliging ships arriving from infected places to perform quarantine; and some others of a more private nature. These bills having received the royal assent, the king closed the session on the twenty-eighth day of May, when he thanked the commons for the effectual supplies they had raised, and in particular, for having impowered him to borrow five hundred thousand pounds for the discharge of wages due to the seamen employed in the navy.

§ VIII. England was at this period quite barren of remarkable events. The king's uncle Ernest Augustus, prince of Brunswic, duke of York and bishop of Osnabrug, died on the third day of August, and was succeeded in the bishopric by the elector of Cologne, according to the pactum by which Osnabrug is alternately possessed by the house of Brunswic and that elector. In the beginning of December, his majesty's eldest son prince Frederic arrived in England from Hanover, where he had hitherto resided; was introduced into the privy council, and created prince of Wales. Signior Como, resident from the duke of Parma, was ordered to quit the kingdom, because his master payed to the pretender the honours due to the king of Great-Britain. The congress opened at Soissons, for determining all disputes among the powers of Europe, proved ineffectual. Such difficulties occurred in settling and reconciling so many different pretensions and interests, that the contracting parties in the alliance of Hanover, proposed a provisional treaty, concerning which no definitive answer was given as yet by the courts of Vienna and Madrid. The fate of Europe, therefore, continued in suspense: the English fleet lay inactive and rotting

rotting in in the West-Indies : the sailors perished miserably, without daring to avenge their country's wrongs ; while the Spanish cruizers committed depredations with impunity on the commerce of Great-Britain. The court of Spain, at this juncture, seemed cold and indifferent with regard to a pacification with England. It had renewed a good understanding with France, and now strengthened its interest by a double alliance of marriage with the royal family of Portugal. The infanta of this house was betrothed to the prince of Asturias ; while the Spanish infanta formerly affianced to the French king, was now matched with the prince of Brazil, eldest son of his Portuguese majesty. In the month of January, the two courts met in a wooden house built over the little river Coya that separates the two kingdoms, and there the princesses were exchanged.

§ IX. The parliament of Great-Britain meeting according to their last prorogation on the twenty-first day of January, the king in his speech communicated the nature of the negotiation at the congress ; demanded such supplies as might enable him to act vigorously in concert with his allies, provided his endeavours to establish an advantageous peace should miscarry ; and he hinted, that the dilatory conduct of the courts of Vienna and Madrid proceeded in a great measure from the hopes that were given, of creating discontents and divisions among the subjects of Great-Britain. This suggestion was a ministerial artifice to inflame the zeal and resentment of the nation, and intimidate the members in the opposition. Accordingly the hint was pursued, and in the addresses from both houses, that could not fail of being agreeable, considering the manner in which they were dictated, particular notice was taken of this article : both peers and commons expressed their detestation and abhorrence of those, who by such base and unnatural artifices, suggested the means of distressing their country, and clamoured at the inconveniencies which they themselves had occasioned. In these addresses, likewise, the parliament congratulated his majesty on the arrival of the prince of Wales in his British dominions ; and the commons sent a particular compliment to his royal highness on that occasion. The estimates having been examined in the usual form, the house voted fifteen thousand seamen for the ensuing year ; but the motion for continuing the same number of land-forces which had been allowed in the preceding year, was not carried without dispute. All the arguments against a standing army in time of peace, as inconsistent with the British constitution, and dangerous to the liberties of the people, were repeated with great vivacity by Mr. Shippen and Mr. W. Pulteney. These, however, were answered and represented as absurd, by Mr. Horatio Walpole and Mr. D. two staunch adherents of the minister. The first had, in despite of nature, been employed in different negotiations : he was blunt, awkward and slovenly : an orator without eloquence, an ambassador without dignity, and a plenipotentiary without address. The other had natural parts and acquired knowledge ; spoke with confidence ; and in dispute was vain, sarcastic, petulant, and verbose.

§ X. The subsidies to Sweden, Hesse-Cassel, and Wolfembuttel, were continued, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr. Lutwyche, and Mr. Pulteney ; which last observed, that as the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the duke of Brunswick Wolfembuttel, usually maintained a certain number

of troops in their pay, it was but reasonable that Great-Britain should defray no more than the expence of the additional forces which those powers had raised, in consequence of their conventions with the king of England. Sir Robert Walpole perceiving, that this remark made an impression on the house, thought it necessary to vindicate his measure: he expatiated upon the wisdom of the late king, in concluding the Hanover alliance. He affirmed, that the convention with Hesse-Cassel had prevented a war in the empire, for which the court of Vienna had made great preparations: that the emperor had not only augmented his own forces by the help of Spanish subsidies, but also retained the troops of three electors; and if he had not been overawed by the Hessians, would certainly have rejected the preliminaries, and all other advances towards a pacification: that therefore they ought not to grudge an expence which had already proved so beneficial to the tranquillity of Europe. Sir Joseph Jekyll replied, that whatever gloss might be put upon such measures, they were repugnant to the maxims by which England in former times had steered and squared its conduct with relation to its interest abroad: that the navy was the natural strength of Great-Britain; its best defence and security: but, if in order to avoid a war, they should be so free-hearted as to buy and maintain the forces of foreign princes, they were never like to see an end of such extravagant expences. This gentleman, who exercised the office of master of the rolls, had approved himself a zealous defender of whig principles, was an able lawyer, a sensible speaker, and a conscientious patriot. The supplies were raised by a continuation of the land-tax, the duties upon malt, cyder and perry, an additional imposition on unmalted corn used in distilling, and by sale of annuities to the bank, not exceeding fifty thousand pounds per annum.

§ XI. Petitions were delivered to the house of commons from the merchants of London, Liverpool, and Bristol, complaining of the interruptions they had suffered in their trade for several years, by the depredations of the Spaniards in the West-Indies. These being considered, the house ordered the lords of the admiralty to produce the other memorials of the same kind which they had received, that they might be layed before the congress at Soissons; and addressed his majesty for copies of all the letters and instructions which had been sent to admiral Hosier, and those who succeeded him in the command of the West-India squadron. Mr. Oglethorpe having been informed of shocking cruelties and oppressions exercised by gaolers upon their prisoners, moved for an examination into these practices, and was chosen chairman of a committee appointed to enquire into the state of the gaols of the kingdom. They began with the Fleet-prison, which they visited in a body: there they found Sir William Rich, baronet, loaded with irons, by order of Bambridge the warden, to whom he had given some slight cause of offence. They made a discovery of many inhuman barbarities which had been committed by that ruffian, and detected the most iniquitous scenes of fraud, villany, and extortion. When the report was made by the committee, the house unanimously resolved, that Thomas Bambridge, acting warden of the Fleet, had wilfully permitted several debtors to escape; had been guilty of the most notorious breaches of trust, great extortions, and the highest crimes and misdemeanours in the execution of his office; that he had arbitrarily and unlawfully loaded with irons, put into dungeons, and destroyed prisoners for debt, under his charge, treating them in
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the most barbarous and cruel manner, in high violation and contempt of the laws of the kingdom. A resolution of the same nature passed against John Huggins, esquire, who had been warden of the Fleet-prison. The house presented an address to the king, desiring he would direct his attorney-general forthwith, to prosecute these persons and their accomplices, who were committed prisoners to Newgate. A bill was brought in, disabling Bambridge to execute the office of warden: another for the better regulating the prison of the Fleet; and for more effectual preventing and punishing arbitrary and illegal practices of the warden of the said prison.

§ XII. Other merchants complained by petition of the losses sustained by the Spaniards. The house, in a grand committee, deliberated on this subject, inquired into the particulars, examined evidence, and drew up an address to the king, desiring his majesty would be graciously pleased to use his utmost endeavours for preventing such depredations; for procuring just and reasonable satisfaction; and for securing to his subjects the free exercise of commerce and navigation to and from the British colonies in America. The king assured them he would use his best endeavours to answer the desires and expectations of his people, in an affair of so much importance: and they, in another address, thanked him for his gracious answer. They did not, however, receive such a satisfactory reply to a former address, touching the sum of sixty thousand pounds that had been stated in the public account, without specification of the particular uses to which it was applied. He told them the money had been issued and disbursed for secret services; and, that a distinct and particular account of the distribution of it could not be given without a manifest prejudice to the public. A bill was prepared for the more effectual preventing bribery and corruption in elections for members of parliament; and it passed through the house without opposition: but, their attention was chiefly employed upon the Spanish depredations, which had raised a great clamour through the whole kingdom, and excited very warm disputes in parliament; for they were generally reputed the fruits of negligence, incapacity, or want of vigour in the ministers. The commons having made further progress in the inquiry, and received fresh petitions from the merchants, passed some resolutions, in which the Spaniards were accused of having violated the treaties subsisting between the two crowns; and with having treated inhumanly the masters and crews of ships belonging to Great-Britain. They justified the instructions given to admiral Hosier to seize and detain the flota and galleons of Spain, until justice and satisfaction should be rendered to his majesty and his allies; nay, even declared, that such seizure would have been just, prudent, and necessary, tending to prevent an open rupture; and to preserve the peace and tranquillity of Europe. They again addressed the king, to use his endeavours to procure satisfaction; and he promised to comply with their request.

§ XIV. Mr. Scrope, member for Bristol, moved for an address, intreating his majesty to order an account of the produce of the civil list revenues for one year to be layed before the house. The address was presented, the account produced; and the house, in a grand committee, took this affair into consideration. The courtiers affirmed, that they fell short of the eight hundred thousand pounds settled upon his majesty; and Mr. Scrope proposed, that the sum of one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds should be granted to the king, on account of those
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deficiencies and arrears. The motion was vigorously opposed by Mr. Pulteney and other members. They expressed their surprize that it should be made so late in the session, when no further demand of money could be reasonably expected; and they said, it was the more extraordinary, because it appeared in the former session, from the examination of the accounts then before the house, that the revenues of the civil-list produced yearly a much greater sum than that for which they were given. Mr. Pulteney moved, that the accounts and papers should be referred to the examination of a select committee, properly empowered to investigate the truth. The ministers opposed this motion; and the question being put, it passed in the negative. The majority voted the sum demanded; and in a bill for settling the price of imported corn, they inserted the resolution for granting to his majesty the sum of one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds, on account of arrears due on the civil list revenues.

§ XIV. The house of lords having prepared a bill for the more effectual punishment of forgery, which was passed into a law, and ordered the judges to bring in another, on the report of a committee appointed to consider the case of imprisoned debtors; at length, deliberated upon the state of the nation, particularly, the positive demand made by the court of Spain for the restitution of Gibraltar, grounded on a letter written by the late king to his catholic majesty. From a copy of the letter layed before the house, it plainly appeared, that king George I. had consented to this restitution. A motion being made for a resolution, importing, that for the honour of his majesty, and the preservation and security of the trade and commerce of the kingdom, effectual care should be taken in the present treaty, that the king of Spain should renounce all claim and pretension to Gibraltar and Minorca, in plain and strong terms; a debate ensued, and the question being put, passed in the negative, though not without a protest. Then the majority resolved, That the house did entirely rely upon his majesty, that he would, for maintaining the honour and securing the trade of this kingdom, take effectual care in the present treaty, to preserve his undoubted right to Gibraltar and Minorca. When the house examined the papers relating to the Spanish depredations, many severe reflections were uttered against the conduct of the ministry; and a motion was made, to resolve, That Hosier's expedition was an unreasonable burthen on the nation; but, this too was rejected, and occasioned another protest. Nor did the clause in the corn-bill, for granting one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds to his majesty, pass through the house of peers without warm opposition. Divers lords alledged, that instead of a deficiency in the civil list revenues, there was a considerable surplus: that this was a new grant, and a new burden on the people: that the nation was loaded, not to complete, but to augment the sum designed for the civil-list; and this at a time when the public debts were increased; when the taxes were heavily felt in all parts of the country; when the foreign trade of Britain was incumbered and diminished; when her manufactures were decayed; her poor multiplied; and she was surrounded by many other national calamities. They observed, that if the produce of the civil-list revenue should not amount to the yearly sum of eight hundred thousand pounds, the deficiency must be made good to his majesty by the public; whereas no provision was made, by which, if the produce of these revenues should exceed that sum, the surplus could accrue to the benefit of the public: that by this precedent, not only real deficiencies were to be

made good, but also supplies were to be given for arrears standing out at the end of every year, which should come on before the supplies could be granted, though the supply given to make good arrears in one year, would certainly increase the surpluses in another: that the revenues of the civil list were variable in their own nature; and even when there is no deficiency in the produce, there might be arrears in the receipt: these might be easily increased by the management of designing ministers, by private directions to receivers, and by artful methods of stating accounts. All these arguments, and other objections equally strong and plausible, against this unconscionable and unparliamentary motion, served only to evince the triumph of the ministry over shame and sentiment, their contempt of public spirit, and their defiance of national reproach*.

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§ XV. The king had on the twenty fourth day of March given the royal assent to five bills; and on the fourteenth day of May the same sanction was given to thirty other bills, including an act, enabling the queen to be regent in the kingdom during his majesty's absence, without taking the oaths; and another for the relief of insolvent debtors. At the same time two and thirty private bills were passed; then the king expressed his approbation of the parliament, signified his intention to visit his German dominions, and ordered the chancellor to prorogue both houses. His majesty having appointed the queen regent of the realm, set out for Hanover on the seventeenth day of May, in order to remove a petty misunderstanding which had happened between that electorate and the court of Berlin. Some Hanoverian subjects had been pressed or decoyed into the service of Prussia; and the regents of Hanover had seized certain Prussian officers by way of reprisal. The whole united kingdom of Great-Britain at this juncture enjoyed uninterrupted repose; and commerce continued to increase, in spite of all restriction and discouragement. The people of Ireland found themselves happy under the government of lord Carteret; and their parliament, assembling in the month of September, approved themselves the fathers of their country. They established funds for the discharge of their national debt, and for maintaining the expence of government: they enacted wholesome laws for the encouragement of manufacture, trade, and agriculture; and they formed wise regulations in different branches of civil oeconomy. Some time after this session, which was conducted with so much harmony and patriotism, lord Carteret returned to England; and was succeeded by the duke of Dorset in the government of that kingdom. In the month of May Charles lord Townshend resigned the seals, which were given to colonel Stanhope, now created earl of Harrington; so that Sir R. W. now reigned without a rival. James earl of Waldegrave was appointed ambassador to the court of France, which, about this time was filled with joy by the birth of a dauphin.

§ XVI. In the month of September Victor Amadæus, king of Sardinia, resigned his crown to his son Charles Emanuel, prince of Piedmont. The father reserved to himself a revenue of one hundred thousand pistoles per annum, retired to the castle of Chambery, and espoused the countess dowager of St. Sebastian, who declined the title of queen, but assumed that of marchioness of So-

* The peers that distinguished themselves in the opposition were Beaufort, Strafford, Craven, Foley, Litchfield, Scarsdale, Gower, Montjoy, Plymouth, Bathurst, Northampton, Coventry, Oxford and Mortimer, Willoughby de Broke, Boyle, and Warrington.

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merive. Though the congress at Soissons proved abortive, conferences were begun at Seville, between the plenipotentiaries of England, France, and Spain; and a treaty was concluded on the ninth day of November, not only without the concurrence of the emperor, but even contrary to his right, as established by the quadruple alliance. On this subject he communicated an imperial commissorial decree to the states of the empire assembled in the diet at Ratibon, which was answered by the French minister De Chavigny. In October Peter II. czar of Muscovy, and grandson of Peter I. died in the fifteenth year of his age, at Moscow, and was succeeded on the Russian throne by the princess Anne Ivanowna, second daughter of John Alexowitz, elder brother of the first Peter, and widow of Frederick William duke of Courland. The following month was rendered remarkable by the death of pope Benedict XIII. in whose room cardinal Laurence Corsini was raised to the pontificate, and assumed the name of Clement XII.

§ XVII. The British parliament assembling on the thirteenth day of January, the king gave them to understand, that the peace of Europe was now established by the treaty of Seville, built upon the foundation of former treaties, and tending to render more effectual what the contracting powers in the quadruple alliance were before engaged to see performed. He assured them that all former conventions made with Spain in favour of the British trade and navigation, were renewed and confirmed: that the free uninterrupted exercise of their commerce was restored: that the court of Spain had agreed to an ample restitution and reparation for unlawful seizures and depredations: that all rights, privileges, and possessions belonging to him and his allies, were solemnly re-established, confirmed, and guaranteed: and that not one concession was made to the prejudice of his subjects. He told them he had given orders for reducing a great number of his land-forces, and for laying up great part of the fleet; and observed, that there would be a considerable saving in the expence of the current year. After both houses had presented their addresses of thanks and congratulation to the king on the peace of Seville, the lords took that treaty into consideration; and it did not pass inquiry without severe animadversion.

§ XVIII. The lords in the opposition excepted to the article by which the merchants of Great-Britain were obliged to make proof of their losses at the court of Spain. They said, this stipulation was a hardship upon British subjects, and dishonourable to the nation: that few would care to undertake such a troublesome and expensive journey, especially as they had reason to apprehend their claims would be counterbalanced by the Spaniards; and after all, they would have no more but the slender comfort of hoping to obtain that redress by commissaries which they had not been able to procure by plenipotentiaries. They thought it very extraordinary, that Great-Britain should be bound to ratify and guaranty whatever agreement should be made between the king of Spain and the dukes of Parma and Tuscany, concerning the garrisons once established in their countries: that the English should be obliged to assist in effectuating the introduction of six thousand Spanish troops into the towns of Tuscany and Parma, without any specification of the methods to be taken, or the charge to be incurred in giving that assistance: that they should guaranty for ever, not only to Don Carlos, but even to all his successors, the possession of the estates of Tuscany and Parma; a stipulation, which, in all probability, would involve Great-Britain in endless quarrels

quarrels and disputes, about a country with which they had no concern. They affirmed, that the treaty of Seville, instead of confirming other treaties, was contradictory to the quadruple alliance, particularly in the article of introducing Spanish troops into Tuscany and Parma, in the room of neutral forces stipulated by the former alliance; and agreeing, that they should there remain until Don Carlos and his successors should be secure and exempt from all events. They complained, that these alterations, from the tenour of the quadruple alliance, were made without the concurrence of the emperor, and even without inviting him to accede; an affront which might alienate his friendship from England, and hazard the loss of such an antient, powerful, and faithful ally: and, that throughout the whole treaty there seemed to be an artful omission of any express stipulation, to secure Great-Britain in her right to Gibraltar and Minorca. Such was the substance of the objections made to the peace: then lord Bathurst moved for a resolution, that the agreement on the treaty of Seville, to secure the succession of Don Carlos to the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, with Spanish troops, was a manifest violation of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, tending to involve the nation in a dangerous and expensive war, and to destroy the ballance of power in Europe. The question was put, and the motion rejected. Such too was the fate of other two motions, to resolve, That Great-Britain's right of sovereignty, dominion, possession, and claim to Gibraltar and Minorca, were not ascertained by the treaty of Seville: and, That the stipulations in that treaty, for repairing the losses of the British merchants, were insufficient and precarious. The majority, far from stigmatizing this transaction, resolved, That the treaty did contain all necessary stipulations for maintaining and securing the honour, dignity, rights, and possessions of the crown: that all due care was taken therein for the support of the trade of the kingdom, and for repairing the losses sustained by the British merchants. On these resolutions an address of approbation was founded; but, when a motion was made for an address to his majesty, that he would order to be layed before the house a list of all pensions payable to the crown, it was immediately resolved in the negative. Divers contests of the same kind arose upon the mutiny-bill, the pension-bill, and the maintenance of the twelve thousand Hessians; but the ministry bore down all opposition, though their triumphs were clogged with vigorous protests, which did not fail to make impression upon the body of the people.

§ XIX. Nor was the success of the court-interest in the house of commons altogether pure and free from exception and dispute. When the charge of the land-forces fell under the consideration of the commons, and Mr. Henry Pelham, secretary at war, moved, that the number of the effective men for the land-service of the ensuing year, should be fixed at seventeen thousand seven hundred and nine; Mr. Pulteney insisted upon its being reduced to twelve thousand. Mr. Shippen affirmed, that Mr. Pelham's motion was a flat negative to the address for which he voted on the first day of the session, as it plainly implied a distrust of the validity of the late treaty, which he then assured the house, would immediately produce all the blessings of an absolute peace; and deliver the kingdom from the apprehensions and inconveniencies of a war. He said, the motion tended directly towards the establishment of an army in Great-Britain, which, he hoped, would never be so far germanized, as tamely to submit to

to a military government. He observed, that the nation could have no occasion for all the troops that were demanded, considering the glorious scene of affairs which was now opened to all Europe. "They are not necessary (said he) to awe Spain into a firm adherence to its own treaty: they are not necessary to force the emperor into an immediate accession; nor are they in any sort necessary for the safety of his majesty's person and government. Force and violence are the resort of usurpers and tyrants only; because they are, with good reason, distrustful of the people whom they oppress; and, because they have no other security for the continuance of their unlawful and unnatural dominion, than what depends entirely on the strength of their armies." The motion, however, was carried in the affirmative.

§ XX. Another warm debate was excited by a bill which the courtiers brought in, to prevent any subjects of Great-Britain from advancing sums of money to foreign princes or states, without having obtained licence from his majesty, under his privy-seal, or some greater authority. The minister pretended, that this law was proposed to disable the emperor, who wanted to borrow a great sum of the English merchants, for raising and maintaining troops to disturb the tranquillity of Europe. The bill contained a clause, empowering the king to prohibit by proclamation, all such loans of money, jewels, or bullion; and the attorney-general to compel, by English bill, in the court of exchequer, the effectual discovery, on oath, of any such loans; and, that in default of an answer to any such bill, the court should decree a limited sum against the person refusing to answer. Mr. Daniel Pulteney, a gentleman of uncommon talents and ability, and particularly acquainted with every branch of commerce, argued strenuously against this bill, as a restraint upon trade that would render Holland the market of Europe, and the mart of money to the nations of the continent. He said, that by this general prohibition, extending to all princes, states, or potentates, the English were totally disabled from assisting their best allies: that among others the king of Portugal frequently borrowed money of the English merchants residing within his dominions: that while the licensing power remained in the crown, the licences would be issued through the hands of the minister, who by this new trade might gain twenty, thirty, or forty thousand a-year: that the bill would render the exchequer a court of inquisition; and that whilst it restrained our merchants from assisting the princes and powers of Europe, it permitted our stock-jobbers to trade in their funds without interruption. Other arguments of equal weight were enforced by Mr. Barnard, a merchant of London, who perfectly understood trade in all its branches, spoke with judgment and precision, and upon all occasions steadily adhered to the interests and liberties of his country. After having explained his reasons, he declared he should never consent to a bill which he deemed a violation of our fundamental laws, a branch of our dearest liberties, and a very terrible hardship on mankind. Sir William Wyndham distinguished himself on the same side of the question; but the bill was vindicated by Sir Robert Walpole, Mr. Pelham, and Sir Philip Yorke attorney-general; and being supported by the whole weight of ministerial influence, not only passed through the house, but was afterwards enacted into a law.

§ XXI. The subsidies were continued to the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttele, in spite of all that could be urged against these

these extraneous incumbrances; and the supply for the ensuing year was granted according to the estimates which the ministry thought proper to produce, amounting to about two millions two hundred and eighty thousand pounds. It must be owned, however, for the credit of this session, that the house appropriated one million of the surplusses, arising from the sinking fund, towards the discharge of the national debt; and by another act extinguished the duties upon salt, by which expedient the subject was eased of a heavy burden, not only in being freed from the duty, but also from a considerable charge of salaries given to a great number of officers employed to collect this imposition. They likewise encouraged the colony of Carolina with an act, allowing the planters and traders of that province to export rice directly to any part of Europe southward of Cape Finistere; and they permitted salt from Europe to be imported into the colony of New York. The term of the exclusive trade granted by act of parliament to the East-India company, drawing towards a period, many considerable merchants and others made application for being incorporated and vested with the privilege of trading to those countries, proposing to lay that branch of trade open to all the subjects of Great-Britain, on certain conditions; and in consideration of an act of parliament for this purpose, they offered to advance three millions two hundred thousand pounds, for redeeming the fund and trade of the present East-India company. This proposal was rejected; and the exclusive privilege vested in the company, was, by act of parliament, protracted to the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, upon the following conditions: That they should pay into the exchequer the sum of two hundred thousand pounds towards the supplies of the year, without interest or addition to their capital stock: That the annuity or yearly fund of one hundred and sixty thousand pounds, payable to them from the public, should be reduced to one hundred and twenty-eight thousand: and, That after the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, their right to the exclusive trade should be liable to be taken away by parliament, on three years notice, and repayment of their capital.

§ XXII. On the fifteenth day of May the king went to the house of peers, and closed the session. In his speech he expressed his joy, that notwithstanding all the clamours which were raised, the parliament had approved of those matters which fell under their consideration; a circumstance, which, he said, could not fail to inspire all mankind with a just detestation of those incendiaries, who, by scandalous libels, laboured to alienate the affections of his people; to fill their minds with groundless jealousies and unjust complaints, in dishonour of him and his government; and in defiance of the sense of both houses of parliament*. The emperor was so much incensed at the insult offered to him in the treaty of Seville, with respect to the garrisons of Tuscany and Parma, that he prohibited the subjects of Great-Britain from trading in his dominions: he

* In the course of this session the commons passed a bill for making more effectual the laws in being, for disabling persons from being chosen members of parliament who enjoyed any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years, or any offices holden in trust for them, by obliging all persons hereafter to be chosen to serve for the

commons in parliament, to take the oath therein mentioned. In all probability this bill would not have made its way through the house of commons, had not the minister been well assured it would stick with the upper house, where it was rejected at the second reading, though not without violent opposition.

began

began to make preparations for war; and actually detached bodies of troops to Italy, with such dispatch as had been very seldom exerted by the house of Austria. Yet the article of which he complained was not so much a real injury as an affront put upon the head of the empire; for the eventual succession to those Italian duchies had been secured to the infant Don Carlos by the quadruple alliance; and all that the emperor required, was that this prince should receive the investiture of them as fiefs of the empire.

§ XXIII. In Great-Britain, this year was not distinguished by any transaction of great moment. Seven chiefs of the Cherokee nation of Indians in America, were brought to England by Sir Alexander Cumin, and introduced to the king, at whose feet they layed their crown and regalia; and by an authentic deed acknowledged themselves subjects to his dominion, in the name of all their compatriots, who had vested them with full powers for this purpose. They were amazed and confounded at the riches and magnificence of the British court: they compared the king and queen to the sun and moon, the princes to the stars of heaven, and themselves to nothing. They gave their assent in the most solemn manner to articles of friendship and commerce, proposed by the lords commissioners for trade and plantations: and being loaded with presents of necessaries, arms, and ammunition, were reconveyed to their own country, which borders on the province of South Carolina. In the month of September a surprising revolution was effected at Constantinople, without bloodshed or confusion. A few mean janissaries displayed a flag in the streets, exclaiming, that all true Mussulmans ought to follow them, and assist in reforming the government. They soon increased to the number of one hundred thousand; marched to the seraglio, and demanded the grand vizir, the kiaja, and captain bachau. These unhappy ministers were immediately strangled. Their bodies being delivered to the insurgents, were dragged through the streets; and afterwards thrown to the dogs to be devoured. Not contented with this sacrifice, the revolted deposed the grand signor Achmet, who was confined to the same prison, from whence they brought his nephew Machmout, and raised him to the throne, after he had lived seven and twenty years in confinement.

§ XXIV. England was at this period infested with robbers, assassins, and incendiaries, the natural consequences of degeneracy, corruption, and the want of police in the interior government of the kingdom. This defect, in a great measure, arose from an absurd notion, that laws necessary to prevent those acts of cruelty, violence, and rapine, would be incompatible with the liberty of British subjects; a notion that confounds all distinctions between liberty and brutal licentiousness, as if that freedom was desirable, in the enjoyment of which people find no security for their lives or effects. The peculiar depravity of the times was visible even in the conduct of those who preyed upon the commonwealth. Thieves and robbers were now become more desperate and savage than ever they had appeared since mankind were civilized. In the exercise of their rapine, they wounded, maimed, and even murdered the unhappy sufferers, through a wantonness of barbarity. They circulated letters, demanding sums of money from certain individuals, on pain of reducing their houses to ashes, and their families to ruin; and even set fire to the house of a rich merchant in Bristol, who had refused to comply with their demand. The same species of villany was practised in different parts of the kingdom; so that the govern-

government was obliged to interpose, and offer a considerable reward for discovering the ruffians concerned in such execrable designs.

§ XXV. In the speech with which the king opened the session of parliament on the twenty-first day of January, he told them, that the present critical conjuncture seemed in a very particular manner to deserve their attention: that as the transactions then depending in the several courts of Europe were upon the point of being determined, the great event of peace or war might be very much affected by their first resolutions, which were expected by different powers with great impatience. He said, the continuance of that zeal and vigour with which they had hitherto supported him and his engagements, must at this time be of the greatest weight and importance, both with regard to his allies, and to those who might be disposed before the season of action, to prevent by an accommodation the fatal consequences of a general rupture. The former scene was repeated. Both houses, in their addresses, promised to support his majesty in all his engagements: though the members in the opposition demonstrated the absurdity of promising to fulfil engagements before they could possibly know whether or not they were for the service of Great-Britain. Another bill was brought into the house of commons, to prevent pensioners from sitting as members of parliament; and, after a third reading, carried up to the lords for their concurrence. When the supply fell under consideration, the debates were renewed upon the subsidies to the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and the duke of Wolfenbuttle, which, however, were continued; and every article was granted according to the estimates given in for the expence of the ensuing year. Two petitions being presented to the commons, representing the delays of justice, occasioned by the use of the Latin tongue in proceedings at law; a bill was brought in for changing this practice, and enacting, That all those processes and pleadings should be entered in the English language. Though one would imagine, that very little could be advanced against such a regulation, the bill met with warm opposition, on pretence that it would render useless the antient records which were written in that language, and introduce confusion and delay of justice, by altering the established form and method of pleading; in spite of these objections it passed through both houses, and obtained the royal assent. A great number of merchants from different parts of the kingdom, having repeated their complaints of depredations and cruelties committed by the Spaniards in the West-Indies; their petitions were referred to the consideration of a grand committee. Their complaints, upon examination, appeared to be well founded. The house presented an address to the king, desiring his majesty would be graciously pleased to continue his endeavour to prevent such depredations for the future; to procure full satisfaction for the damages already sustained; and to secure to the British subjects the full and uninterrupted exercise of their trade and navigation to and from the British colonies in America. The bill against pensions produced a warm debate in the house of lords, where it was violently opposed by the dukes of Newcastle and Argyle, the earl of Ilay, and Dr. Sherlock bishop of Bangor. This prelate, in a remarkable speech, represented it as a scheme to enlarge the power of the house of commons; and to break the ballance between the powers essential to the constitution, so as sooner or later to prove the ruin of the whole. The great barrier provided against bribery and corruption by this bill, consisted in an oath to be

be imposed on all members of the lower house, by which they must have solemnly sworn and declared, that they had not directly nor indirectly, any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years, or any office in part, or in the whole, held for them or for their benefit, by any persons whatsoever; and, that they would not accept any such pensions or offices, without signifying the same to the house within fourteen days after they should be received or accepted. The bill was vindicated as just and necessary by the earls of Winchelsea and Strafford, the lord Bathurst, and the lord Carteret, who had by this time joined as an auxiliary in the opposition.

§ XXVI. The house of peers proceeded to consider the state of the national debt: they read a bill for the free importation of wool from Ireland into England, which was fiercely opposed, and layed aside, contrary to all the rules of sound policy. They passed the bill for carrying on proceedings at law in the English language; and a fruitless motion was made by the lord Bathurst for an address, to desire his majesty would give directions for discharging the Hessian troops that were in the pay of Great-Britain. On the seventh day of May the parliament was prorogued, after the king had given them to understand, that all apprehensions of war were now happily removed, by a treaty signed at Vienna between him and the emperor. He said it was communicated to the courts of France and Spain, as parties to the treaty of Seville, the execution of which it principally regarded; and, that it was likewise submitted to the consideration of the states-general. He observed, that the conditions and engagements into which he had entered on this occasion, were agreeable to that necessary concern which the British nation must always have for the security and preservation of the ballance of power in Europe: that this happy turn, duly improved with a just regard to former alliances, yielded a favourable prospect of seeing the public tranquillity re-established.

§ XXVII. In the month of January the duke of Parma died, after having made a will, in which he declared his dutchess was three months advanced in her pregnancy; intreating the allied powers of Europe to have compassion upon his people, and defer the execution of their projects until his consort should be delivered. In case the child should be still-born, or die after the birth, he bequeathed his dominions and allodial estates to the infant Don Carlos of Spain; and appointed five regents to govern the dutchy. Notwithstanding this disposition, a body of Imperial troops immediately took possession of Parma and Placentia, under the command of general Stampa, who declared they should conduct themselves with all possible regularity and moderation; and leave the administration intirely to the regents whom the duke had appointed. They publicly proclaimed in the market-place, that they took possession of these dutchies for the infant Don Carlos: and, that if the dutchess dowager should not be delivered of a prince, the said infant might receive the investiture from the emperor whenever he would, provided he should come without an army. Though these steps seemed to threaten an immediate war, the king of Great-Britain and the states-general interposed their mediation so effectually with the court of Vienna, that the emperor desisted from the prosecution of his design; and on the sixteenth day of March concluded at Vienna a treaty with his Britannic majesty, by which he consented to withdraw his troops from Parma and Placentia. He agreed, That the king of Spain might take possession of these places in fa-

vous of his son Don Carlos, according to the treaty of Seville. He likewise agreed, That the Ostend company, which had given such umbrage to the maritime powers, should be totally dissolved, on condition that the contracting powers concerned in the treaty of Seville, should guaranty the pragmatic sanction, or succession of the Austrian hereditary dominions to the heirs female of the emperor, in case he should die without male issue. The Dutch minister residing at the Imperial court did not subscribe this treaty, because, by the maxims received in that republic, and the nature of her government, he could not be vested with full powers so soon as it would have been necessary: nevertheless, the states-general were, by a separate article, expressly named as a principal contracting party.

§ XXVIII. On the twenty-second day of July a new treaty was signed at Vienna between the emperor, the kings of Great-Britain and Spain, tending to confirm the former. In August a treaty of union and defensive alliance between the electorates of Saxony and Hanover was executed at Dresden. The court of Spain expressing some doubts with regard to the pregnancy of the dutchess of Parma, she underwent a formal examination by five midwives of different nations, in presence of the older dutchess dowager, several ladies of quality, three physicians, and a surgeon; and was declared with child: nevertheless, after having kept all Europe in suspense for six months, she owned she had been deceived; and general Stampa with the Imperial forces took formal possession of the dutchies of Parma and Placentia. Spain and the great duke of Tuscany having acceded to the last treaty of Vienna, the crown of Great-Britain engaged to equip an armament that should convoy Don Carlos to his new dominions. Accordingly Sir Charles Wager sailed with a strong squadron from Portsmouth on the twenty-sixth day of August; and in September arrived at Barcelona, where being joined by the Spanish fleet and transports, they sailed together to Leghorn; from whence the admiral returned to England. Don Carlos passed through part of France, and embarking at Antibes on board of the Spanish galleys, arrived at Leghorn in December. Then the Imperial general withdrew his forces into the Milaneze; and the infant took possession of his new territories.

§ XXIX. During these transactions France was distracted by religious disputes, occasioned by the bull unigenitus thundered against the doctrines of Jansenius; a bull which had produced a schism in the Gallican church, and well nigh involved that country in civil war and confusion. It was opposed by the parliaments and lay-tribunals of the kingdom; but, many bishops, and the jesuits in general, were its most strenuous assertors. All the artifices of priestcraft were practised on both sides, to inflame the enthusiasm, and manage the superstition of the people. Pretended miracles were wrought at the tomb of abbé Paris, who had died without accepting the bull, consequently was declared damned by the abettors of that constitution. On the other hand, the jesuits exerted all their abilities and industry in preaching against the Jansenists; in establishing an opinion of their superior sanctity; and inspiring a spirit of quietism among their votaries, who were transported into the delirium of possession, illumination, and supernatural converse. These arts were often used for the most infamous purposes. Female enthusiasts were wrought up to such violence of agitations, that nature fainted under the struggle; and the pseudo-saint seized this opportunity of violating the chastity of his penitent. Such was said to be the case of mademoiselle la Cadiere, a young gentlewoman of Toulon, abused

in this manner by the lust and villany of pere Girard, a noted jesuit, who underwent a trial before the parliament of Aix, and very narrowly escaped the stake.

§ XXX. The parliament of Great-Britain meeting on the thirteenth day of January, the king in his speech declared, that the general tranquillity of Europe was restored and established by the last treaty of Vienna : that Don Carlos was actually possessed of Parma and Placentia : that six thousand Spaniards were quietly admitted and quartered in the dutchy of Tuscany, to secure, by the express consent and agreement of the great duke, the reversion of his dominions : and, that a family-convention was made between the courts of Spain and Tuscany, for preserving mutual peace and friendship in the two houses. He told the commons, that the estimates for the service of the current year would be considerably less than those of former years. He recommended unanimity : he observed, that his government had no security but what was equally conducive to their happiness, and to the protection of his people : that their prosperity had no foundation but in the defence and support of his government. "Our safety" (said he) is mutual, and our interests are inseparable." The opposition to the court measures appears to have been uncommonly spirited during the course of this session. The minister's motions were attacked with all the artillery of elocution. His principal emissaries were obliged to task their faculties to their full exertion, to puzzle and perplex where they could not demonstrate and convince ; to misrepresent what they could not vindicate, and elude the arguments which they could not refute. In the house of commons lord Hervey, lately appointed vice-chamberlain of his majesty's household, made a motion for an address of thanks, in which they should declare their intire approbation of the king's conduct ; acknowledge the blessings they enjoyed under his government ; express their confidence in the wisdom of his counsels ; and, declare their readiness to grant the necessary supplies. This member, son to the earl of Bristol, was a nobleman of some parts, which, however, were more specious than solid. He condescended to act as a subaltern to the minister, and approved himself extremely active in forwarding all his designs, whether as a secret emissary, or public orator ; in which last capacity he appears to have been pert, frivolous, and frothy. His motion was seconded by Mr. Clutterbuck, and opposed by Sir Wilfred Lawson, Mr. Shippen, Mr. W. Pulteney, Sir William Wyndham, and Mr. Oglethorpe. They did not argue against a general address of thanks ; but, exposed the absurdity and bad tendency of expressions which implied a blind approbation of all the measures of the ministry. Sir Wilfred Lawson observed, that notwithstanding the great things we had done for the crown of Spain, and the favours we had procured for the royal family of that kingdom, little or no satisfaction had as yet been received for the injuries our merchants had sustained from that nation. Mr. Pulteney took notice, that the nation, by becoming guaranty to the pragmatic sanction, layed itself under an obligation to assist the Austrian family when attacked by any potentate whatever, except the grand signor : that they might be attacked when it would be much against the interest of the kingdom to engage itself in a war upon any foreign account : that it might one day be for the interest of the nation to join against them, in order to preserve the ballance of Europe, the establishing of which had already cost Eng-

land such immense sums of money. He insisted upon the absurdity of concluding such a number of inconsistent treaties; and concluded with saying, that if affairs abroad were now happily established, the ministry which conducted them might be compared to a pilot, who, though there was a clear, safe, and straight channel into port, yet took it in his head to carry the ship a great way about, through sands, rocks, and shallows; who, after having lost a great number of seamen, destroyed a great deal of tackle and rigging, and subjected the owners to an enormous expence, at last, by chance, hits the port, and triumphs in his good conduct. Sir William Wyndham spoke to the same purpose. Mr. Oglethorpe, a gentleman of unblemished character, brave, generous, and humane, affirmed, that many other things related more nearly to the honour and interest of the nation, than did the guaranty of the pragmatic sanction. He said, he wished to have heard that the new works at Dunkirk had been intirely razed and destroyed; that the nation had received full and complete satisfaction for the depredations committed by the natives of Spain; that more care was taken in disciplining the militia, on whose valour the nation must chiefly depend in case of an invasion; and, that some regard had been shewn to the oppressed protestants in Germany. He expressed his satisfaction to find that the English were not so closely united to France as formerly; for he had generally observed, that when two dogs were in a leash together, the stronger generally ran away with the weaker; and this, he was afraid, had been the case between France and Great-Britain. The motion was vigorously defended by Mr. Pelham, paymaster of the forces, and brother to the duke of Newcastle, a man whose greatest fault was his being concerned in supporting the measures of a corrupt ministry. In other respects he was liberal, candid, benevolent, and even attached to the interest of his country, though egregiously mistaken in his notions of government. On this occasion he asserted, that it was no way inconsistent with the honour or dignity of that house, to thank his majesty in the most particular terms for every thing he had been pleased to communicate in his speech from the throne: that no expressions of approbation in the address could be any way made use of to prevent an inquiry into the measures which had been pursued, when the treaties should be layed before the house. He said, at the opening of a session the eyes of all Europe were turned towards Great-Britain, and from the parliament's first resolves, all the neighbouring powers judged of the unanimity that would ensue between his majesty and the representatives of his people: that their appearing jealous or dissident of his majesty's conduct, would weaken his influence upon the councils of foreign states and potentates, and perhaps put it out of his power to rectify any false step that might have been made by his ministers. His arguments were reinforced by a long speech from Mr. H. Walpole. The question was put, the motion carried, and the address presented.

§ XXXI. The next subject of debate was the number of land-forces. When the supply fell under consideration, Sir W. Strickland, secretary at war, moved, that the same number which had been maintained in the preceding year should be continued in pay. On the other hand, lord Morpeth having demonstrated the danger to which the liberties of the nation might be exposed, by maintaining a numerous standing army in time of peace, made a motion that the

number

number should be reduced to twelve thousand. A warm dispute ensuing, was managed in favour of the first motion, by lord Hervey, Sir Robert Walpole and his brother, Mr. Pelham, Sir Philip Yorke attorney-general, who was counted a better lawyer than a politician, and shone more as an advocate at the bar, than as an orator in the house of commons. The last partisan of the ministry was Sir William Yonge, one of the lords commissioners of the treasury, a man who rendered himself serviceable and necessary by stooping to all compliances, running upon every scent, and haranging on every subject with an even, uninterrupted, tedious flow of dull declamation, composed of assertions without veracity, conclusions from false premises, words without meaning, and language without propriety. Lord Morpeth's motion was espoused by Mr. Watkin Williams Wynne, a gentleman of an ancient family and opulent fortune in Wales, brave, open, hospitable, and warmly attached to the antient constitution and hierarchy: he was supported by Mr. Walter Plumer, who spoke with weight, precision, and severity; by Sir W. Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, Mr. W. Pulteney, and Mr. Barnard. The courtiers argued, that it was necessary to maintain such a number of land-forces as might defeat the designs of malcontents, secure the interior tranquillity of the kingdom, defend it from external assaults, overawe its neighbours, and enable it to take vigorous measures in case the peace of Europe should be reimbroiled. They affirmed the science of war was so much altered, and required such attention, that no dependence was to be placed upon a militia: that all nations were obliged to maintain standing armies, for their security against the encroachments of neighbouring powers: that the number of troops in Great-Britain was too inconsiderable to excite the jealousy of the people, even under an ambitious monarch: that his majesty never entertained the least thought of infringing the liberties of his subjects: that it could not be supposed that the officers, among whom were many gentlemen of family and fortune, would ever concur in a design to enslave their country; and that the forces now in pay could not be properly deemed a standing army, inasmuch as they were voted and maintained from year to year by the parliament, which was the representative of the people. To these arguments the members in the opposition replied, that a standing force, in time of peace, was unconstitutional, and had been always thought dangerous: that a militia was as capable of discipline as a standing army, and would have more incentives to courage and perseverance: that the civil magistrate was able to preserve the peace of the country: and, that the number of the malcontents was altogether contemptible, though it might be considerably augmented by maintaining a standing army, and other such arbitrary measures: that other nations had been enslaved by standing armies; and howsoever they might find themselves necessitated to depend upon a military force for security against incroaching neighbours, the case was very different with regard to Great-Britain, for the defence of which nature had provided in a peculiar manner: that this provision was strengthened and improved by a numerous navy, that secured to her the dominion of the sea; and if properly disposed, would render all invasion impracticable, or at least ineffectual: that the land-army of Great-Britain, though sufficient to endanger the liberties of an unarmed people, could not possibly secure such an extent of coast; and therefore could be of very little service in preventing an invasion: that though
they

they had all imaginable confidence in his majesty's regard for the liberty of his subjects, they could not help apprehending, that should a standing army become part of the constitution, another prince of more dangerous talents, and more fatal designs, might arise, and employ it for the worst purposes of ambition: that though many officers were gentlemen of honour and probity, these might be easily discarded, and the army gradually moulded into a quite different temper. By these means, practised in former times, an army had been new-modelled to such a degree, that they turned their swords against the parliament, for whose defence they had been raised, and destroyed the constitution both in church and state: that with respect to its being wholly dependant on the parliament, the people of England would have reason to complain of the same hardship, whether a standing army should be declared at once indispensable, or regularly voted from year to year, according to the direction of the ministry: that the sanction of the legislature granted to measures which in themselves are unconstitutional, burthenfome, odious, and repugnant to the genius of the nation, instead of yielding consolation, would serve only to demonstrate, that the most effectual method of forging the chains of national slavery, would be that of ministerial influence operating upon a venal parliament. Such were the reasons urged against a standing army, of what number soever it might be composed: but the expediency of reducing the number from about eighteen thousand to twelve thousand, was insisted upon as the natural consequence of his majesty's declaration, by which they were given to understand, that the peace of Europe was established; and that he had nothing so much at heart as the ease and prosperity of his people. It was suggested, that if eighteen thousand men were sufficient, on the supposed eve of a general war in Europe, it was surely reasonable to think, that a less number would suffice when peace was perfectly re-established. Whatever effect these reasons had upon the body of the nation, they made no converts in the house, where the majority resolved that the standing army should be maintained without reduction. Mr. Plumer complained, that the country was oppressed by an arbitrary method of quartering soldiers, in an undue proportion, upon those publicans who refused to vote in elections, according to the direction of the ministry. Mr. Pulteney asserted, that the money raised for the subsistence of eighteen thousand men in England, would maintain sixty thousand French or Germans, or the same number of almost any other people on the continent. Sir William Wyndham declared, that eighteen thousand of the English troops in the late war, were maintained on less than two-thirds of the sum now demanded for the like number: but no regard was paid to these allegations.

§ XXXII. The next object of importance that attracted the notice of the house, was the state of the charitable corporation. This company was first erected in the year one thousand seven hundred and seven. Their professed intention was to lend money at legal interest, to the poor, upon small pledges; and to persons of better rank upon an indubitable security of goods impawned. Their capital was at first limited to thirty thousand pounds; but, by licences from the crown, they increased it to six hundred thousand pounds, though their charter was never confirmed by act of parliament. In the month

of

of October, George Robinson, esq. member for Marlow, the cashier, and John Thompson, warehouse-keeper of the corporation, disappeared in one day. The proprietors, alarmed at this incident, held several general courts, and appointed a committee to inspect the state of their affairs. They reported, that for a capital of above five hundred thousand pounds, no equivalent was found; inasmuch as their effects did not amount to the value of thirty thousand, the remainder having been embezzled by means which they could not discover. The proprietors, in a petition to the house of commons, represented, that by the most notorious breach of trust, in several persons to whom the care and management of their affairs were committed, the corporation had been defrauded of the greatest part of their capital; and that many of the petitioners were reduced to the utmost degree of misery and distress: they therefore prayed, that as they were unable to detect the combinations of those who had ruined them, or to bring the delinquents to justice, without the aid of the power and authority of parliament, the house would vouchsafe to enquire into the state of the corporation, and the conduct of their managers; and give such relief to the petitioners, as to the house should seem meet. The petition was graciously received, and a secret committee appointed to proceed on the enquiry. They soon discovered a most iniquitous scene of fraud, which had been acted by Robinson and Thompson, in concert with some of the directors, for embezzling the capital, and cheating the proprietors. Many persons of rank and quality were concerned in this infamous conspiracy: some of the first characters in the nation did not escape suspicion and censure. Sir Robert Sutton and Sir Archibald Grant were expelled the house of commons, as having had a considerable share in those fraudulent practices: and a bill was brought in to restrain them and other delinquents from leaving the kingdom, or alienating their effects. In the mean time, the committee received a letter from signior John Angelo Belloni, an eminent banker at Rome, giving them to understand, that Thompson was secured in that city, with all his papers, and confined to the castle of St. Angelo; that the papers were transmitted to his correspondent at Paris, who should deliver them up, on certain conditions stipulated in favour of the prisoner. This letter was considered as an artifice to insinuate a favourable opinion of the pretender, as if he had taken measures for securing Thompson, from his zeal for justice, and affection to the English people. On this supposition, the proposals were rejected with disdain; and both houses concurred in an order, that the letter should be burned at the Royal Exchange, by the hands of the common hangman. The lower house resolved, that it was an insolent and audacious libel, absurd and contradictory; that the whole transaction a scandalous artifice, calculated to delude the unhappy, and to disguise and conceal the wicked practices of the professed enemies to his majesty's person, crown, and dignity.

§ XXXIII. No motion, during this session, produced such a warm contest, as did that of Sir Robert Walpole, when, after a long preamble, he proposed that the duties upon salt, which about two years before had been abolished, should now be revived and granted to his majesty, his heirs and successors, for the term of three years. In order to sweeten this proposal, he declared that the land-tax for the ensuing year should be reduced

to

to one shilling in the pound. All the members of the country party were immediately in commotion. They expressed their surprize at the grossness of the imposition. They observed, that two years had scarce elapsed since the king, in a speech from the throne, had exhorted them to abolish some of the taxes that were the most burthensome to the poor: the house was then of opinion, that the tax upon salt was the most burthensome, and the most pernicious to the trade of the kingdom, of all the impositions to which the poor were subjected, and therefore it was taken off: but that no good reason could be produced for altering their opinion so suddenly, and resolving to grind the faces of the poor, in order to ease a few rich men of the landed interest. They affirmed, that the most general taxes are not always the least burthensome: that after a nation is obliged to extend their taxes farther than the luxuries of their country, those taxes that can be raised with the least charge to the public, are the most convenient and the easiest to the people: but they ought carefully to avoid taxing those things which are necessary for the subsistence of the poor. The price of all necessaries being thus enhanced, the wages of the tradesmen and manufacturer must be increased; and, where these are high, the manufactures will be underfold by those of cheaper countries. The trade must of consequence be ruined; and it is not to be supposed that the landed gentleman would chuse to save a shilling in the pound from the land-tax, by means of an expedient that will ruin the manufactures of his country, and decrease the value of his own fortune. They alledged, that the salt-tax particularly affected the poor, who could not afford to eat fresh provisions; and that, as it formerly occasioned murmurs and discontents among the lower class of people, the revival of it would, in all probability, exasperate them into open sedition. They observed, that while it was exacted in England, a great number of merchants sent their ships to Ireland to be victualled for their respective voyages; that, since it had been abolished, many experiments had been successfully tried with salt, for the improvement of agriculture, which would be entirely defeated by the revival of this imposition. They suggested, that the land-tax was raised at a very small expence, and subject to no fraud, whereas that upon salt would employ a great number of additional officers in the revenue, wholly depending upon the ministry, whose influence in elections they would proportionably increase. They even hinted, that this consideration was one powerful motive for proposing the revival of an odious tax which was in effect an excise, and would be deemed a step towards a general excise upon all sorts of provisions. Finally, they demonstrated that the salt-tax introduced numberless frauds and perjuries in different articles of traffic. Sir Robert Walpole endeavoured to obviate all these objections in a long speech, which was minutely answered and refuted in every article by Mr. Pulteney. Nevertheless, the question being put, the minister's motion was carried in the affirmative, and the duty revived: yet, before the bill passed, divers motions were made; and additional clauses proposed by the members in the opposition. New debates were raised on every new objection, and the courtiers were obliged to dispute their ground by inches.

§ XXXIV. The pension bill was revived, and for the third time rejected in the house of lords. A bill for the encouragement of the sugar-colonies passed through

through the lower house with great difficulty : but was lost among the peers : another for the better securing the freedom of parliaments, by farther qualifying members to sit in the house of commons, was read the third time, and thrown out upon the question. A committee had been appointed to enquire into a sale of the estate which had belonged to the late earl of Derwentwater. It appeared by the report, that the sale had been fraudulent : a bill was prepared to make it void : Dennis Bond, esquire ; and serjeant Birch, commissioners for the sale of the forfeited estates, were declared guilty of notorious breach of trust, and expelled the house, of which they were members ; George Robinson, esquire, underwent the same sentence, on account of the part he acted in the charitable corporation, as he and Thompson had neglected to surrender themselves according to the terms of a bill which had passed for that purpose. During this session, five members of parliament were expelled for the most sordid acts of knavery : a sure sign of national degeneracy and dishonour. All the supplies were granted, and, among other articles, the sum of two and twenty thousand six hundred ninety four pounds seven shillings and sixpence, for the agio or difference of the subsidies payable to the crown of Denmark, in pursuance of the treaty subsisting between the late king and that monarch ; but, this was not obtained without a violent dispute. Mr. Pulteney, who bore a considerable share in all these debates, became in a little time so remarkable as to be thought worthy of a very particular mark of his majesty's displeasure. The king, on the first day of July, called for the council-book, and with his own hand struck the name of William Pulteney, esquire, out of the list of privy-counsellors : his majesty farther ordered him to be put out of all the commissions of the peace. The several lords-lieutenant from whom he had received deputations, were commanded to revoke them ; and the lord-chancellor and secretaries of state were directed to give the necessary orders for that purpose.

§ XXXV. Nor did the house of peers tamely and unanimously submit to the measures of the ministry. The pension-bill being read, was again rejected, and a protest entered. A debate arose about the number of standing forces : and the earl of Chesterfield argued for the court motion. The earl of Oxford moved, that they might be reduced to twelve thousand effective men. The earl of Winchelsea observed, that a standing army rendered ministers of state more daring than otherwise they would be, in contriving and executing projects that were grievous to the people : schemes that never could enter into the heads of any but those who were drunk with excess of power. The marquis of Tweedale, in reasoning against such a number as the ministry proposed, took occasion to observe, that not one shilling of the forfeited estates was ever applied to the use of the public : he likewise took notice, that the eighteen thousand men demanded as a standing force, were modelled in such a manner, that they might be speedily augmented to forty thousand men on any emergency. The duke of Argyle endeavoured to demonstrate the danger of depending for the safety of the kingdom upon an undisciplined militia, a fleet, or an army of auxiliaries. Then he represented the necessity of having recourse to a regular army in case of invasion ; and after all acknowledged, that the number proposed was no way sufficient for that purpose. All his arguments were answered and refuted

in an excellent speech by the lord Carteret; nevertheless, victory declared for An. Ch. 1732. the minister. The parliament having granted every branch of the supply, towards the payment of which they borrowed a sum from the sinking fund, and passed divers other acts for the encouragement of commerce and agriculture, the king on the first day of June gave the royal assent to the bills that were prepared; and closed the session, after having informed both houses that the states-general had acceded to the treaty of Vienna: that he had determined to visit his German dominions, and to leave the queen regent in his absence. He accordingly set out for Hanover in the beginning of June. By this time the pragmatic sanction was confirmed by the diet of the empire, though not without a formal protest by the electors Palatine, Bavaria, and Saxony.

CHAP. V.

§ I. Remarkable instance of suicide. § II. Affairs of the continent. § III. Meeting of the parliament. § IV. Address to the king touching the Spanish depredations. § V. The excise scheme proposed by Sir R. Walpole. § VI. Opposition to the scheme. § VII. Bill for a dower to the princess royal. § VIII. Debate in the house of lords concerning the estates of the late directors of the South-sea company. § IX. Double election of a king in Poland. § X. The kings of France, Spain, and Sardinia, join against the emperor. § XI. The prince of Orange arrives in England. § XII. Altercation in the house of commons. § XIII. Debate about the removal of the duke of Bolton and lord viscount Cobham, from their respective regiments. § XIV. Motion for the repeal of the septennial act. § XV. Conclusion of a remarkable speech by Sir W. Wyndham. § XVI. Message from the king for powers to augment the forces in the intervals between the two parliaments. § XVII. Opposition in the house of peers. Parliament dissolved. § XVIII. Dantzick besieged by the Russians. § XIX. Philipsburgh taken by the French. Don Carlos takes possession of Naples. § XX. Battle of Parma. § XXI. The Imperialists are again worsted at Guastalla. An edict in France compelling the British subjects in that kingdom to enlist in the French army. § XXII. New parliament in Great-Britain. § XXIII. Debate on a subsidy to Denmark. § XXIV. Petition of some Scottish noblemen to the house of peers. § XXV. Bill explaining an act of the Scottish parliament touching wrongous imprisonment. § XXVI. Misunderstanding between the courts of Spain and Portugal. Sir John Norris sails with a strong squadron to Lisbon. § XXVII. Preliminaries signed by the emperor and the king of France. § XXVIII. Proceedings in parliament. § XXIX. Bill for preventing the retail of spirituous liquors. Another for the relief of quakers in the article of tythes. § XXX. Mortmain act. § XXXI. Remarkable riot at Edinburgh. § XXXII. Rupture between the czarina and the Ottoman Porte. § XXXIII. The session of parliament opened by commission. § XXXIV. Motion in both houses for a settlement on the prince of Wales. § XXXV. Fierce debate on this subject. § XXXVI. Scheme by Sir J. Barnard for reducing the interest of the national debt. § XXXVII. Bill against the city of Edinburgh. § XXXVIII. Play-house bill.

§ I. **T**HE most remarkable incident that distinguished this year in England was a very uncommon instance of suicide; an act of despair so frequent among the English, that in other countries it is objected to them as a national reproach. Though it may be generally termed the effect of lunacy proceeding from natural causes operating on the human body, in some few instances it seems to have been the result of cool deliberation. Richard Smith, a bookbinder, and prisoner for debt within the liberties of the king's-bench, persuaded his wife to follow his example, in making away with herself, after they had murdered their little infant. This wretched pair was in the month of April found hanging in their bedchamber at about a yard's distance from

each other; and in a separate apartment the child lay dead in a cradle. They left two papers inclosed in a short letter to their landlord, whose kindness they implored in favour of their dog and cat. They even left money to pay the porter who should carry the inclosed papers to the person for whom they were addressed. In one of these the husband thanked that person for the marks of friendship he had received at his hands; and complained of the ill offices he had undergone from a different quarter. The other paper, subscribed by the husband and wife, contained the reasons which induced them to act such a tragedy on themselves and their offspring. This letter was altogether surprizing for the calm resolution, the good humour, and the propriety with which it was written. They declared, that they withdrew themselves from poverty and rags; evils, that through a train of unlucky accidents, were become inevitable. They appealed to their neighbours for the industry with which they had endeavoured to earn a livelihood. They justified the murder of their child, by saying, it was less cruelty to take her with them, than to leave her friendless in the world, exposed to ignorance and misery. They professed their belief and confidence in an Almighty God, the fountain of goodness and beneficence, who could not possibly take delight in the misery of his creatures: they therefore resigned up their lives to him without any terrible apprehensions; submitting themselves to those ways which, in his goodness, he should appoint after death. Those unfortunate suicides had been always industrious and frugal, invincibly honest, and remarkable for conjugal affection.

§ II. Trustees having been appointed by charter to superintend a new settlement in Georgia, situated to the southward of Carolina in America, Mr. Oglethorpe, as general and governor of the province embarked at Gravesend, with a number of poor families to plant that colony. The king of Spain having equipped a very powerful armament, the fleet sailed on the fourth day of June from the road of Alicant, under the command of the count de Montemar, and arrived on the coast of Barbary in the neighbourhood of Oran, where a considerable body of troops was landed without much opposition. Next day, however, they were attacked by a numerous army of Moors, over whom they obtained a complete victory. The bey or governor of Oran, immediately retired with his garrison, and the Spaniards took possession of the place, from which they had been driven in the year one thousand seven hundred and eight. The strong fort of Mazalaquivir was likewise surrendered to the victors at the first summons; so that this expedition answered all the views with which it had been projected. Victor Amadeus, the abdicated king of Sardinia, having, at the instigation of his wife, engaged in some intrigues, in order to reascend the throne, his son, the reigning king, ordered his person to be seized at Montcalier, and conveyed to Rivoli, under a strong escorte. His wife, the marchioness de Spigno, was conducted to Ceva. The old king's confessor, his physician, and eight and forty persons of distinction, were imprisoned. The citadel of Turin was secured with a strong garrison; and new instructions were given to the governor and senate of Chamberri. The dispute which had long subsisted between the king of Prussia and the young prince of Orange, touching the succession to the estates possessed by king William III. as head of the house of Orange, was at last accommodated by a formal treaty signed at Berlin and Dieren. The Dutch were greatly alarmed about this time with an apprehension of being overwhelmed

whelmed by an inundation, occasioned by worms, which were said to have consumed the piles and timber-work that supported their dykes. They prayed and fasted with uncommon zeal, in terror of this calamity, which they did not know how to avert in any other manner. At length, they were delivered from their fears by a hard frost, which effectually destroyed those dangerous animals. About this time, Mr. Dieden, plenipotentiary from the elector of Hanover, received, in the name of his master, the investiture of Bremen and Verden from the hands of the emperor.

§ III. The history of England at this period cannot be very interesting, as it chiefly consists in an annual revolution of debates in parliament. Debates, in which the same arguments perpetually recur on the same subjects. When the session was opened on the sixteenth day of January, the king declared, that the situation of affairs both at home and abroad rendered it unnecessary for him to lay before the two houses any other reasons for calling them together, but the ordinary dispatch of the public business, and his desire of receiving their advice in such affairs as should require the care and consideration of parliament. The motion made in the house of commons for an address of thanks, implied, that they should express their satisfaction at the present situation of affairs both at home and abroad. The motion was carried, notwithstanding the opposition of those who observed, that the nation had very little reason to be pleased with the present posture of affairs: that the French were employed in fortifying and restoring the harbour of Dunkirk, contrary to the faith of the most solemn treaties: that the British merchants had received no redress for the depredations committed by the Spaniards: that the commerce of England daily decreased: that no sort of trade thrived but the traffic of Change-alley, where the most abominable frauds were practised: and, that every session of parliament opened a new scene of villany and imposition.

§ IV. The pension-bill was once more revived, and lost again in the house of peers. All the reasons formerly advanced against a standing army were now repeated; and a reduction of the number insisted upon with such warmth, that the ministerial party were obliged to have recourse to the old phantom of the pretender. Sir Archer Croft said, a continuation of the same number of forces was the more necessary, because, to his knowledge, popery was increasing very fast in the country; for, in one parish which he knew, there were seven popish priests: and, that the danger from the pretender was the more to be feared, because they did not know but he was then breeding his son a protestant. Sir Robert Walpole observed, that a reduction of the army was the chief thing wished for, and desired by all the Jacobites in the kingdom: that no reduction had ever been made but what gave fresh hopes to that party, and encouraged them to raise tumults against the government; and, he did not doubt, but that if they should resolve to reduce any part of the army, there would be post-horses employed that very night to carry the good news beyond sea to the pretender. His brother Horatio added, that the number of troops then proposed was absolutely necessary to support his majesty's government, and would be necessary as long as the nation enjoyed the happiness of having the present illustrious family on the throne. The futility, the self-contradiction, and the ridiculous absurdity of these suggestions, were properly exposed; nevertheless, the army was voted without any reduction. Sir Wilfred Lawson having made a motion for an address

dress to the king, to know what satisfaction had been made by Spain for the depredations committed on the British merchants; it was after a violent debate approved, and the address presented. The king, in answer to this remonstrance, gave them to understand, that the meeting of the commissaries of the two crowns had been so long delayed by unforeseen accidents, that the conferences were not opened till the latter end of the preceding February; and, that as the courts of London and Madrid had agreed, that the term of three years stipulated for finishing the commission, should be computed from their first meeting, a perfect account of their proceedings could not as yet be layed before the house of commons. A bill had been long depending for granting encouragement to the sugar colonies in the West-Indies; but, as it was founded upon a prohibition that would have put a stop to all commerce between the French islands and the British settlements in North America, it met with a very warm opposition from those who had the prosperity of those northern colonies at heart. But the bill being patronized and supported by the court interest, surmounted all objections; and afterwards passed into a law. While the commons deliberated upon the supply, Sir Robert Walpole moved, that five hundred thousand pounds should be issued out of the sinking fund for the service of the ensuing year. Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Pulteney, and Sir John Barnard, expatiated upon the iniquity of pillaging a sacred deposit, solemnly appropriated to the discharge of the national debt; and they might have demonstrated the egregious folly of a measure, by which the public, for a little temporary ease, lost the advantage of the accumulating interest which would have arisen from the sinking fund if properly managed and reserved. All objections vanished before the powers of ministerial influence, which nothing now could check but the immediate danger of popular commotion. Such hazardous interposition actually defeated a scheme which had been adopted by the minister; and even before its appearance alarmed all the trading part of the nation.

§ V. The house having resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate upon the most proper methods for the better security and improvement of the duties and revenues charged upon tobacco and wines, all the papers relating to these duties were submitted to the perusal of the members; the commissioners of the customs and excise were ordered to attend the house, the avenues of which were crowded with multitudes of people; and the members in the opposition waited impatiently for a proposal, in which they thought the liberties of their country so deeply interested. In a word, there had been a call of the house on the preceding day. The session was frequent and full; and both sides appeared ready and eager for the contest, when Sir Robert Walpole broached his design. He took notice of the arts which had been used to prejudice the people against his plan before it was known. He affirmed, that the clamours occasioned by these prejudices had originally risen from smugglers and fraudulent dealers, who had enriched themselves by cheating the public; and, that these had been strenuously assisted and supported by another set of men, fond of every opportunity to stir up the people of Great-Britain to mutiny and sedition. He expatiated on the frauds that were committed in that branch of the revenue arising from the duties on tobacco; upon the hardships to which the American planters were subjected by the heavy duties payable on importation, as well as by the ill usage they had met with from their factors and correspondents in England,

England, who, from being their servants, were now become their masters; upon the injury done to the fair trader; and the loss sustained by the public with respect to the revenue. He asserted, that the scheme he was about to propose would remove all these inconveniencies, prevent numberless frauds, perjuries, and false entries, and add two or three hundred thousand pounds per annum to the public revenue. He entered into a long detail of frauds practised by the knavish dealer in those commodities: he recited the several acts of parliament that related to the duties on wine and tobacco. He declared he had no intention to promote a general excise: he endeavoured to obviate some objections that might be made to his plan, the nature of which he at length explained. He proposed to join the laws of excise to those of the customs: that the farther subsidy of three farthings per pound charged upon imported tobacco, should be still levied at the custom house, and payable to his majesty's civil-list, as heretofore: that then the tobacco should be lodged in warehouses, to be appointed for that purpose by the commissioner of the excise: that the keeper of each warehouse, appointed likewise by the commissioners, should have one lock and key, and the merchant-importer have another: and, that the tobacco should be thus secured until the merchant should find vent for it, either by exportation or home consumption: that the part designed for exportation should be weighed at the custom-house, discharged of the three farthings per pound which had been paid at its first importation; and then exported without further trouble: that the portion destined for home-consumption should, in presence of the warehouse-keeper, be delivered to the purchaser, upon his paying the inland duty of fourpence per pound weight to the proper officer appointed to receive it; by which means the merchant would be eased of the inconvenience of paying the duty upon importation, or of granting bonds and finding sureties for the payment, before he had found a market for the commodity: that all penalties and forfeitures, so far as they formerly belonged to the crown, should for the future be applied to the use of the public: that appeals in this, as well as in all other cases relating to the excise, should be heard and determined by two or three of the judges to be named by his majesty, and in the country, by the judge of assize upon the next circuit, who should hear and determine such appeals in the most summary manner, without the formality of proceedings in courts of law or equity.

§ VI. Such was the substance of the famous excise-scheme, in favour of which Sir Robert Walpole moved, that the duties and subsidies on tobacco, should from and after the twenty-fourth day of June cease and determine. The debate which ensued was managed and maintained by all the able speakers on both sides of the question. Sir Robert Walpole was answered by Mr. Perry, member for the city of London. Sir Paul Methuen joined in the opposition. Sir John Barnard, another representative of London, distinguished himself in the same cause. He was supported by Mr. Pulteney, Sir William Wyndham, and other patriots. The scheme was espoused by Sir Philip Yorke, appointed lord chief-justice of the king's bench, and ennobled in the course of the ensuing year. Sir Joseph Jekyll approved of the project, which was likewise strenuously defended by lord Hervey, Sir Thomas Robinson, Sir William Yonge, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Winnington, which last excelled all his contemporaries of the ministry in talents and address. Those who argued against the scheme, accused the

the minister of having misrepresented the frauds, and made false calculations. With respect to the supposed hardships under which the planters were said to labour, they affirmed, that no planter had ever dreamed of complaining, until instigated by letters and applications from London: that this scheme, far from relieving the planters, would expose the factors to such grievous oppression, that they would not be able to continue the trade, consequently the planters would be intirely ruined; and after all, it would not prevent those frauds against which it was said to be provided: that from the examination of the commissioners of the customs, it appeared that those frauds did not exceed forty thousand pounds per annum, and might in a great measure be abolished by a due execution of the laws in being; consequently this scheme was unnecessary, would be ineffectual in augmenting the revenue, destructive to trade, and dangerous to the liberties of the subject, as it tended to promote a general excise, which was in all countries considered as a grievous oppression. They suggested, that it would produce an additional swarm of excise-officers and warehouse-keepers, appointed and payed by the treasury, so as to multiply the dependents on the crown, and enable it still farther to influence the freedom of elections: that the traders would become slaves to excise-men and warehouse-keepers, as they would be debarred all access to their commodities, except at certain hours, when attended by those officers: that the merchant, for every quantity of tobacco he could sell, would be obliged to make a journey, or send a messenger to the office for a permit, which could not be obtained without trouble, expence, and delay: and, that should a law be enacted in consequence of this motion, it would in all probability be some time or other used as a precedent for introducing excise laws into every branch of the revenue; in which case the liberty of Great-Britain would be no more. In the course of this debate, Sir Robert Walpole took notice of the multitudes which had beset all the approaches to the house. He said, it would be an easy task for a designing seditious person to raise a tumult and disorder among them: that gentlemen might give them what name they should think fit, and affirm they were come as humble suppliants; but, he knew whom the law called sturdy beggars: and those who brought them to that place, could not be certain but that they might behave in the same manner. This insinuation was resented by Sir John Barnard, who observed, that merchants of character had a right to come down to the court of requests, and lobby of the house of commons, in order to solicit their friends and acquaintance against any scheme or project which they might think prejudicial to their commerce: that when he came into the house, he saw none but such as deserved the appellation of sturdy beggars as little as the honourable gentleman himself, or any gentleman whatever. After a warm dispute the motion was carried by a majority of sixty-one voices. Several resolutions were founded on the proposal; and to these the house agreed, though not without another violent contest. The resolutions produced a bill, against which petitions were preferred by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, the cities of Coventry and Nottingham. A motion was made that counsel should be heard for the city of London; but it was rejected by the majority, and the petitions were ordered to lie upon the table. Had the minister encountered no opposition but that which appeared within doors, his project would have certainly been carried into execution; but the whole nation was alarmed, and clamoured

clamoured loudly against the excise-bill. The populace still crowded around Westminster-hall, blocking up all the avenues to the house of commons. They even insulted the persons of those members who had voted for the ministry on this occasion; and Sir Robert Walpole began to be in fear of his life. He therefore thought proper to drop the design, by moving, that the second reading of the bill might be postponed till the twelfth day of June. Then complaint being made of the insolence of the populace, who had maltreated several members, divers resolutions were taken against those tumultuous crowds and their abettors; and these resolves were communicated to the lord-mayor of London, the sheriff of Middlesex, and the high-bailiff of Westminster. Some individuals were apprehended in the court of requests, as having fomented the disturbances; but they were soon released. The miscarriage of the bill was celebrated with public rejoicings in London and Westminster; and the minister was burned in effigy by the populace. After the miscarriage of the excise-scheme, the house unanimously resolved to inquire into the frauds and abuses in the customs; and a committee of twenty-one persons was chosen by ballot for this purpose.

§ VII. The subsequent debates of this session were occasioned by a bill to prevent the infamous practice of stockjobbing; which with great difficulty made its way to the house of lords, who made some amendments, in consequence of which it was layed aside; and, by another bill establishing a lottery, to raise five hundred thousand pounds for the relief of those who had suffered by the charitable corporation. After having undergone some alterations, it passed through both houses, and obtained the royal assent. The king, by a message to parliament, had signified his intention to give the princess-royal in marriage to the prince of Orange, promising himself their concurrence and assistance, that he might be enabled to bestow such a portion with his eldest daughter, as should be suitable to the occasion. The commons immediately resolved, that out of the monies arising from the sale of lands in the island of St. Christopher's, his majesty should be empowered to apply fourscore thousand pounds as a marriage-dower for his daughter; and a clause for this purpose was inserted in the bill, for enabling his majesty to apply five hundred thousand pounds out of the sinking-fund for the service of the current year.

§ VIII. The opposition in the house of lords was still more animated, though ineffectual. The debates chiefly turned upon the pension-bill, and the number of land-forces, on a motion made by lord Bathurst, for an account of the produce of the forfeited estates, which had belonged to the directors of the South-sea company. The trustees for these estates had charged themselves with a great sum of money; and the lords in the opposition thought they had a right to know how it had been disposed. The ministry had reasons to stifle this inquiry; and therefore opposed it with all their vigour. Nevertheless, the motion was carried, after a warm dispute, and the directors of the South-sea company were ordered to lay the account before the house. From this it appeared, that the large sums of money arising from the forfeited estates, had been distributed among the proprietors by way of dividend, even before recourse was had to parliament for directions in what manner that produce should be applied: lord Bathurst therefore moved for a resolution of the house, that the disposal of this money by way of dividend, without any order or direction of a general court for that purpose, was a violation of the act of parliament

made for the disposal thereof, and a manifest injustice done to the proprietors of that stock. The duke of Newcastle, in order to gain time, moved, that as the account was confused and almost unintelligible, the present directors of the company might be ordered to lay before the house a further and more distinct account of the manner in which the money had been disposed. A violent contest ensued, in the course of which the house divided, and of fifty-seven peers who voted for the delay, forty-six were such as enjoyed preferment in the church, commissions in the army, or civil employments under the government. At length lord Bathurst waved his motion for that time: then the house ordered, that the present and former directors of the South-sea company, together with the late inspectors of their accounts, should attend and be examined. They were accordingly interrogated, and gave so little satisfaction, that lord Bathurst moved for a committee of inquiry; but the question being put, was carried in the negative: yet a very strong protest was entered by the lords in the opposition. The next subject of altercation was the bill for misapplying part of the produce of the sinking-fund. It was attacked with all the force of argument, wit, and declamation, by the earl of Strafford, the lords Bathurst and Carteret, and the earl of Chesterfield, who had by this time resigned his staff of lord-steward of the household, and renounced all connection with the ministry. Lord Bathurst moved for a resolution, importing, that, in the opinion of the house, the sinking-fund ought for the future to be applied, in time of peace and public tranquillity, to the redemption of those taxes which were most prejudicial to the trade, most burthensome on the manufacture, and most oppressive on the poor of the nation. This motion was over-ruled, and the bill adopted by the majority. On the eleventh day of June, the king gave the royal assent to the bills that were prepared, and closed the session with a speech, in which he took notice of the wicked endeavours that had been lately used to inflame the minds of the people, by the most unjust misrepresentations.

§ IX. Europe was now reinvolved in fresh troubles, by a vacancy on the throne of Poland. Augustus died at Warsaw in the end of January, and the neighbouring powers were immediately in commotion. The elector of Saxony son to the late king, and Stanislaus whose daughter was married to the French monarch, declared themselves candidates for the Polish throne. The emperor, the czarina, and the king of Prussia, espoused the interests of the Saxon; the king of France supported the pretensions of his father-in-law. The foreign ministers at Warsaw forthwith began to form intrigues among the electors; and the marquis de Monti, ambassador from France, exerted himself so successfully, that he soon gained over the primate, and a majority of the catholic dietines, to the interests of Stanislaus; while the Imperial and Russian troops hovered on the frontiers of Poland. The French king no sooner understood that a body of the emperor's forces was encamped in Silesia, than he ordered the duke of Berwick to assemble an army on the Rhine, and take measures for entering Germany, in case the Imperialists should march into Poland. A French fleet set sail for Dantzick, while Stanislaus travelled through Germany in disguise to Poland, and concealed himself in the house of the French ambassador at Warsaw. As the day of election approached, the Imperial, Russian, and Prussian ministers, delivered in their several declarations, by way

of protest against the contingent election of Stanislaus, as a person proscribed, disqualified, depending upon a foreign power, and connected with the Turks and other infidels. The Russian general Lascki entered Poland at the head of fifty thousand men: the diet of the election was opened with the usual ceremony on the twenty-fifth day of August: prince Viesazowski chief of the Saxon interest, retired to the other side of the Vistula, with three thousand men, including some of the nobility who adhered to that party. Nevertheless, the primate proceeded to the election: Stanislaus was unanimously chosen king; and appeared in the electoral field, where he was received with loud acclamation. The opposite party soon increased to ten thousand men; protested against the election, and joined the Russian army, which advanced by speedy marches. King Stanislaus finding himself unable to cope with such adversaries, retired with the primate and French ambassador to Dantzick, leaving the palatine of Kiow at Warfaw. This general attacked the Saxon palace, which was surrendered upon terms: then the soldiers and inhabitants plundered the houses belonging to the grandees who had declared for Augustus, as well as the hotel of the Russian minister. In the mean time, the Poles who had joined the Muscovites, finding it impracticable to pass the Vistula before the expiration of the time fixed for the session of the diet, erected a kolo at Grocow, where the elector of Saxony was chosen and proclaimed by the bishop of Cracow, king of Poland, under the name of Augustus III. on the sixth day of October. They afterwards passed the river, and the palatine of Kiow retiring towards Cracow, they took possession of Warfaw, where in their turn they plundered the palaces and houses belonging to the opposite party.

§ X. During these transactions, the French king concluded a treaty with Spain and Sardinia, by which these powers agreed to declare war against the emperor. Manifestos were published reciprocally by all the contracting powers. The duke of Berwick passed the Rhine in October, and undertook the siege of fort Kehl, which in a few days was surrendered on capitulation: then he repassed the river, and returned to Versailles. The king of Sardinia having declared war against the emperor, joined a body of French forces commanded by marechal de Villars, and drove the Imperialists out of the Milanese. His Imperial majesty dreading the effects of such a powerful confederacy against him, offered to compromise all differences with the crown of Spain, under the mediation of the king of Great-Britain; and Mr. Keene, the British minister at Madrid, proposed an accommodation. Philip expressed his acknowledgments to the king of England, declaring, however, that the emperor's advances were too late; and that his own resolutions were already taken. Nevertheless, he sent orders to the count de Montijo, his ambassador at London, to communicate to his Britannic majesty the motives which had induced him to take these resolutions. In the mean time, he detached a powerful armament to Italy, where they invested the Imperial fortress of Aula, the garrison of which was obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. The republic of Venice declared she would take no share in the disputes of Italy: the states-general signed a neutrality with the French king, for the Austrian Netherlands, without consulting the emperor or the king of Great-Britain; and the English councils seemed to be altogether pacific.

§ XI. In November, the prince of Orange arrived at Greenwich, in order to espouse the princess-royal : but the marriage was postponed upon account of his being taken ill ; and he repaired to Bath in Somersetshire, to drink the waters for the recovery of his strength. Henrietta the young dutchess of Marlborough dying about this time, the title devolved to his sister's son the earl of Sunderland. Lord King resigning the office of chancellor, it was conferred upon Mr. Talbot solicitor-general, together with the title of a baron ; a promotion that reflected honour upon those by whom it was advised. He possessed the spirit of a Roman senator, the elegance of an Atticus, and the integrity of a Cato. At the meeting of the parliament in January, the king told them, in his speech, that though he was no way engaged in the war which had begun to rage in Europe, except by the good offices he had employed among the contending powers, he could not sit regardless of the present events, or be unconcerned for the consequences of a war undertaken and supported by such a powerful alliance. He said he had thought proper to take time to examine the facts alledged on both sides, and to wait the result of the councils of those powers that were more immediately interested in the consequences of the rupture. He declared he would concert with his allies, more particularly with the states general of the United Provinces, such measures as should be thought most advisable for their common safety, and for restoring the peace of Europe. In the mean time, he expressed his hope that they would make such provision as should secure his kingdom, rights, and possessions, from all dangers and insults, and maintain the respect due to the British nation. He said, that whatever part it might in the end be most reasonable for him to act, it would in all views be necessary, when all Europe was preparing for arms, to put his kingdoms in a posture of defence. The motion for an address of thanks produced, as usual, a debate in both houses, which, it must be owned, appears to have proceeded from a spirit of cavilling, rather than from any reasonable cause of objection.

§ XII. The house of commons resolved to address his majesty for a copy of the treaty of Vienna. Sir John Rushout moved for another, desiring that the letters and instructions relating to the execution of the treaty of Seville should be submitted to the inspection of the commons ; but, after a hard struggle, it was over-ruled. The next motion was made by Mr. Sandys, a gentleman who had for some time appeared strenuous in the opposition, and wrangled with great perseverance. He proposed, that the house should examine the instructions which had been given to the British minister in Poland, some years before the death of king Augustus, that they might be the better able to judge of the causes which produced this new rupture among the powers of Europe. The motion being opposed by all the court-members, a contest ensued, in the course of which Mr. Pulteney compared the ministry to an emperic, and the constitution of England to his patient. This pretender in physic (said he) being consulted, tells the distempered person, there were but two or three ways of treating his disease ; and he was afraid that none of them would succeed. A vomit might throw him into convulsions that would occasion immediate death ; a purge might bring on a diarrhoea that would carry him off in a short time ; and he had been already bled so much, and so often, that he
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could bear it no longer. The unfortunate patient shocked at this declaration, replies, "Sir, you have always pretended to be a regular doctor, but I now find you are an arrant quack. I had an excellent constitution when I first fell into your hands, but you have quite destroyed it; and now I find I have no other chance for saving my life, but by calling for the help of some regular physician." In the debate, the members on both sides seemed to wander from the question, and indulge themselves with ludicrous personalities. Mr. H. Walpole took occasion to say, that the opposition treated the ministry as he himself was treated by some of his acquaintance, with respect to his dress. "If I am in plain cloaths (said he) then they call me a slovenly dirty fellow; and if by chance I wear a laced suit, they cry, What, shall such an awkward fellow wear fine cloaths?" He continued to sport in this kind of idle buffoonery. He compared the present administration to a ship at sea. As long as the wind was fair, and proper for carrying us to our designed port, the word was "Steady! steady;" but when the wind began to shift and change, the word was necessarily altered to "Thus, thus, and no near." The motion was overpowered by the majority; and this was the fate of several other proposals made by the members in the opposition. Sir John Barnard presented a petition from the druggists, and other dealers in tea, complaining of the insults and oppression to which they were subjected by the excise laws, and imploring relief. Sir John and Mr. Perry, another of the city-members, explained the grievous hardships which those traders sustained, and moved that the petition might be referred to the consideration of the whole house. They were opposed by Mr. Winnington, Sir W. Yonge, and other partisans of the ministry; and these skirmishes brought on a general engagement of the two parties, in which every weapon of satire, argument, reason, and truth, was wielded against that odious, arbitrary, and oppressive method of collecting the public revenue. Nevertheless, the motion in favour of the sufferers was rejected.

§ XIII. When the commons deliberated upon the supply, Mr. Andrews, deputy-paymaster of the army, moved for an addition of eighteen hundred men to the number of land forces which had been continued since the preceding year. The members in the opposition disputed this small augmentation with too much heat and eagerness. It must be acknowledged, they were by this time irritated into such personal animosity against the minister, that they resolved to oppose all his measures, whether they might or might not be necessary for the safety and advantage of the kingdom. Nor indeed were they altogether blameable for acting on this maxim, if their sole aim was to remove from the confidence and counsels of their sovereign, a man whose conduct they thought prejudicial to the interest and liberties of their country. They could not, however, prevent the augmentation proposed: but they resolved, if they could not wholly stop the career of the ministry, to throw in such a number of rubs as should at least retard their progress. The duke of Bolton and lord Cobham had been deprived of the regiments they commanded, because they refused to concur in every project of the administration. It was in consequence of their dismissal that lord Morpeth moved for a bill to prevent any commission-officer, not above the rank of a colonel, from being removed, unless by a court-martial, or by address of either house of parliament. Such
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an attack on the prerogative might have succeeded in the latter part of the reign of the first Charles ; but at this juncture could not fail to miscarry : yet it was sustained with great vigour and address. When the proposal was set aside by the majority, Mr. Sandys moved for an address to the king, desiring to know who advised his majesty to remove the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham from their respective regiments. He was seconded by Mr. Pulteney and Sir William Wyndham : but the ministry foreseeing another tedious dispute, called for the question, and the motion was carried in the negative. The next source of contention was a bill for securing the freedom of parliament, by limiting the number of officers in the house of commons. It was read a first and second time ; but, when a motion was made for its being committed, it met with a powerful opposition, and produced a warm debate that issued in a question which, like the former, passed in the negative. A clergyman having insinuated in conversation, that Sir William Milner, baronet, member for York, received a pension from the ministry, the house took cognizance of this report : the clergyman acknowledged at the bar that he might have dropped such a hint from hearsay. The accused member protested, upon his honour, that he never did, or ever would receive, place, pension, gratuity, or reward, from the court, either directly or indirectly, for voting in parliament, or upon any other account whatever. The accusation was voted false and scandalous, and the accuser taken into custody ; but in a few days he was discharged upon his humble petition, and begging pardon of the member whom he had calumniated. The duty upon salt was prolonged for eight years ; and a bill passed against stock-jobbing.

§ XIV. But the subject which of all others employed the eloquence and abilities on both sides to the most vigorous exertion, was a motion made by Mr. Bromley, who proposed that a bill should be brought in for repealing the septennial act, and for the more frequent meeting and calling of parliaments. The arguments for and against septennial parliaments have already been stated. The ministry now insisted upon the increase of papists and jacobites, which rendered it dangerous to weaken the hands of the government : they challenged the opposition to produce one instance in which the least encroachment had been made on the liberties of the people, since the septennial act took place ; and they defied the most ingenious malice to prove that his present majesty had ever endeavoured to extend any branch of the prerogative beyond its legal bounds. Sir John Hynde Cotton affirmed, that in many parts of England the papists had already begun to use all their influence in favour of those candidates who were recommended by the ministers as members in the ensuing parliament. With respect to his majesty's conduct, he said he would not answer one word : but as to the grievances introduced since the law was enacted for septennial parliaments, he thought himself more at liberty to declare his sentiments. He asserted, that the septennial law itself was an encroachment on the rights of the people : a law passed by a parliament that made itself septennial. He observed, that the laws of treason with regard to trials were altered since that period : that in former times a man was tried by a jury of his neighbours, within the county where the crimes alledged against him were said to be committed ; but by an act of a septennial parliament he might be removed and tried in any place where the crown, or rather the ministry,

nistry, could find a jury proper for their purpose; where the prisoner could not bring any witness in his justification, without an expence which perhaps his circumstances would not bear. He asked if the riot act was not an incroachment on the rights of the people? An act by which a little dirty justice of the peace, the meanest and vilest tool a minister can use, who perhaps subsists by his being in the commission, and may be deprived of that subsistence at the pleasure of his patron, had it in his power to put twenty or thirty of the best subjects in England to immediate death, without any trial or form but that of reading a proclamation. "Was not the fatal South-sea scheme" (said he) established by the act of a septennial parliament? And can any man ask, whether that law was attended with any inconvenience? To the glorious catalogue I might have added the late excise-bill, if it had passed into a law; but, thank heaven, the septennial parliament was near expiring before that famous measure was introduced."

§ XV. Sir William Wyndham concluded an excellent speech, that spoke him the unrivalled orator, the uncorrupted Briton, and the unshaken patriot, in words to this effect. "Let us suppose a man abandoned to all notions of virtue and honour, of no great family, and but a mean fortune, raised to be chief minister of state, by the concurrence of many whimsical events; afraid, or unwilling to trust any but creatures of his own making, lost to all sense of shame and reputation; ignorant of his country's true interest, pursuing no aim but that of aggrandizing himself and his favourites; in foreign affairs, trusting none but those who from the nature of their education, cannot possibly be qualified for the service of their country, or give weight and credit to their negotiations. Let us suppose the true interest of the nation, by such means, neglected or misunderstood, her honour tarnished, her importance lost, her trade insulted, her merchants plundered, and her sailors murdered; and all these circumstances overlooked, lest his administration should be endangered. Suppose him next possessed of immense wealth, the plunder of the nation, with a parliament chiefly composed of members whose seats are purchased, and whose votes are bought at the expence of the public treasure. In such a parliament, suppose all attempts made to inquire into his conduct, or to relieve the nation from the distress which has been intailed upon it by his administration. Suppose him screened by a corrupt majority of his creatures, whom he retains in daily pay, or engages in his particular interest, by distributing among them those posts and places which ought never to be bestowed upon any but for the good of the public. Let him plume himself upon his scandalous victory, because he has obtained a parliament like a packed jury ready to acquit him at all adventures. Let us suppose him domineering with insolence over all the men of antient families, over all the men of sense, figure, or fortune, in the nation: as he has no virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to destroy or corrupt it in all. With such a minister, and such a parliament, let us suppose a case which I hope will never happen: a prince upon the throne uninformed, ignorant, and unacquainted with the inclinations and true interest of his people, weak, capricious, transported with unbounded ambition, and possessed with insatiable avarice. I hope such a case will never occur; but, as it possibly may, could any greater curse happen to a nation, than

"than such a prince on the throne, advised, and solely advised, by such a minister, and that minister supported by such a parliament. The nature of mankind cannot be altered by human laws, the existence of such a prince or such a minister we cannot prevent by act of parliament; but the existence of such a parliament I think we may prevent; as it is much more likely to exist, and may do more mischief while the septennial law remains in force, than if it were repealed: therefore I am heartily for its being repealed." Notwithstanding the most warm, the most nervous, the most pathetic remonstrances in favour of the motion, the question was put, and it was suppressed by meer dint of number.

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§ XVI. The triumph of the ministry was still more complete in the success of a message delivered from the crown, in the latter end of the session, when a great many members of the other party had retired to their respective habitations in the country. Sir Robert Walpole delivered this commission to the house, importing, that his majesty might be enabled to augment his forces, if occasion should require such an augmentation, between the dissolution of this parliament and the election of another. Such an important point, that was said to strike at the foundation of our liberties, was not tamely yielded; but, on the contrary, contested with uncommon ardour. The motion for taking the message into consideration was carried in the affirmative; and an address presented to the king, signifying their compliance with his desire. In consequence of a subsequent message, they prepared and passed a bill enabling his majesty to settle an annuity of five thousand pounds for life on the prince's-royal, as a mark of his paternal favour and affection.

§ XVII. The opposition in the house of peers kept pace with that in the house of commons, and was supported with equal abilities, under the auspices of the lords Bathurst and Carteret, the earls of Chesterland and Abingdon. The duke of Marlborough made a motion for a bill to regulate the army, equivalent to that which had been rejected in the lower house; and it met with the same fate, after a warm dispute. Then the lord Carteret moved for an address to the king, that he would be graciously pleased to acquaint the house who advised his majesty to remove the duke of Bolton and the lord viscount Cobham from their respective regiments; and what crimes were laid to their charge. This proposal was likewise rejected, at the end of a debate in which the duke of Argyle observed, that two lords had been removed, but only one soldier had lost his commission. Such a great majority of the Scottish representatives had always voted for the ministry since the accession of the late king; and so many of these enjoyed places and preferments in the gift of the crown, that several attempts were made by the lords in the opposition, to prevent for the future the ministerial influence from extending itself to the elections of North-Britain. Accordingly, two motions for this purpose were made by the earl of Marchmont, and duke of Bedford; and sustained by the earls of Chesterfield, Winchelsea, and Stair, the lords Willoughby de Broke, Bathurst, and Carteret. They were opposed by the dukes of Newcastle and Argyle, the earl of Cholmondeley, earl Poulet, lord Hervey, now called up by writ to the house of peers, and lord Talbot. The question being put in both, they were of course defeated; and the earl of Stair was deprived of his regiment of dragoons, after having performed the most signal services to the royal family, and exhausted his
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fortune in supporting the interests and dignity of the crown. Strenuous protests were entered against the decision of the majority, concerning the king's message demanding a power to augment his forces during the recess of parliament; as also against a bill for enabling his majesty to apply the sum of one million two hundred thousand pounds out of the sinking-fund, for the service of the current year. The business of the session being dispatched, the king repaired to the house of lords on the sixteenth day of April, and having passed all the bills that were ready for the royal assent, took leave of this parliament, with the warmest acknowledgment of their zeal, duty, and affection. It was at first prorogued, then dissolved, and another convoked by the same proclamation. On the fourteenth day of March, the nuptials of the prince of Orange and the princess royal were solemnized with great magnificence; and this match was attended with addresses of congratulation to his majesty from different parts of the kingdom.

§ XVIII. The powers at war upon the continent acted with surprising vigour. The Russian and Saxon army invested the city of Dantzick, in hope of securing the person of king Stanislaus. The town was strong, the garrison numerous; and animated by the examples of the French and Poles, made a very obstinate defence. For some time they were supplied by sea with recruits, arms, and ammunition. On the eleventh day of May, a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men was landed from two French ships of war and some transports, under Fort Wechselfunde, which was so much in want of provisions, that they were not admitted: they therefore reembarked, and sailed back to Copenhagen. But afterwards a larger number were landed in the same place, and attacked the Russian intrenchments, in order to force their way into the city. They were repulsed in this attempt, but retired in good order. At length the Russian fleet arrived under the command of admiral Gordon; and now the siege was carried on with great fury. Fort Wechselfunde was surrendered: the French troops capitulated, and were embarked in the Russian ships, to be conveyed to some port in the Baltic. Stanislaus escaped in the disguise of a peasant to Marienwarder in the Prussian territories. The city of Dantzick submitted to the dominion of Augustus III. king of Poland, and was obliged to defray the expence of the war to the Russian general count de Munich, who had assumed the command after the siege was begun. The Polish lords at Dantzick signed an act of submission to king Augustus, who, on the tenth day of July, arrived at the convent of Oliva. There a council was held in his presence. The recusant noblemen took the oath which he proposed. Then a general amnesty was proclaimed; and the king set out on his return to Dresden.

§ XIX. On the Rhine the French arms bore down all resistance. The count de Belleisle besieged and took Traerbach. The duke of Berwick, at the head of sixty thousand men, invested Philipsburg, while prince Eugene was obliged to remain on the defensive, in the strong camp at Heilbron, waiting for the troops of the empire. On the twelfth day of June, the duke of Berwick, in visiting the trenches, was killed by a cannon-ball, and the command devolved upon the marquis d'Asfeldt, who carried on the operations of the siege with equal vigour and capacity. Prince Eugene being joined by the different reinforcements he expected, marched towards the French lines; but

found them so strong that he would not hazard an attack; and such precautions taken, that with all his military talents he could not relieve the besieged. At length general Watgenau the governor capitulated, after having made a noble defence, and obtained the most honourable conditions. Prince Eugene retired to Heidelberg; and the campaign ended about the beginning of October. The Imperial arms were not more successful in Italy. The infant Don Carlos had received so many invitations from the Neapolitan nobility, that he resolved to take possession of that kingdom. He began his march in February, at the head of the Spanish forces; published a manifesto, declaring he was sent by his father to relieve the kingdom of Naples from the oppression under which it groaned, and entered the capital amidst the acclamations of the people; while the count de Visconti the German viceroy, finding himself unable to cope with the invaders thought proper to retire, after having thrown succours into Gaeta and Capua. When he arrived at Nocera, he began to assemble the militia, with intent to form a camp at Barletta. The count de Montemar marched with a body of forces against this general, and obtained over him a complete victory at Bitonto in Apuglia, on the twenty-fifth of May, when the Imperialists were entirely routed, and a great number of principal officers taken prisoners. Don Carlos being proclaimed and acknowledged king of Naples, created the count de Montemar duke of Bitonto; reduced Gaeta, and all other parts of the kingdom which were garrisoned with Imperial troops, and resolved to subdue the island of Sicily. About twenty thousand troops being destined for this expedition, were landed in the road of Solanto in August, under the command of the new duke of Bitonto, who being favoured by the natives, proceeded in his conquests with great rapidity. The people acknowledged Don Carlos as their sovereign, and took arms in support of his government; so that the Imperial troops were driven before them, and the Spaniards possessed the whole kingdom, except Messina, Syracuse, and Trepani, when the infant determined to visit the island in person.

§ XX. While Don Carlos was thus employed in the conquest of Naples and Sicily, the Imperialists were hard pressed in Lombardy by the united forces of France and Piedmont, commanded by the king of Sardinia and the old marechal duke de Villars. In the month of January they undertook the siege of Tortona, which they reduced; while the troops of the emperor began to pour in great numbers into the Mantuan. In the beginning of May, count Merci, who commanded them, passed the Po in the face of the allies, notwithstanding all the skill of Villars, obliged him to retreat from the banks of that river, and took the castle of Colorno. The old French general being taken ill, quitted the army and retired to Turin, where in a little time he died; and the king of Sardinia repairing to the same place, the command of the allied forces devolved upon the marechal de Coigny. The confederates were posted at Sanguina, and the Imperialists at Sorbola, when the count de Merci made a motion to San Prospero, as if he intended either to attack the enemy, or take possession of Parma. The marechal de Coigny forthwith made a disposition for an engagement; and, on the twenty-ninth day of June, the Imperial general having passed the Parma, began the attack with great impetuosity. He charged in person at the head of his troops, and was killed

soon after the battle began. Nevertheless, the prince of Wirtemberg assuming the command, both armies fought with great obstinacy, from eleven in the forenoon till four in the afternoon, when the Imperialists retired towards Monte Cirugalo, leaving five thousand men dead on the field of battle, and among these many officers of distinction. The loss of the allies was very considerable, and they reaped no solid fruits from their victory.

§ XXI. The Imperial forces retreated to Reggio, and from thence moved to the plains of Carpi, on the right of the Secchia, where they received some reinforcements; then general count Konigsfegg arriving in the camp, took upon himself the command of the army. His first step was to take post at Quingentolo, by which motion he secured Mirandola, that was threatened with a siege. On the fifteenth of February, he forded the river Secchia, and surprised the quarters of marechal de Broglio, who escaped in his shirt with great difficulty. The French retired with such precipitation, that they left all their baggage behind, and above two thousand were taken prisoners. They posted themselves under Guastalla, where, on the nineteenth day of the month, they were vigorously attacked by the Imperialists, and a general engagement ensued. Konigsfegg made several desperate efforts to break the French cavalry, upon which, however, he could make no impression. The infantry on both sides fought with uncommon ardour for six hours, and the field was covered with carnage. At length the Imperial general retreated to Lazara, after having lost above five thousand men, including the prince of Wirtemberg, the generals Valpareze and Colminero, with many other officers of distinction: nor was the damage sustained by the French greatly inferior to that of the Germans, who repassed the Po and took post on the banks of the Oglio. The allies crossed the same river, and the marquis de Maillebois was sent with a detachment to attack Mirandola; but the Imperialists marching to the relief of the place, compelled him to abandon the enterprize: then he rejoined his army, which retired under the walls of Cremona, to wait for succours from Don Carlos. So little respect did the French court pay to the British nation, at this juncture, that in the month of November an edict was published in Paris, commanding all the British subjects in France, who were not actually in employment, from the age of eighteen to fifty, to quit the kingdom in fifteen days, or enlist in some of the Irish regiments, on pain of being treated as vagabonds and sent to the galleys. This edict was executed with the utmost rigour. The prisons of Paris were crowded with the subjects of Great-Britain, who were surprised and cut off from all communication with their friends, and must have perished by cold and hunger, had not they been relieved by the active charity of the Jansenists. The earl of Waldegrave, who then resided at Paris as ambassador from the king of Great-Britain, made such vigorous remonstrances to the French ministry, upon this unheard-of outrage, against a nation with they had been so long in alliance, that they thought proper to set the prisoners at liberty, and publish another edict, by which the meaning of the former was explained away.

§ XXII. While these transactions occurred on the continent, the king of Great-Britain augmented his land-forces; and warm contests were maintained through the whole united kingdom in electing representatives for the new parliament. But in all these struggles the ministerial power predominated; and

the new members appeared with the old complexion. The two houses assembled on the fourteenth day of January, and Mr. Onslow was re-elected as speaker. The leaders of both parties in all debates were the self-same persons who had conducted those of the former parliament; and the same measures were pursued in the same manner. The king, in his speech at the opening of the session, gave them to understand, that he had concerted with the states-general of the United Provinces, such measures as were thought most advisable for their common safety, and for restoring the peace of Europe; that they had considered on one side, the pressing applications made by the Imperial court both in England and Holland, for obtaining succours against the powers at war with the house of Austria; and on the other side, the repeated professions made by the allies, of their sincere disposition to put an end to the present troubles upon honourable and solid terms: that he and the states-general had concurred in a resolution to employ their joint and earnest instances to bring matters to a speedy and happy accommodation: that their good offices were at length accepted; and in a short time a plan would be offered to the consideration of all parties engaged in the war, as a basis for a general negotiation of peace. He told them he had used the power vested in him by the last parliament with great moderation; and concluded a treaty with the crown of Denmark of great importance in the present conjuncture. He observed, that whilst many of the principal powers of Europe were actually engaged in a war, Great-Britain must be more or less affected with the consequences; and as the best concerted measures are liable to uncertainty, the nation ought to be prepared against all events. He therefore expressed his hope, that his good subjects would not repine at the necessary means of procuring the blessings of peace and universal tranquillity, or of putting him in a condition to act that part which it might be necessary and incumbent upon him to take. The address of thanks produced a dispute as usual, which ended with an acquiescence in the motion. The house, in a grand committee on the supply, resolved, That thirty thousand men should be employed for the service of the ensuing year: and, That the land-forces should be augmented to the number of twenty-five thousand seven hundred and forty-four effective men. But these resolutions were not taken without dispute and division. The minister's opponents not only reproduced all the reasons which had been formerly advanced against a standing army, but they opposed this augmentation with extraordinary ardour, as a huge stride towards the establishment of arbitrary power. They refuted those fears of external broils on which the ministry pretended to ground the necessity of such an augmentation; and they exposed the weak conduct of the administration, in having contributed to destroy the ballance of power, by assisting Spain against the emperor in Italy, so as to aggrandize the house of Bourbon.

§ XXIII. Sir William Wyndham moved, that the estimate of the navy for the ensuing year might be referred to a select committee. He expressed his surprise, that notwithstanding the vast sums which had been yearly raised, and the long continuance of the peace, the people had not been quite delivered of any one tax incurred in the preceding war. He said, he could not comprehend how it was possible to find pretences for exposing the nation to such exorbitant charges; and he took notice of some unconscionable articles in the accounts of the navy-debt that lay upon the table. He was seconded by Mr. Sandys, and

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supported by Sir Joseph Jekyll and Mr. Pulteney; but after some debate the motion was carried in the negative. When the new treaty with Denmark fell under consideration in a grand committee, Mr. H. Walpole moved, that the sum of fifty-six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds should be granted to his majesty as a subsidy to the Dane, pursuant to the said treaty, for the service of the ensuing year. The demand did not meet with immediate compliance. All the leaders in the opposition exclaimed against the subsidy as unnecessary and unreasonable. They observed, that as the English had no particular interest of their own for inducing them to engage in the present war, but only the danger to which the ballance of power might be exposed by that event; and as all the powers of Europe were as much, if not more interested than the English in the preservation of that ballance, should it ever be really endangered, they would certainly engage in its defence, without receiving any valuable consideration from Great-Britain; but, should the English be always the first to take the alarm upon any rupture, and offer bribes and pensions to all the princes in Europe, the whole charge of preserving that ballance would fall upon Great-Britain: every state would expect a gratification from her, for doing that which it would otherwise be obliged to do for its own preservation: even the Dutch might at last refuse to assist in trimming this ballance, unless Britain should submit to make the grand pensionary of Holland a pensionary of England, and take a number of their forces into English pay. The debate having had its free course, the question was put, and the motion approved by the majority. The ministry allowed a bill to be brought in for limiting the number of officers in the house of commons; but, at the second reading it was rejected upon a division, after a learned debate, in which it appeared, that the opposition had gained a valuable auxiliary in the person of lord Polwarth, son to the earl of Marchmont, a nobleman of elegant parts, keen penetration, and uncommon vivacity, who spoke with all the fluency and fervour of elocution.

§XXIV. The minority in the house of lords were not less vigilant and resolute in detecting and opposing every measure which they thought would redound to the prejudice of their country. But the most remarkable object that employed their attention during this session was a very extraordinary petition, subscribed by the dukes of Hamilton, Queensberry, and Montrose, the earls of Dundonald, Marchmont, and Stair, representing, that undue influence had been used in carrying on the election of the sixteen peers for Scotland. The duke of Bedford, who delivered their petition to the house, proposed a day for taking it into consideration; and to this they agreed. It was afterwards moved, that the consideration of it should be adjourned to a short day, before which the petitioners should be ordered to declare whether they intended to controvert the last election of all the sixteen peers, or the election of any, and which of them. This affair was of such an unprecedented nature, that the house seemed to be divided in opinion about the manner in which they ought to proceed. The partisans of the ministry would have willingly stifled the inquiry in the beginning; but, the petitioners were so strenuously supported in their claim to some notice, by the earls of Chesterfield, Abingdon, and Strafford, the lords Bathurst and Carteret, that they could not dismiss it at once with any regard to decorum. The order of the house, according to the motion explained above, being communicated by the lord-chancellor to the petitioners, they waited on him with a declaration, importing, that

that they did not intend to controvert the election or return of the sixteen peers for Scotland; but, they thought it their duty to lay before their lordships the evidence of such facts and undue methods, as appeared to them to be dangerous to the constitution; and might in future elections equally affect the right of the present sixteen peers, as that of the other peers of Scotland, if not prevented by a proper remedy. This declaration being repeated to the house, the duke of Devonshire made a motion, that the petitioners might be ordered to lay before the house in writing, instances of those undue methods and illegal practices upon which they intended to proceed, and the names of the persons they suspected to be guilty. He was warmly opposed by the country party; and a long debate ensued, after which the question was carried in favour of the motion, and the order signified to the petitioners. Next day their answer was read to the house to this effect: That as they had no intention to state themselves accusers, they could not take upon them to name particular persons who might have been concerned in those illegal practices; but who they were would undoubtedly appear to their lordships upon their taking the proper examinations: nevertheless, they did humbly acquaint their lordships, that the petition was layed before them upon information that the list of the sixteen peers for Scotland had been framed previous to the elections by persons in high trust under the crown: that this list was shewn to peers as a list approved by the crown; and was called the King's-list, from which there was to be no variation, unless to make way for one or two particular peers, on condition they should conform to measures: that peers were solicited to vote for this list, without the liberty of making any alteration: that endeavours were used to engage peers to vote for this list by promise of pensions, and offices civil and military to themselves and relations, as well as by offers of money: that sums were given for this purpose; that pensions, offices, and releases of debts owing to the crown, were actually granted to peers who concurred in voting for this list, and to their relations: and, that on the day of election a battalion of his majesty's troops was drawn up in the abbey-court of Edinburgh, contrary to custom, and without any apparent cause but that of overawing the electors. This answer gave rise to another violent dispute; but the majority voted it unsatisfactory, and the petition was rejected, though the resolution was clogged with a vigorous protest.

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§ XXV. Notwithstanding this discouragement, the earl of Abingdon moved, That although the petition was dismissed, an inquiry might be set on foot touching an affair of such consequence to the liberties of the kingdom. The earl of Ilay declaring his belief, that no such illegal methods had been practised, the other produced a pamphlet, intitled, The protests of a great number of noble lords, entered by them at the last election of peers for Scotland. Exceptions being taken to a pamphlet, as an object unworthy of their notice, lord Bathurst exhibited an authentic copy of those protests, extracted from the journal of that election, signed by the two principal clerks, and witnessed by two gentlemen then attending in the lobby. These were accordingly read, and plainly demonstrated the truth of the allegations contained in the petition. Nothing could be more scandalous, arrogant, and shamefully flagrant than the conduct and deportment of those who acted the part of understrappers to the ministry on this occasion. But all this demonstration, adorned and enforced by the charms and energy of eloquence, was like preaching in a desert. A motion was made for ad-

adjourning, and carried in the affirmative: a protest was entered, and the whole affair consigned to oblivion. Divers other motions were made successively by the lords in the opposition, and rejected by the invincible power of a majority. The uninterrupted success of the ministry did not, however, prevent them from renewing the struggle as often as an opportunity offered. They disputed the continuation of the salt-tax, and the bill for enabling the king to apply the sum of one million out of the sinking fund for the service of the current year, though success did not attend their endeavours. They supported with all their might a bill sent up from the commons, explaining and amending an act of the Scottish parliament, for preventing wrongous imprisonment, and against undue delays in trials. This was all the natives of Scotland had in lieu of the Habeas corpus act; though it did not screen them from oppression. Yet the earl of Ilay undertook to prove they were on a footing with their neighbours of England in this respect; and the bill was thrown out on a division. The session was closed on the fifteenth of May, when the king in his speech to both houses, declared, that the plan of pacification concerted between him and the states-general had not produced the desired effect. He thanked the commons for the supplies they had granted with such cheerfulness and dispatch. He signified his intention to visit his German dominions; and told them he should constitute the queen regent of the realm in his absence. Immediately after the prorogation his majesty embarked for Holland in his way to Hanover.

§ XXVI. By this time the good understanding between the courts of Madrid and Lisbon was destroyed by a remarkable incident. The Portuguese ambassador at Madrid, having allowed his domestics to rescue a criminal from the officers of justice, all the servants concerned in that rescue were dragged from his house to prison, by the Spanish king's order, with circumstances of rigour and disgrace. His Portuguese majesty being informed of this outrage, ordered reprisals to be made upon the servants of the Spanish ambassador at Lisbon. The two ministers withdrew abruptly to their respective courts. The two monarchs expressed their mutual resentment. The king of Spain assembled a body of troops on the frontiers of Portugal; and his Portuguese majesty had recourse to the assistance of king George. Don Marcos Antonio d'Alzeveda was dispatched to London with the character of envoy extraordinary; and succeeded in his commission according to his wish. In a little time after the king's departure from England, Sir John Norris sailed from Spithead with a powerful squadron, in order to protect the Portuguese against the Spaniards; and on the ninth day of June arrived at Lisbon, where he was welcomed as a deliverer. Mr. Keene, the British envoy at the court of Spain, had communicated to his catholic majesty the resolution of his master to send a powerful squadron to Lisbon, with orders to guard that coast from insults, and secure the Brazil fleet, in which the merchants of Great-Britain were deeply interested. Don Joseph Patinho, minister of his catholic majesty, delivered a memorial to Mr. Keene, representing, that such an expedition would affect the commerce of Spain, by intimidating foreign merchants from embarking their merchandize in the flota. But, in all probability, it prevented a rupture between the two crowns, and disposed the king of Spain to listen to terms of accommodation.

§ XXVII.

§ XXVII. The powers in alliance against the house of Austria having rejected the plan of pacification concerted by the king of Great-Britain and the states-general, Mr. Walpole ambassador at the Hague presented a memorial to their high mightnesses, desiring they would without loss of time put themselves in a posture of defence, by an augmentation of their forces at sea and land, that they might take such vigorous steps, in concert with Great-Britain, as the future conjuncture of affairs might require. But, before they would subject themselves to such expence, they resolved to make further trial of their influence with the powers in alliance against the emperor; and conferences were renewed with the ministers of those allies. The affairs of Poland became more and more unfavourable to the interest of Stanislaus; for, though a great number of the Polish nobility engaged in a confederacy to support his claim, and made repeated efforts in his behalf, the palatine of Kiow submitted to Augustus; and even his brother the primate, after having sustained a long imprisonment, and many extraordinary hardships, was obliged to acknowledge that prince his sovereign. In Italy the arms of the allies still continued to prosper. Don Carlos landed in Sicily, and reduced the whole island, almost without opposition; while the Imperialists were forced to abandon all the territories they possessed in Italy, except the Mantuan. The emperor being equally unable to cope with the French armies on the Rhine, implored succours of the czarina, who sent thirty thousand men to his assistance. This vigorous interposition, and the success of Augustus in Poland, disposed the court of Versailles to a pacification. A secret negotiation was begun between France and the house of Austria; and the preliminaries were signed without the concurrence or knowledge of Spain, Sardinia, and the maritime powers. In these articles it was stipulated, That France should restore all the conquests she had made in Germany: That the reversion of the dukedom of Tuscany should be vested in the duke of Lorraine: That Lorraine should be allotted to king Stanislaus; and after his death, be united to the crown of France: That the emperor should possess the Milanese, the Mantuan, and Parma: That the king of Sardinia should enjoy Vigevano and Novara: That Don Carlos should be acknowledged king of Naples and Sicily, and retain the island of Elba, with all the Spanish territories on the coast of Tuscany: and, That France should guaranty the pragmatic sanction.

§ XXVIII. The king of Great-Britain returned from Hanover to England, in the month of November; and on the fifteenth day of January opened the session of parliament. On this occasion he congratulated them on the near prospect of a general peace in Europe, in consequence of the preliminary articles to which the emperor and the king of France had agreed; and of which he had expressed his approbation, as they did not differ in any essential point from the plan of pacification which he and the states-general had offered to the belligerent powers. He told them that he had already ordered a considerable reduction to be made in his forces both by sea and land; but, at the same time observed, it would be necessary to continue some extraordinary expence until a more perfect reconciliation should be established among the several powers of Europe. An address of thanks was unanimously voted, presented, and graciously received. After the house had received several petitions from different counties and gentlemen, complaining of undue influence in elections for members

bers of parliament; it proceeded to consider of the supply, and Sir Charles Wager moving, that fifteen thousand seamen should be employed for the service of the ensuing year, the proposal was approved without opposition. But, this was not the case with a motion made by Mr. Pulteney, "That the ordinary estimate of the navy should be referred to a select committee." The ministry discouraged all such prying measures: a debate was produced, the house divided, and the motion was rejected. Such was the fate of a motion for raising the supplies within the year, made by Mr. Sandys, and supported by Sir John Barnard, Mr. Willmot, and other patriots, who demonstrated, that this was a speedy and practicable expedient for discharging the national debt, lowering the interest of money, reducing the price of labour, and encouraging a spirit of commerce.

§ XXIX. The bill for limiting the number of officers in the house of commons was again revived. The king was impowered to borrow six hundred thousand pounds, chargeable on the sinking fund for the service of the ensuing year; though this power was not easily granted; and the house resolved to lay a duty of twenty shillings per gallon on all spirituous liquors, after it had appeared to the committee appointed for that purpose, that those spirits were pernicious to the health and morals of the people. To this resolution was added another, which amounted to a total prohibition, namely, that fifty pounds should be yearly payed to his majesty for a licence to be annually taken out by every person who should vend, barter, or utter any such spirituous liquors. Mr. Walter Plumer, in a well concerted speech, moved for the repeal of some clauses in the test-act: these he represented as a species of persecution, in which protestant dissenters were confounded with the roman catholics and enemies to the establishment. He was sustained by lord Polwarth and Mr. Heathcote; but, Sir Robert Walpole was joined by Mr. Shippen against the motion as dangerous to the established church; and the question being put, it was carried in the negative. When Sir Joseph Jekyl presented to the house, according to order, a bill founded on the resolutions they had taken against spirituous liquors, Sir Robert Walpole acquainted them, by his majesty's command, that as the alterations proposed to be made by that bill in the duties charged upon all spirituous liquors, might in a great degree, affect some part of the civil-list revenues, his majesty, for the sake of remedying so great an evil as was intended by that bill to be prevented, did consent to accept any other revenue of equal value, to be settled and appropriated in lieu of his interest in the said duties. The bill was read a second time, and consigned to a committee of the whole house; but that for limiting the number of officers in the house of commons, was thrown out at the second reading. Petitions against the bill touching the retail of spirituous liquors were presented by the traders to the British sugar colonies, by the merchants of Bristol and Liverpool, representing the hardships to which they would be exposed by a law which amounted to a prohibition of rum and spirits distilled from molasses. In consequence of these remonstrances, a mitigating clause was inserted, in favour of the composition known by the name of punch; and distillers were permitted to exercise any other employment. The sum of seventy thousand pounds was voted for making good the deficiencies that might happen in the civil list by this bill, which at length passed through the house, though not without reiterated disputes and warm altercation. Violent opposition was

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likewise made to a bill for the relief of the people called quakers, who offered a petition, representing, that though from motives of conscience they refused the payment of tythes, church-rates, oblations, and ecclesiastical dues, they were exposed to grievous sufferings by prosecution in the exchequer, ecclesiastical, and other courts, to the imprisonment of their persons, and the ruin of them and their families. A bill being prepared for their relief, was read and printed: then petitions were preferred against it by the clergy of Middlesex, and of many other parts of the kingdom. Counsel was heard in behalf of these petitioners, and several alterations proposed in the bill, which after long repeated debates surmounted all opposition, and was sent up to the lords.

§ XXX. In the month of February the king had sent two members of the privy-council to the prince of Wales, with a message, proposing a marriage between his royal highness and the princess of Saxegotha. The proposal being agreeable to the prince, the marriage was celebrated on the twenty-seventh day of April. Upon this occasion Mr. Pulteney moved for an address of congratulation to his majesty, and was supported by Mr. George Lyttleton and Mr. William Pitt, who seized this opportunity of pronouncing elegant panegyrics on the prince of Wales and his amiable consort. These two young members soon distinguished themselves in the house by their eloquence and superior talents. The attention of the house was afterwards converted to a bill for the prevention of smuggling; and another for explaining the act for the more effectual preventing bribery and corruption in the election of members to serve in parliament. Both made their way through the lower house, and were sent up to the lords for their concurrence. The number of land-forces voted for the service of the current year was reduced to seventeen thousand seven hundred and four effective men. The supplies were raised by the malt-tax and land-tax, at two shillings in the pound, additional duties on mum, cyder, and perry, stamped vellum, parchment, and paper; and by an act empowering his majesty to borrow six hundred thousand pounds of the sinking fund. In this session the parliament repealed the old statutes of England and Scotland against conjuration, witchcraft, and dealing with evil spirits. The commons likewise prepared a bill to restrain the disposition of lands in mortmain, whereby they became unalienable. Against this measure petitions were presented by the two universities, the colleges of Eton, Winchester, and Westminster, and divers hospitals that subsisted by charitable donations. In favour of the universities and colleges a particular exempting clause was inserted. Several other amendments were made in the bill, which passed through both houses, and obtained the royal assent. Among the acts passed in this session, was one for naturalizing her royal highness the princess of Wales; and another for building a bridge cross the Thames from the New-palace Yard in the city of Westminster, to the opposite shore in the county of Surry. The points chiefly debated in the house of lords were the address of thanks for his majesty's speech, the mortmain bill, the quakers bill, which was thrown out, and that for the prevention of smuggling, which did not pass without division and protest. On the twentieth day of May the king closed the session with a speech, in which he told both houses, that a farther convention touching the execution of the preliminaries had been made and communicated to him by the emperor and most christian king: and, that negotiations were carrying on by the several powers engaged in the late

late war, in order to settle a general pacification. He expressed great concern at seeing such seeds of dissatisfaction sown among his people: he protested it was his desire, and should be his care, to preserve the present constitution in church and state as by law established: he recommended harmony and mutual affection among all protestants of the nation, as the great security of that happy establishment; and signified his intention to visit his German dominions. Accordingly the parliament was no sooner prorogued than he set out for Hanover, after having appointed the queen regent in his absence.

§ XXXI. Such a degree of licentiousness prevailed over the whole nation, that the kingdom was filled with tumult and riots, which might have been prevented by proper regulations of the civil government in a due execution of the laws. The most remarkable of these disturbances happened at Edinburgh on the seventh day of September. John Porteous, who commanded the guard payed by that city, a man of a brutal disposition and abandoned morals, had at the execution of a smuggler been provoked by some insults from the populace, to order his men, without using the previous formalities of the law, to fire with shot among the crowd; by which precipitate order several innocent persons lost their lives. Porteous was tried for murder, convicted, and received sentence of death; but the queen, as guardian of the realm, thought proper to indulge him with a reprieve. The common people of Edinburgh resented this lenity shewn to a criminal who was the object of their detestation. They remembered that pardons had been granted to divers military delinquents in that country, who had been condemned by legal trial. They seemed to think those were encouragements to oppression; they were fired by a national jealousy; they were stimulated by the relations and friends of those who had been murdered; and they resolved to wreak their vengeance on the author of that tragedy, by depriving him of life on the very day which the judges had fixed for his execution. Thus determined, they assembled in different bodies, about ten of the clock at night. They blocked up the gates of the city, to prevent the admission of the troops that were quartered in the suburbs. They surprised and disarmed the town-guard: they broke open the prison doors, dragged Porteous from thence to the place of execution, and leaving him hanging by the neck on a dyer's pole, quietly dispersed to their several habitations. This exploit was performed with such conduct and deliberation as seemed to be the result of a plan formed by some persons of consequence: it therefore became the object of a very severe inquiry.

§ XXXII. During this summer a rupture happened between the Turks and the Russians, which last reduced the city of Asoph on the Black-sea, and overran the greatest part of Crim Tartary. The czarina declared war against the Ottoman Porte, because the Tartars of the Crimea had made incursions upon her frontiers; and when she complained of these disorders to the vizir, she received no satisfaction: besides, a large body of Tartars had, by order of that minister, marched through the Russian provinces, in despite of the empress, and committed terrible havoc in their route. The emperor was obliged to engage as a party in this war, by a treaty offensive and defensive, which he had many years before concluded with the czarina. Yet, before he declared himself, he joined the maritime powers in offering his mediation to the sultan, who was very well disposed to peace; but, the czarina insisted upon her retaining Asoph, which

her forces had reduced; and this preliminary article being rejected as dishonourable to the Ottoman empire, the court of Vienna began to make preparations for war. By this time all the belligerent powers in Italy had agreed to the preliminaries of peace concluded between the emperor and France. The duke of Lorraine had espoused the emperor's eldest daughter, the archduchess Maria Theresa, and ceded Lorraine to France even before he succeeded to Tuscany. Don Carlos was crowned king of Sicily: Stanislaus abdicated the crown of Poland; and Augustus was universally acknowledged sovereign of that kingdom. The preliminaries were approved and accepted by the diet of the empire: the king of Spain sent orders for his troops to evacuate Tuscany; and the provinces in Italy yielded to the house of Austria. Prince Eugene, who had managed the interests of the emperor on this occasion, did not live to see the happy fruits of his negotiation. He died at Vienna, in April, at the age of seventy-three, leaving behind him the character of an invincible hero and consummate politician. He was not long survived by count Staremberg, another Imperial general, who ranked next to the prince in military reputation. About the same time Great-Britain sustained a national loss in the death of lord chancellor Talbot, who by his worth, probity, and acquired accomplishments, had dignified the great office to which he had been raised. He died universally lamented, in the month of February, at the age of fifty-two; and was succeeded on the bench by the lord Hardwicke.

§ XXXIII. The king being indisposed, in consequence of having been fatigued by a very tempestuous passage from Holland, the parliament was prorogued from the twenty-first day of January to the first of February, and then the session was opened by commission. The lord chancellor, as one of the peers authorised by this commission, made a speech in his majesty's name to both houses. With respect to foreign affairs, he told them, that the respective acts of cession being exchanged, and orders given for the evacuation and possession of the several countries and places by the powers concerned, according to the allotment and disposition of the preliminary articles, the great work of re-establishing the general tranquillity was far advanced: that however, common prudence called upon them to be very attentive to the final conclusion of the new settlement. He said his majesty could not without surprize and concern, observe the many contrivances and attempts carried on, in various shapes, and in different parts of the nation, tumultuously to resist and obstruct the execution of the laws, and to violate the peace of the kingdom. That the consideration of the height to which these audacious practices might rise, if not timely suppressed, afforded a melancholy prospect, and required particular attention, lest they should affect private persons in the quiet enjoyment of their property, as well as the general peace and good order of the whole. After the commons had agreed to an address, and heard counsel on some controverted elections, they proceeded to take the supply into consideration. They voted ten thousand men for the sea-service. They continued for the land-service the same number they had maintained in times of tranquillity, amounting to seventeen thousand seven hundred and four; but this measure was not adopted without opposition: the money was raised by the land and malt-taxes, and one million granted out of the sinking fund.

§ XXXIV. The chief subject of contention that presented itself in the course of this session, was a motion which Mr. Pulteney made for an address to his majesty,

majesty, that he would be pleased to settle one hundred thousand pounds a-year upon the prince of Wales. He represented that such provision was conformable to the practice of antient times; that what he proposed had been enjoyed by his present majesty in the life-time of his father: and, that a settlement of this nature was reasonable and necessary, to ascertain the independency of the apparent heir to the crown. The motion was vigorously opposed by Sir Robert Walpole, as an encroachment on the prerogative; as an officious intermeddling in the king's family-affairs; and as an effort to set his majesty and the prince at variance. But a misunderstanding it seems had already happened in the royal family: for, the minister in the midst of his harangue told the house, by his majesty's command, that on the preceding day the king had sent a message to the prince by several noblemen of the first quality, importing, that his majesty had given order for settling a jointure upon the princess of Wales, suitable to her high rank and dignity, which he would in a proper time lay before the parliament, in order to be rendered more certain and effectual: that, although his royal highness had not thought fit by any application to his majesty, to desire that his allowance of fifty thousand pounds might be rendered less precarious, the king, to prevent the bad consequences which he apprehended might follow from the undutiful measures which his majesty was informed the prince had been advised to pursue, would grant to his royal highness for his majesty's life, the said fifty thousand pounds per annum, to be issued out of the civil-list revenues, over and above the prince's revenues arising from the dutchy of Cornwall, which his majesty thought a very competent allowance, considering his own numerous issue, and the great expence which did and must necessarily attend an honourable provision for the whole royal family: that the prince, by a verbal answer, desired their lordships to lay him with all humility at his majesty's feet: to assure him, that he did and ever should retain the utmost duty for his royal person: that he was very thankful for any instance of his majesty's goodness to him or to the princess, and particularly for his majesty's gracious intention of settling a jointure upon her royal highness; but, that as to the message, the affair was now out of his hands, and therefore he could give no answer to it: that his royal highness afterwards used many dutiful expressions towards his majesty; adding, "Indeed my lords, it is in other hands, and I am sorry for it;" or words to that effect. He then endeavoured to demonstrate, that the annual sum of fifty thousand pounds was as much as the king could afford to allow for the prince's maintenance; and he expatiated upon the bad consequences that might ensue, if the son should be rendered altogether independent of the father.

§ XXXV. These suggestions did not pass unanswered. Sir Robert Walpole had asserted, that the parliament had no right to interfere in the creation or maintenance of a prince of Wales; and, that in the case of Richard II. who upon the death of his father the black prince, was created prince of Wales, in consequence of an address or petition from parliament, that measure was in all probability directed by the king himself. In answer to this assertion it was observed, that probably the king would not have been so forward in creating his grandson prince of Wales, if he had not been forced into this step by his parliament; for, Edward in his old age fell into a sort of love-dotage, and gave himself intirely up to the management of his mistress Alice Pierce, and his second son the duke of Lancaster; a circumstance that raised a most reasonable jealousy

leusy in the black prince, at that time on his death-bed; who could not but be anxious about the safety and right of his only son, whom he found he was soon to leave a child in the hands of a doating grandfather, and an ambitious aspiring uncle. The supporters of the motion observed, that the allowance of fifty thousand pounds was not sufficient to defray the prince's yearly expence, without allotting one shilling for acts of charity and munificence; and that the several deductions for land-taxes and fees reduced it to forty-three thousand pounds. They affirmed, that his whole income, including the revenues of the dutchy of Cornwall did not exceed fifty-two thousand pounds a-year, though, by his majesty's own regulation, the expence of the prince's household amounted to sixty-three thousand. They proved, that the produce of the civil-list exceeded nine hundred thousand pounds, a sum above one hundred thousand pounds a-year more than was enjoyed by his late majesty: that in the first year of the late king the whole expence of his household and civil government did not much exceed four hundred and fifty thousand pounds a-year. They observed, that the parliament added one hundred and forty thousand pounds annually for acts of charity and bounty, together with the article of secret-service money; and allowed one hundred thousand pounds for the maintenance of the prince of Wales: that the article of secret-service money had prodigiously increased in the late reign: by an account which happened to be layed before the parliament, it appeared, that vast sums of money had been given for purposes which no body understood, and to persons whom no body knew. In the beginning of the following session several members resolved, that this extraordinary account should be taken into consideration; but the inquiry was warded off by the other party, who declared, that the parliament could not examine any account which had been presented to a former session. The debate was fierce and long; and ended in a division, by which the motion was rejected. A motion of the same nature was made by the lord Carteret in the house of peers, and gave rise to a very keen dispute, maintained by the same arguments, and issuing in the same termination.

§ XXXVI. The next remarkable contest was occasioned by a motion of Sir R. Walpole, who proposed, that the sum of one million should be granted to his majesty, towards redeeming the like sum of the increased capital of the South-sea company, commonly called South-sea annuities. Several members argued for the expediency of applying this sum to the payment of the debt due to the bank, as part of that incumbrance was saddled with an interest of six per cent. whereas the interest payed for the other sums that constituted the public debt, did not exceed four per cent. Many plausible arguments were offered on both sides of the question; and at length, the motion was carried in the affirmative. The house having resolved itself into a committee, to consider of the national debt, Sir John Barnard made a motion, for enabling his majesty to raise money either by the sale of annuities, or by borrowing at an interest not exceeding three per cent. to be applied towards redeeming the South-sea annuities; and, that such of the said annuitants as should be inclined to subscribe their respective annuities, should be preferred to all others. He said, that even those public securities which bore an interest of three per cent. only, were sold at a premium in Change-alley: he was therefore persuaded, that all those who were willing to give a premium for a three per cent. security, would gladly lend his money to the government at the same interest, should books of subscription be opened for

for that purpose, with an assurance that no part of the principal should be paid off for fourteen years. He expatiated upon the national advantages that would accrue from a reduction of interest. From easy and obvious calculations he inferred, that in a very little time the interest upon all the South-sea annuities would be reduced from four to three per cent. without any danger to public credit, or breach of public faith: that then the produce of the sinking fund would amount to fourteen hundred thousand pounds per annum, to be applied only towards redeeming the capital of the several trading companies: this measure would bring every one of them so much within the power of parliament, that they would be glad to accept of three per cent. interest on any reasonable terms; in which case the sinking fund would rise to one million six hundred thousand pounds per annum. Then the parliament might venture to annihilate one half of it, by freeing the people from the taxes upon coals, candles, soap, leather, and other such impositions as lay heavy upon the poor labourers and manufacturers: the remaining part of the sinking fund might be applied towards the discharge of those annuities and public debts which bore an interest of three per cent. only, and afterwards towards diminishing the capitals of the several trading companies till the term of fourteen years should be expired; then the sinking fund would again amount to above a million yearly, which would be sufficient for paying them off, and freeing the nation intirely from all its incumbrances. This salutary scheme was violently opposed by alderman Heathcote and other partisans of the ministry; yet all their objections were refuted: and, in order to defeat the project, they were obliged to have recourse to artifice. Mr. Winnington moved, that all the public creditors, as well as the South-sea annuitants, should be comprehended. Sir John Barnard demonstrated, that it might be easy for the government to borrow money at three per cent. sufficient for paying off such of the proprietors of four and twenty millions as were not willing to accept of that interest, but extremely difficult to borrow enough to satisfy the proprietors of four and forty millions, who might choose to have their principal rather than such an interest. Nevertheless, resolutions were founded on this and other alterations of the original scheme; and a bill was immediately prepared. It produced many other debates, and was at last postponed by dint of ministerial influence. The same venerable patriot who projected this scheme, moved, that as soon as the interest of all the national redeemable debt should be reduced to three per cent. the house would take off some of the heavy taxes which oppressed the poor and the manufacturers. But this motion was rejected by the majority.

§ XXXVII. The last disputes of this session were excited by a bill sent down from the lords for punishing the magistrates and city of Edinburgh, on account of the murder of John Porteous. In the beginning of the session lord Carteret recapitulated the several tumults and riots which had lately happened in different parts of the kingdom. He particularly insisted upon the atrocious murder of captain Porteous, as a flagrant insult upon the government, and a violation of the public peace, so much the more dangerous as it seemed to have been concerted and executed with deliberation and decency. He suspected that some citizens of Edinburgh had been concerned in the murder, not only from this circumstance, but likewise because, notwithstanding the reward of two hundred pounds which had been offered by proclamation for the discovery of any person

person who acted in that tragedy, not one individual had as yet been detected. He seemed to think, that the magistrates had encouraged the riot, and that the city had forfeited its charter; and he proposed a minute inquiry into the particulars of the affair. He was seconded by the duke of Newcastle and the earl of Ilay; though this last nobleman differed in opinion from him with respect to the charter of the city, which he said could not be justly forfeited by the fault of the magistracy. The lords resolved, That the magistrates and other persons from whom they might obtain the necessary information concerning this riot, should be ordered to attend: and, That an address should be presented to his majesty, desiring, that the different accounts and papers relating to the murder of captain Porteous, might be submitted to the perusal of the house. These documents being accordingly examined, and all the witnesses arrived, including three Scottish judges, a debate arose about the manner in which these should be interrogated, whether at the bar, at the table, or on the woolfacks. Some Scottish lords asserted, that they had a right to be seated next to the judges of England; but after a long debate this claim was rejected, and the judges of Scotland appeared at the bar in their robes. A bill was brought in to disable Alexander Wilson, esquire, lord-provost of Edinburgh, from enjoying any office or place of magistracy in the city of Edinburgh, or elsewhere in Great-Britain; for imprisoning the said Alexander Wilson; for abolishing the guard of that city; and for taking away the gates of the Nether-Bow-Port, so as to open a communication between the city and the suburbs in which the king's troops are quartered. The duke of Argyle, in arguing against this bill, said, he could not think of a proceeding more harsh or unprecedented than the present, as he believed there was no instance of the whole weight of parliamentary indignation, for such he called a proceeding by a bill *ex post facto*, falling upon any single person, far less upon any community, for crimes that were within the reach of the inferior courts of justice: for this reason he observed, that if the lord-provost and citizens of Edinburgh should suffer in the terms of the present bill, they would suffer by a cruel, unjust, and a fantastical proceeding; a proceeding of which the worst use might be made, if ever the nation should have the misfortune to fall under a partial self-interested administration. He told them he sat in the parliament of Scotland when that part of the treaty of union relating to the privileges of the royal burghs, was settled on the same footing as religion, that is, they were not alterable by any subsequent parliament of Great-Britain. Notwithstanding the eloquence and warmth of his remonstrance, the bill was sent down to the house of commons, where it produced a violent contest. The commons set on foot a severe scrutiny into the particular circumstances that preceded and attended the murder of Porteous; and from the examination of the evidences it appeared, that no freeman or citizen of Edinburgh was concerned in the riot, which was chiefly composed of country-people, excited by the relations of some unhappy persons whom Porteous and his men had slain at the execution of the smuggler; and these were assisted by prentice boys and the lowest class of vagabonds that happened to be at Edinburgh: that the lord-provost had taken all the precautions to prevent mischief that his reflection suggested; that he even exposed his person to the rage of the multitude, in his endeavours to disperse them; and, that if he had done amiss, he erred from want of judgment, rather than from want of inclination

inclination to protect the unhappy Porteous. It likewise appeared, that Mr. Lindsay, member for the city of Edinburgh, had gone in person to general Moyle, commander of the forces in North-Britain, informed him of the riot, implored his immediate assistance, and promised to conduct his troops into the city; and that his suit was rejected because he could not produce a written order from the magistracy, which he neither could have obtained in such confusion, nor ventured to carry about his person through the midst of an enraged populace. The Scottish members exerted themselves with uncommon vivacity in defence of their capital. They were joined by Sir John Barnard, lord Cornbury, Mr. Shippen, and Mr. Oglethorpe. Lord Polwarth declared, that if any gentleman would shew where one argument in the charge against the lord-provost and city of Edinburgh had been proved, he would that instant give his vote for the commitment of the bill. He said, if gentlemen would lay their hands upon their hearts, and ask themselves, whether they would have voted in that manner, had the case of Edinburgh been that of the city of Bristol, York, or Norwich, he was persuaded they would have required, that every tittle of the charge against them should have been fully and undeniably proved. Some amendments and mitigations being inserted in the bill, it passed the house, was sent back to the lords, who agreed to the alterations; and then it received the royal assent.

§ XXXVIII. The next effort of the minister was obliquely levelled at the liberty of the press, which it was much for his interest to abridge. The errors of his conduct, the mystery of that corruption which he had so successfully reduced to a system, and all the blemishes of his administration, had been exposed and ridiculed, not only in political periodical writings produced by the most eminent hands, but likewise in a succession of theatrical pieces, which met with uncommon success among the people. He either wanted judgment to distinguish men of genius, or could find none that would engage in his service. He therefore employed a set of wretched authors, void of understanding and ingenuity. They undertook the defence of his ministry, and answered the animadversions of his antagonists. The match was so extremely unequal, that instead of justifying his conduct, they exposed it to additional ridicule and contempt; and he saw himself in danger of being despised by the whole nation. He resolved to seize the first opportunity to choak those canals through which the torrent of censure had flowed upon his character. The manager of a playhouse communicated to him a manuscript farce, intituled, *The golden rump*, which was fraught with treason and abuse upon the government, and had been presented to the stage for exhibition. This performance was produced in the house of commons. The minister descanted upon the insolence, the malice, the immorality, the seditious calumny, which had been of late propagated in theatrical pieces. A bill was brought in to limit the number of playhouses; to subject all dramatic writers to the inspection of the lord-chamberlain, and compel them to take out a licence for every production before it could appear on the stage. Notwithstanding a vigorous opposition, this bill passed through both houses with extraordinary dispatch, and obtained the royal sanction. In this debate the earl of Chesterfield distinguished himself by an excellent speech, that will ever endear his character to all the friends of genius and literature, to all those who are warmed with zeal for the liberties of their country. "Our

“stage, said he, ought certainly to be kept within due bounds; but, for this purpose, our laws as they stand at present are sufficient. If our stage-players at any time exceed those bounds, they ought to be prosecuted; they may be punished. We have precedents, we have examples of persons punished for things less criminal than some pieces which have been lately represented: a new law must therefore be unnecessary; and in the present case it cannot be unnecessary without being dangerous. Every unnecessary restraint is a fetter upon the legs, is a shackle upon the hands of liberty. One of the greatest blessings we enjoy, one of the greatest blessings a people can enjoy, is liberty. But every good in this life has its alloy of evil. Licentiousness is the alloy of liberty. It is an ebullition, an excrescence; it is a speck upon the eye of the political body, which I can never touch but with a gentle---with a trembling hand, lest I destroy the body; lest I injure the eye upon which it is apt to appear. If the stage becomes at any time licentious, if a play appears to be a libel upon the government, or upon any particular man, the king’s courts are open, the law is sufficient to punish the offender. If poets and players are to be restrained, let them be restrained as other subjects are, by the known laws of their country; if they offend, let them be tried as every Englishman ought to be, by God and their country. Do not let us subject them to the arbitrary will and pleasure of any one man. A power lodged in the hands of a single man to judge and determine without limitation, control or appeal, is a sort of power unknown to our laws, inconsistent with our constitution. It is a higher, a more absolute power than we trust even to the king himself; and therefore I must think, we ought not to vest any such power in his majesty’s lord-chamberlain.” His arguments had no effect, though the house admired his elocution; and the playhouse bill passed into a law. On the twenty-first day of June the king made a short speech to both houses, and the lord-chancellor prorogued the parliament.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

§ I. *The Russians take Oczakow.* § II. *Death of Gaston de Medicis duke of Tuscany.* § III. *Death of Caroline queen consort of England.* § IV. *Dispute in parliament about the standing army.* § V. *Spanish depredations.* § VI. *Motives of the minister for avoiding a war.* § VII. *Address to the king on the subject of the depredations.* § VIII. *Bill for securing the trade of his majesty's subjects in America.* § IX. *Debates in the house of lords.* § X. *Birth of prince George.* *Admiral Haddock sails with a squadron to the Mediterranean.* § XI. *Progress of the war against the Turks.* § XII. *Dispute and rupture between Hanover and Denmark.* § XIII. *Sir Robert Walpole extols the convention in the house of commons.* § XIV. *Motion for an address, that the representations, letters, &c. relating to the Spanish depredations, should be layed before the house.* § XV. *Petitions against the convention.* § XVI. *Substance of that agreement.* § XVII. *Debate in the house of commons on the convention.* § XVIII. *Secession of the chief members in the opposition.* § XIX. *Debate in the house of lords upon an address to his majesty touching the convention.* § XX. *Message from the throne touching a subsidy to Denmark, and a power to augment the forces of the kingdom.* § XXI. *Parliament prorogued.* § XXII. *The king of Spain publishes a manifesto.* § XXIII. *The emperor and czarina conclude a peace with the Turks.* § XXIV. *Preparations for war in England.* § XXV. *Apology in the house of commons for the seceding members.* § XXVI. *Pension-bill revived, and lost.* § XXVII. *Porto-Bello taken by admiral Vernon.* § XXVIII. *Hard frost.* § XXIX. *Marriage of the princess Mary to the prince of Hesse.* § XXX. *Strong armament sent to the West-Indies.* § XXXI. *Death of the emperor and czarina.* § XXXII. *Proceedings in parliament.* § XXXIII. *Seamen's bill.* § XXXIV. *Discontents against the ministry.* § XXXV. *Motion for removing Sir Robert Walpole from his majesty's councils and presence for ever.* § XXXVI. *Debate on the mutiny-bill.* § XXXVII. *Proceedings in the house of lords.* § XXXVIII. *Close of the last session of this parliament.*

§ I. **A** Congress had been opened at Niemerow in Poland, to compromise the differences between the czarina and the grand signor; but, this proving ineffectual, the emperor declared war against the Turk, and demanded assistance from the diet of the empire. He concerted the operations of the campaign with the empress of Muscovy; and it was agreed, that the Imperialists under count Seckendorf should attack Widin in Servia, while the Russians, commanded by count de Munich, should penetrate to the Ukraine, and besiege Oczakow on the Boristhenes. They accordingly advanced against this place, which was garrisoned by twenty thousand men; and on the side of the Boristhenes, defended by eighteen galleys. The Muscovites carried on their approaches with such impetuosity and perseverance, that the Turks were terrified at their valour, and in a few days capitulated. Among those who signalized themselves by uncommon marks of prowess in these attacks, was general Keith, now field-marshal in the Prussian service, who was dangerously wounded

on this occasion. Mean while count Seckendorf finding it impossible to reduce Widin without a squadron of ships on the Danube, turned his arms against Nissa, which was surrendered to him on the eight and twentieth day of July. But this was the farthest verge of his good fortune. The Turks attacked the posts which the Imperialists occupied along the Danube. They took the fort of Padudil, burned the town of Ilas in Walachia, and plundered the neighbouring villages. The prince of Saxe-hildburghausen, who had invested Bagnalack in Bosnia, was defeated and obliged to repass the Saave. Count Seckendorf was recalled to Vienna; and the command of the army devolved upon count Philippi. Count Kevenhuller was obliged to retreat from Servia; and Nissa was retaken by the Mussulmans. The conferences at Niemerow were broken off; and the Turkish plenipotentiaries returned to Constantinople.

§ II. The kingdom of Poland now enjoyed the most perfect repose under the dominion of Augustus. Ferdinand, the old duke of Courland, dying without issue, the succession was disputed by the Teutonic order and the kingdom of Poland, while the states of Courland claimed a right of election, and sent deputies to Petersburg, imploring the protection of the czarina. A body of Russian troops immediately entered that country; and the states elected the count de Biron, high-chamberlain to the empress of Muscovy. The elector of Cologne, as grand-master of the Teutonic order, protested against this election; but, the king of Poland agreed to it, on certain conditions settled at Dantzick, with the commissaries of the new duke and those of the czarina. In the month of July John Gaston de Medicis, great duke of Tuscany, died at Florence; and the prince de Craon took possession of his territories in the name of the duke of Lorraine, to whom the emperor had already granted the eventual investiture of that duchy.

§ III. In England the attention of the public was attracted by an open breach in the royal family. The princess of Wales had advanced to the very last month of her pregnancy before the king and queen were informed of her being with child. She was twice conveyed from Hampton-court to the palace of St. James's, when her labour-pains were supposed to be approaching; and at length was delivered of a princess in about two hours after her arrival. The king being apprized of this event, sent a message by the earl of Essex to the prince, expressing his displeasure at the conduct of his royal highness, as an indignity offered to himself and the queen. The prince deprecated his majesty's anger in several submissive letters, and implored the queen's mediation. The princess joined her intreaties to those of his royal highness; but all their humility and supplication proved ineffectual. The king, in another message sent by the duke of Grafton, observed, that the prince had removed the princess twice in the week immediately preceding the day of her delivery, from the place of his majesty's residence, in expectation of her labour; and both times on his return, industriously concealed from the knowledge of the king and queen every circumstance relating to this important affair. That at last, without giving any notice to their majesties, he had precipitately hurried the princess from Hampton-court in a condition not to be named: that the whole tenour of his conduct, for a considerable time, had been so intirely void of all real duty to the king, that his majesty had reason to be highly offended with him. He gave him to understand, that until he should withdraw his regard and confidence from those

those by whose instigation and advice he was directed and encouraged in his unwarrantable behaviour to his majesty and the queen, and return to his duty, he should not reside in the palace: he therefore signified his pleasure that he should leave St. James's, with all his family, when it could be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the princess. In obedience to this order, the prince retired to Kew, and made other efforts to be readmitted into his majesty's favour, which, however, he could not retrieve. Whatever might have been his design in concealing so long from the king and queen the pregnancy of the princess, and afterwards hurrying her from place to place in such a condition, to the manifest hazard of her life, his majesty had certainly cause to be offended at this part of his conduct; though the punishment seems to have been severe, if not rigorous; for he was not even admitted into the presence of the queen his mother, to express his duty to her, in her last moments, to implore her forgiveness, and receive her last blessing. She died of a mortification in her bowels, on the twentieth day of November, in the fifty-fifth year of her age, regretted as a princess of uncommon sagacity, and as a pattern of conjugal virtue.

§ IV. The king opened the session of parliament on the twenty-fourth day of January, with a short speech, recommending the dispatch of the public business with prudence and unanimity. Each house presented a warm address of condolence on the queen's death, with which he seemed to be extremely affected. Though the house of commons unanimously sympathized with the king in his affliction, the minister still met with contradiction in some of his favourite measures. One would imagine that all the arguments for and against a standing army in time of peace, had been already exhausted; but, when it was moved that the same number of land-forces which they had voted in the preceding year should be continued in pay for the ensuing year, the dispute was renewed with surprising vivacity, and produced some reasons which had not been suggested before. The adherents of the minister fairly owned, that if the army should be disbanded, or even considerably reduced, they believed the Tory interest would prevail: that the present number of forces was absolutely necessary to maintain the peace of the kingdom, which was filled with clamour and discontent, as well as to support the Whig interest; and that they would vote for keeping up four times the number, should it be found expedient for that purpose. The members in the opposition replied, that this declaration was a severe satire on the ministry, whose conduct had given birth to such a spirit of discontent. They said it was in effect a tacit acknowledgment, that what they called the Whig interest was no more than an inconsiderable party which had engrossed the administration by indirect methods; which acted contrary to the sense of the nation, and depended for support upon a military power, by which the people in general were overawed, and consequently enslaved. They affirmed, that the discontent of which the ministry complained, was in a great measure owing to that very standing army which perpetuated their taxes, and hung over their heads, as the instruments of arbitrary power and oppression. Lord Polworth explained the nature of Whig principles, and demonstrated, that the party which distinguished itself by this appellation, no longer retained the maxims by which the Whigs were originally characterised. Sir John Hynde Cotton, who spoke with the courage
and

and freedom of an old English baron, declared he never knew a member of that house who acted on true Whig principles vote for a standing army in time of peace. "I have heard of Whigs (said he) who opposed all unlimited votes of credit: I have heard of Whigs who looked upon corruption as the greatest curse that could befall any nation: I have heard of Whigs who esteemed the liberty of the press to be the most valuable privilege of a free people, and triennial parliaments as the greatest bulwark of their liberties; and I have heard of a Whig administration which has resented injuries done to the trade of the nation, and revenged insults offered to the British flag." The ministry triumphed as usual, and the same number of forces was continued.

§ V. Ever since the treaty of Seville, the Spaniards in America had almost incessantly insulted and distressed the commerce of Great-Britain. They disputed the right of English traders to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, and gather salt on the island of Tortugas; though that right was acknowledged by implication in all the treaties which had been lately concluded between the two nations. The captains of their armed vessels, known by the name of guarda costas, had made a practice of boarding and plundering British ships, on pretence of searching for contraband commodities, on which occasions they had behaved with the utmost insolence, cruelty, and rapine. Some of their ships of war had actually attacked a fleet of English merchant-ships at the island of Tortugas, as if they had been at open enmity with England. They had seized and detained a great number of British vessels, imprisoned their crews and confiscated their cargoes, in violation of treaties, in defiance of common justice and humanity. Repeated memorials were presented to the court of Spain, by the British ambassador at Madrid. He was amused with evasive answers, vague promises of inquiry, and cédulas of instructions sent to the Spanish governors in America, to which they paid no sort of regard. Not but that the Spaniards had reason to complain in their turn, of the illicit commerce which the English traders from Jamaica and other islands carried on with their subjects on the continent of South-America; though this could not justify the depredations and cruelties which the commanders of the guarda costas had committed, without provocation or pretence.

§ VI. The merchants of England loudly complained of these outrages: the nation was fired with resentment, and cried for vengeance; but the minister appeared cold, phlegmatic, and timorous. He knew that a war would involve him in such difficulties as must of necessity endanger his administration. The treasure which he now employed for domestic purposes, must in that case be expended in military armaments: the wheels of that machine on which he had raised his influence would no longer move: the opposition would of consequence gain ground, and the imposition of fresh taxes, necessary for the maintenance of the war, would fill up the measure of popular resentment against his person and ministry. Moved by these considerations, he industriously endeavoured to avoid a rupture, and to obtain some sort of satisfaction by dint of memorials and negotiations, in which he betrayed his own fears to such a degree as encouraged the Spaniards to persist in their depredations, and the court of Madrid to disregard the remonstrances of the British ambassador. But his apprehension of war did not proceed from Spain only: the two branches of

of the house of Bourbon were now united by politics as well as by consanguinity; and he did not doubt, that in case of a rupture with Spain, they would join their forces against Great-Britain. Petitions were delivered to the house by merchants from different parts of the kingdom, explaining the repeated violences to which they had been exposed, and imploring relief of the parliament. These were referred to a committee of the whole house; and an order was made to admit the petitioners, if they should think fit to be heard by themselves or by counsel. Sir John Barnard moved for an address to the king, that all the memorials and papers relating to the Spanish depredations should be layed before the house; and this, with some alteration proposed by Sir Robert Walpole, was actually presented. In compliance with the request, an enormous multitude of letters and memorials was produced.

§ VII. The house, in a grand committee, proceeded to hear counsel for the merchants, and examine evidence; by which it appeared that amazing acts of wanton cruelty and injustice had been perpetrated by Spaniards on the subjects of Great-Britain. Mr. Pulteney expatiated upon these circumstances of barbarity. He demonstrated, from treaties, the right of the British traders to the logwood of Campeachy, and the salt of Tortugas: he exposed the pusillanimity of the minister, and the futility of his negotiations; and he moved for such resolutions as would evince the resentment of an injured nation, and the vigour of a British parliament. These were warmly combated by Sir Robert Walpole, who affirmed they would cramp the ministers in their endeavours to compromise these differences: that they would frustrate their negotiations, intrench upon the king's prerogative, and precipitate the nation into an unnecessary and expensive war. Answers produced replies, and a general debate ensued. A resolution was reported; but the question being put for recommitting it, was carried in the negative. The house, however, agreed to an address, beseeching his majesty to use his endeavours to obtain effectual relief for his injured subjects, to convince the court of Spain that his majesty could no longer suffer such constant and repeated insults and injuries to be carried on, to the dishonour of his crown, and to the ruin of his trading subjects; and assuring him, that in case his royal and friendly instances with the catholic king should miscarry, the house would effectually support his majesty in taking such measures as honour and justice should make it necessary for him to pursue. To this address the king made a favourable answer.

§ VIII. The next important subject on which both sides exercised their talents, was a bill prepared and brought in by Mr. Pulteney, for the more effectual securing the trade of his majesty's subjects in America. This was no other than the revival of part of two acts passed in the reign of queen Anne, by which the property of all prizes taken from the enemy was vested in the captors; and the sovereign was empowered to grant commissions or charters to any persons or societies, for taking any ships, goods, harbours, lands, or fortifications of the nation's enemies in America, and for holding and enjoying the same as their own property and estate for ever. The ministry endeavoured to evade the discussion of this bill, by amusing the house with other business, until an end should be put to the session. A mean artifice was practised with this view; and some severe altercation passed between Sir Robert Walpole and Mr. Pulteney. At length the bill was read, and gave

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rise to a very long and warm contest, in which the greatest orators of both sides found opportunities to display their eloquence and satire. Mr. Pulteney defended the bill with all the ardour of paternal affection; but, notwithstanding his warmest endeavours, it was rejected upon a division.

§ IX. When the mutiny-bill was sent up to the house of lords, a long debate arose upon the number of troops voted for the ensuing year. Lord Carteret explained the situation of affairs in almost every nation of Europe, with great conciseness and precision. He demonstrated the improbability of a rupture between Great-Britain and any power, against which a land-army could be of any service. He examined the domestic circumstances of the nation; and proved, that whatever discontents there might be in the kingdom, there was little or no disaffection, and no seeming design to overturn or disturb the government. In answer to an argument that such a number of regular forces was necessary for preventing or quelling tumults, and for enabling the civil magistrate to execute the laws of his country, he expressed his hope that he should never see the nation reduced to such unfortunate circumstances: he said a law which the civil power was unable to execute, must either be in itself oppressive, or such a one as afforded a handle for oppression. In arguing for a reduction of the forces, he took notice of the great increase of the national expence. He observed, that before the revolution, the people of England did not raise above two millions for the whole of the public charge; but now what was called the current expence for which the parliament annually provided, exceeded that sum, besides the civil list, the interest due to the public creditors, and the sinking-fund, which, added together, composed a burthen of six millions yearly. The earl of Chesterfield on the same subject affirmed, that slavery and arbitrary power were the certain consequences of keeping up a standing army for any number of years. It is the machine by which the chains of slavery are rivetted upon a free people. They may be secretly prepared by corruption; but, unless a standing army protected those that forged them, the people would break them asunder, and chop off the polluted hands by which they were prepared. By degrees a free people must be accustomed to be governed by an army: by degrees that army must be made strong enough to hold them in subjection. England had for many years been accustomed to a standing army, under pretence of its being necessary to assist the civil power; and by degrees the number and strength of it have been increasing. At the accession of the late king it did not exceed six thousand: it soon amounted to double that number, which has been since augmented under various pretences. He therefore concluded, that slavery, under the disguise of an army for protecting the liberties of the people, was creeping in upon them by degrees: if no reduction should be made, he declared he should expect in a few years to hear some minister, or favourite of a minister, terrifying the house with imaginary plots and invasions, and making the tour of Europe in search of possible dangers, to shew the necessity of keeping up a mercenary standing army three times as numerous as the present. In spite of these suggestions, the standing army maintained its ground. The same noblemen, assisted by lord Bathurst, distinguished themselves in a debate upon the Spanish depredations, which comprehended the same arguments that were used in the house of commons. They met with the same success in both. Resolutions equivalent

valent to those of the lower house, were taken: an address was presented; and his majesty assured them he would repeat, in the most pressing manner, his instances at the court of Spain, in order to obtain satisfaction and security for his subjects trading to America. This assurance was renewed in his speech at the close of the session, on the twentieth of May, when the parliament was prorogued.

§ X. At this period the prince of Wales was delivered of a son, who was baptized by the name of George, now heir apparent to the crown. His birth was celebrated with uncommon rejoicings: addresses of congratulation were presented to the king by the two universities, and almost all the cities and communities of the kingdom. But the prince of Wales still laboured under the displeasure of his majesty, who had ordered the lord chamberlain to signify in the Gazette, that no person who visited the prince should be admitted to the court of St. James's. His royal highness was divested of all the external marks of royalty, and lived like a private gentleman, cultivating the virtues of a social life, and enjoying the best fruits of conjugal felicity. In the latter end of this month, rear-admiral Haddock set sail with a strong squadron for the Mediterranean, which it was hoped would give weight to the negotiation of the British minister at the court of Madrid. The act to discourage the retail of spirituous liquors had incensed the populace to such a degree as occasioned numberless tumults in the cities of London and Westminster. They were so addicted to the use of that pernicious compound known by the appellation of gin or ginievre, that they ran all risks rather than forego it entirely; and so little regard was paid to the law by which it was prohibited, that in less than two years twelve thousand persons within the bills of mortality were convicted of having sold it illegally. Nearly one half of that number was cast in the penalty of one hundred pounds; and three thousand persons paid ten pounds each, for an exemption from the disgrace of being committed to the house of correction.

§ XI. The war maintained by the emperor and the czarina against the Ottoman Porte had not yet produced any decisive event. Count Seckendorf was disgraced and confined, on account of the ill success of the last campaign. General Doxat was tried by a council of war at Belgrade, and condemned to death for having surrendered to the enemy the town of Nissa, in which he commanded. The diet of the empire granted a subsidy of fifty Roman months to the emperor, who began to make vigorous preparations for the ensuing campaign: but, in the mean time, Ragotski, vaivode of Transylvania, revolted against the house of Austria, and brought a considerable army into the field, under the protection of the grand signor. He was immediately proclaimed a rebel, and a price set upon his head by the court of Vienna. The Turks taking the field early, reduced the fort of Ustizza, and Meadia, and undertook the siege of Orsova, which, however, they abandoned at the approach of the Imperial army, commanded by the grand duke of Tuscany, assisted by count Königsberg. The Turks being reinforced, marched back and attacked the Imperialists, by whom they were repulsed after an obstinate engagement. The Germans, notwithstanding this advantage, repassed the Danube; and then the infidels made themselves masters of Orsova, where they found a fine train of artillery, designed for the siege of

Widin. By the conquest of this place, the Turks laid the Danube open to their galleys and vessels; and the Germans retired under the cannon of Belgrade. In the Ukraine, the Russians under general count Munich obtained the advantage over the Turks in two engagements; and general Lacy routed the Tartars of the Crimea: but they returned in greater numbers, and harassed the Muscovites in such a manner, by intercepting their provisions, and destroying the country, that they were obliged to abandon the lines of Precops.

§ XII. In the month of October, an affair of very small importance produced a rupture between the king of Denmark and the elector of Hanover. A detachment of Hanoverians took by assault the castle of Steinhof, belonging to the privy counsellor Wederkop, and defended by thirty Danish dragoons, who had received orders to repel force by force. Several men were killed on both sides, before the Hanoverians could enter the place, when the garrison was disarmed and conducted to the frontiers. This petty dispute, about a small territory which did not yield the value of one thousand pounds a year, had well nigh involved Hanover in a war, which, in all probability, Great-Britain must have maintained: but this dispute was compromised by a convention between the kings of England and Denmark.

§ XIII. The session of parliament was opened on the first day of February, when the king, in his speech to both houses, gave them to understand, that a convention was concluded and ratified between him and the king of Spain, who had obliged himself to make reparation to the British subjects for their losses, by certain stipulated payments: that plenipotentiaries were named and appointed for regulating, within a limited time, all those grievances and abuses which had hitherto interrupted the commerce of Great-Britain in the American seas; and for settling all matters in dispute, in such a manner as might for the future prevent and remove all new causes and pretences of complaint. The motion for an address of approbation was disputed as usual. Though the convention was not yet layed before the house, the nature of it was well known to the leaders of the opposition. Sir William Wyndham observed, that if the ministry had made the resolutions taken by the parliament in the last session the foundation of their demands; if they had discovered a resolution to break off all treating, rather than depart from the sense of parliament, either a defensive treaty might have been obtained, or by this time the worst would have been known: but, by what appeared from his majesty's speech, the convention was no other than a preliminary; and, in all probability, a very bad preliminary. He supposed the minister had ventured to clothe some of his creatures with full powers to give up the rights of the nation; for they might do it if they durst. Sir Robert Walpole, in answer to these suggestions, affirmed, that the ministry had on this occasion obtained more than ever on like occasions was known to be obtained: that they had reconciled the peace of their country with her true interest: that this peace was attended with all the advantage that the most successful arms could have procured: that future ages would consider this as the most glorious period of our history, and do justice to the counsels that produced the happy event, which every gentleman divested of passion and prejudice was ready to do; and which, he believed, the present age, when rightly informed, would not refuse. In a word,

word, he extolled his own convention with the most extravagant encomiums.

§ XIV. The house resolved to address the king, that copies of all the memorials, representations, letters, and papers, presented to his majesty, or his secretary of state, relating to depredations, should be submitted to the perusal of the house: but some members in the opposition were not contented with this resolution. Then Mr. Sandys, who may be termed "the motion-maker," moved for an address, desiring that the house might inspect all letters written, and instructions given by the secretaries of state, or commissioners of the admiralty, to any of the British governors in America, or any commander in chief, or captains of his majesty's ships of war, or his majesty's minister at the court of Spain, or any of his majesty's consuls in Europe, since the treaty of Seville, relating to losses which the British subjects had sustained by means of depredations committed by the subjects of Spain in Europe and America. This was an unreasonable proposal suggested by the spirit of animosity and faction. Mr. H. Walpole justly observed, that a compliance with such an address might lay open the most private transactions of the cabinet, and discover secrets that ought, for the good of the kingdom, to be concealed. It would discover to the court of Spain, the ultimatum of the king's demands and concessions, and the nation might thereby be deprived of many advantages which it might reap, were no such discovery made. He said, that as soon as the differences betwixt the two courts should arrive at such a crisis, and not before, the consuls were instructed to give notice to the merchants, that they might retire in time with their effects; but, should such instruction come to the knowledge of the Spaniards, it would be a kind of watch-word to put them on their guard, and unavoidably occasion the ruin of many thousands of British subjects. Certain it is, no government could act either in external or domestic affairs with proper influence, dignity, and dispatch, if every letter and instruction relating to an unfinished negotiation should be exposed to the view of such a numerous assembly, composed of individuals actuated by motives in themselves diametrically opposite. The motion being rejected by the majority, the same gentleman moved again for an address, that his majesty would give directions for laying before the house, copies of such memorials or representations as had been made, either to the king of Spain or to his ministers, since the treaty of Seville, relating to the depredations committed in Europe or America. A debate ensued; and, upon a division, the question passed in the negative.

§ XV. The house, in a committee of supply, voted twelve thousand seamen for the service of the ensuing year; and the standing army was continued without reduction, though powerfully attacked by the whole strength of the opposition. The commons likewise ordered an address to his majesty, for the copies of several memorials since the treaty of Seville, touching the rights of Great-Britain, or any infraction of treaties which had not been layed before them. They were accordingly submitted to the inspection of the house. By this time the convention itself was not only presented to the commons, but also published for the information of the people. Divers merchants, planters, and others, trading to America, the cities of London and Bristol, the merchants of Liverpool, and the owners of sundry ships which had been seized by the Spaniards,

offered petitions against the convention, by which the subjects of Spain were so far from giving up their groundless and unjustifiable practice of visiting and searching British ships sailing to and from the British plantations, that they appeared to have claimed the power of doing it as a right, by having insisted that the differences which had arisen concerning it should be referred to plenipotentiaries, to be discussed by them, without even agreeing to abstain from such visitation and search during the time that the discussion of this affair might last. They therefore prayed, that they might have an opportunity of being heard, and allowed to represent the great importance of the British trade to and from the plantations in America; the clear indisputable right which they had to enjoy it, without being stopped, visited, or searched, by the Spaniards, on any pretence whatsoever; and the certain inevitable destruction of all the riches and strength derived to Great-Britain from that trade, if a search of British ships sailing to and from their own plantations, should be tolerated upon any pretext, or under any restrictions, or even if the freedom of this navigation should continue much longer in a state of uncertainty. These petitions were referred to the committee appointed to consider of the convention. Another remonstrance was likewise presented by the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, setting forth, that the king of Spain claimed that colony as part of his territories; and that by the convention the regulation of the limits of Carolina and Florida was referred to the determination of plenipotentiaries; so that the colony of Georgia, which undoubtedly belonged to the crown of Great-Britain, was left in dispute, while the settlers remained in the most precarious and dangerous situation. It was moved, that the merchants should be heard by their counsel: but the proposal was strenuously opposed by the ministry, and rejected upon a division.

§ XVI. This famous convention, concluded at the Pardo on the fourteenth day of January, imported, That within six weeks, to be reckoned from the day on which the ratifications were exchanged, two ministers plenipotentiaries should meet at Madrid, to confer and finally regulate the respective pretensions of the two crowns, with relation to the trade and navigation in America and Europe, and to the limits of Florida and Carolina, as well as concerning other points which remained likewise to be adjusted, according to the former treaties subsisting between the two nations: that the plenipotentiaries should finish their conferences within the space of eight months: That in the mean time no progress should be made in the fortifications of Florida and Carolina: That his catholic majesty should pay to the king of Great-Britain the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds, for a balance due to the crown and subjects of Great-Britain, after deduction made of the demands of the crown and subjects of Spain: That this sum should be employed for the satisfaction, discharge, and payment of the demands of the British subjects upon the crown of Spain: That this reciprocal discharge, however, should not extend or relate to the accounts and differences which subsisted and were to be settled between the crown of Spain and the assiento company, nor to any particular or private contracts that might subsist between either of the two crowns, or their ministers, with the subjects of the other; or between the subjects and subjects of each nation respectively: That his catholic majesty should cause the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds to be paid at London within four months, to be reckoned from the day on which

which the ratifications were exchanged. Such was the substance of that convention, which alarmed and provoked the merchants and traders of Great-Britain, excited the indignation of all those who retained any regard for the honour of their country, and raised a general cry against the minister who stood at the helm of administration.

§ XVII. The eyes of the whole kingdom were now turned upon the house of commons. The two contending parties summoned their whole force for the approaching dispute; and on the day appointed for considering the convention, four hundred members had taken their seats by eight in the morning. In a committee of the whole house, certain West-India merchants and planters were heard against the convention: so that this and the following day were employed in reading papers and obtaining information. On the eighth day of March Mr. H. Walpole having launched out in the praise of that agreement, moved for an address of approbation to his majesty. He was seconded by Mr. Campbel of Pembrokehire; and the debate began with extraordinary ardour. He that first distinguished himself in the lists was Sir Thomas Sanderson, at that time treasurer to the prince of Wales, now earl of Scarborough. All the officers and adherents of his royal highness had joined the opposition; and he himself on this occasion sat in the gallery, to hear the debate on such an important transaction. Sir Thomas Sanderson observed, that the Spaniards by the convention, instead of giving us reparation, had obliged us to give them a general release. They had not allowed the word Satisfaction to be so much as once mentioned in the treaty. Even the Spanish pyrate who had cut off the ear of captain Jenkins*, and used the most insulting expression towards the person of the king; an expression which no British subject could decently repeat; an expression which no man that had a regard for his sovereign could ever forgive; even this fellow lived to enjoy the fruits of his rapine, and remained a living testimony of the cowardly tameness and mean submission of Great-Britain; of the triumphant haughtiness, and stubborn pride of Spain. Lord Gage, one of the most keen, spirited, and sarcastic orators in the house, stated in his manner the account of the satisfaction obtained from the court of Spain by the convention. The losses sustained by the Spanish depredations amounted to three hundred and forty thousand pounds. The commissary, by a stroke of his pen, reduced this demand to two hundred thousand pounds; then forty-five thousand were struck off for prompt payment. He next alot-

* Captain Jenkins was master of a Scottish merchant ship. He was boarded by the captain of a Spanish guarda costa, who treated him in the most barbarous manner. The Spaniards, after having rummaged his vessel for what they call contraband commodities, without finding any thing to justify their search, insulted Jenkins with the most opprobrious invectives; they tore off one of his ears, bidding him carry it to his king, and tell him, they would serve him in the same manner should an opportunity offer: they tortured him with the most shocking cruelty, and threatened him with immediate death. This man was examined at the bar of the house of commons, and being asked by a member, what

he thought when he found himself in the hands of such barbarians? "I recommended my soul to God (said he) and my cause to my country." The behaviour of this brave seaman, the sight of his ear, which was produced, with his account of the indignities which had been offered to the nation and sovereign of Great-Britain, filled the whole house with indignation. Jenkins was afterwards employed in the service of the East-India company; he approved himself worthy of his good fortune, in a long engagement with the pyrate Angria, during which he behaved with extraordinary courage and conduct; and saved his own ship with three others that were under his convoy.

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ted sixty thousand pounds as the remaining part of a debt pretended to be due to Spain, for the destruction of her fleet by Sir George Byng, though it appeared by the instructions on the table, that Spain had been already amply satisfied on that head. These deductions reduced the ballance to ninety-five thousand pounds; but the king of Spain insisted upon the South-sea company's paying immediately the sum of sixty-eight thousand pounds, as a debt due to him on one head of accounts, though in other articles his catholic majesty was indebted to the company a million over and above this demand. The remainder to be paid by Spain did not exceed seven and twenty thousand pounds, from which she insisted upon deducting whatever she might have already given in satisfaction for any of the British ships that had been taken; and on being allowed the value of the *St. Theresa*, a Spanish ship which had been seized in the port of Dublin. Mr. W. Pitt, with an energy of argument and diction peculiar to himself, declaimed against the convention, as insecure, unsatisfactory, and dishonourable to Great-Britain. He said, the great national objection, the searching of British ships, was not omitted, indeed, in the preamble; but stood there as the reproach of the whole, as the strongest evidence of the fatal submission that followed: on the part of Spain, an usurpation, an inhuman tyranny claimed and exercised over the American seas: on the part of England, an undoubted right by treaties, and from God and nature declared and asserted in the resolutions of parliament, were now referred to the discussion of plenipotentiaries, upon one and the same equal foot. This undoubted right was to be discussed and regulated; and if to regulate be to prescribe rules, as in all construction it is, that right was by the express words of the convention, to be given up and sacrificed; for, it must cease to be any thing from the moment it is submitted to limitation. Mr. Lyttleton, with equal force and fluency, answered the speech of Mr. H. Walpole. "After he had used many arguments to persuade us to peace, (said he) to any peace, good or bad, by pointing out the dangers of a war, dangers I by no means allow to be such as he represents them, he crowned all those terrors with the name of the pretender. It would be the cause of the pretender. The pretender would come. Is the honourable gentleman sensible what this language imports? The people of England complain of the greatest wrongs and indignities: they complain of the interruption, the destruction of their trade: they think this peace has left them in a worse condition than before; and in answer to all these complaints, what are they told? Why, that their continuing to suffer all this, is the price they must pay to keep the king and his family on the throne of these realms. If this were true, it ought not to be owned; but it is far from truth: the very reverse is true. Nothing can weaken the family; nothing shake the establishment, but such measures as these, and such language as this." He affirmed, that if the ministers had proceeded conformably to the intentions of parliament, they would either have acted with vigour, or have obtained a real security in an express acknowledgment of our right not to be searched, as a preliminary, *sine qua non*, to our treating at all. Instead of this they had referred it to plenipotentiaries. "Would you, Sir, (said he) submit to a reference, whether you may travel unmolested from your house in town to your house in the country? Your right is clear and undeniable, why would you have it discussed? but much less would you refer it, if two of your judges belonged to a gang which has often
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"stopped and robbed you in your way thither, before." The ministers, in vindication of the convention, asserted, that the satisfaction granted by Spain was adequate to the injury received: that it was only the preliminary of a treaty that would remove all causes of complaint: that war was always expensive and detrimental to a trading nation, as well as uncertain in its events: that France and Spain would certainly join their forces in case of a rupture with Great-Britain: that there was not one power in Europe upon which the English could depend for effectual assistance: and, that war would favour the cause and designs of a popish pretender. The house, upon a division, agreed to the address; but, when a motion was made for its being recommitted, the two parties renewed the engagement with redoubled eagerness and impetuosity. Sir William Wyndham and Mr. Pulteney poured all the thunder of their eloquence against the insolence of Spain, and the concessions of the British ministry. Sir Robert Walpole exerted all his fortitude and dexterity in defence of himself and his measures; and the question being put, the resolutions for the address were carried by a small majority.

§ XVIII. Then Sir William Wyndham standing up, made a pathetic remonstrance upon this determination. "This address (said he) is intended to convince mankind, that the treaty under our consideration is a reasonable and an honourable treaty. But if a majority of twenty-eight in such a full house should fail of that success; if the people should not implicitly resign their reason to a vote of this house, what will be the consequence? will not the parliament lose its authority? will it not be thought, that even in the parliament we are governed by a faction? and what the consequence of this may be, I leave to those gentlemen to consider, who are now to give their vote for this address; for my own part, I will trouble you no more; but, with these my last words, I sincerely pray to Almighty God, who has so often wonderfully protected these kingdoms, that he will graciously continue his protection over them, by preserving us from that impending danger which threatens the nation from without, and likewise from that impending danger which threatens our constitution from within." The minister was on this occasion deserted by his usual temper, and even provoked into personal abuse. He declared, that the gentleman who was now the mouth of his opponents, had been looked upon as the head of those traitors who twenty-five years before conspired the destruction of their country, and of the royal family, in order to set a popish pretender upon the throne: that he was seized by the vigilance of the then government, and pardoned by its clemency; but all the use he had ungratefully made of that clemency was to qualify himself according to law, that he and his party might some time or other have an opportunity to overthrow all law. He branded them all as traitors, and expressed his hope, that their behaviour would unite all the true friends of the present happy establishment. To such a degree of mutual animosity were both sides inflamed, that the most eminent members of the minority actually retired from parliament; and were by the nation in general revered as martyrs to the liberty of the people.

§ XIX. The dispute occasioned by the convention in the house of lords was maintained with equal warmth, and perhaps with more abilities. After this famous treaty had been considered, lord Carteret suggested, that possibly one of the contracting powers had presented a protest or declaration, importing, that

that she acceded to such or such a measure, only upon condition, that the terms of that protest or declaration should be made good. He said, that until his mind should be free from the most distant suspicion that such a paper might exist in the present case, he could not form a just opinion of the transaction himself, nor communicate to their lordships any light which might be necessary for that purpose. The adherents to the ministry endeavoured to evade his curiosity in this particular, by general assertions; but he insisted on his suspicion with such perseverance, that at length the ministry produced the copy of a declaration made by the king of Spain before he ratified the convention, signifying, That his catholic majesty reserved to himself, in its full force, the right of being able to suspend the assiento of negroes, in case the company should not pay within a short time the sum of sixty eight thousand pounds sterling, owing to Spain on the duty of negroes, or on the profit of the ship *Caroline*: That under the validity and force of this protest, the signing of the said convention might be proceeded on, and in no other manner. In the debate that ensued, lord Carteret displayed a surprising extent of political knowledge, recommended by all the graces of elocution, chaste, pure, dignified, and delicate. Lord Bathurst argued against the articles of convention with his usual spirit, integrity, and good sense, particularly animated by an honest indignation which the wrongs of his country had inspired. The earl of Chesterfield attacked this inglorious measure with all the weight of argument, and all the poignancy of satire. The duke of Argyle, no longer a partisan of the ministry, invighed against it as infamous, treacherous, and destructive, with all the fire, impetuosity, and enthusiasm of declamation. It was defended with unequal arms by the duke of Newcastle, the earl of Cholmondley, the lord Hervey, the lord chancellor, the bishop of Salisbury, and in particular by the earl of Ilay, a nobleman of extensive capacity and uncommon erudition; remarkable for his knowledge of the civil law; and seemingly formed by nature for a politician; cool, discerning, plausible, artful, and enterprising; staunch to the minister, and invariably true to his own interest. The dispute was learned, long, and obstinate; but ended as usual in the discomfiture of those who had stigmatized the treaty. The house agreed to an address, in which they thanked his majesty for his gracious condescension in laying before them the convention. They acknowledged his great prudence in bringing the demands of his subjects for their past losses, which had been so long depending, to a final adjustment; in procuring an express stipulation for a speedy payment; and in laying a foundation for accomplishing the great and desirable ends of obtaining future security, and preserving the peace between the two nations. They declared their confidence in his royal wisdom, that in the treaty to be concluded in pursuance of the convention, proper provisions would be made for the redress of the grievances of which the nation had so justly complained: They assured his majesty, that in case his just expectations should not be answered, the house would heartily and zealously concur in all such measures as should be necessary to vindicate his majesty's honour, and to preserve to his subjects the full enjoyment of all those rights to which they were intitled by treaty and the law of nations. This was a hard-won victory. At the head of those who voted against the address we find the prince of Wales. His example was followed by six dukes, two and twenty earls, four viscounts, eighteen barons,

sons, four bishops; and their party was reinforced by sixteen proxies. A spirited protest was entered and subscribed by nine and thirty peers, comprehending all the noblemen of the kingdom who were most eminent for their talents, integrity, and virtue. An.Ch.1739.

§ XX. A message having been delivered to the house from his majesty, importing, That he had settled nine and thirty thousand pounds per annum on the younger children of the royal family; and desiring their lordships would bring in a bill to enable his majesty to make that provision good, out of the hereditary revenues of the crown; some lords in the opposition observed, that the next heir to the crown might look upon this settlement as a mortgage of his revenue, which a parliament had no power to make: that formerly no daughter of the royal family was ever provided for by parliament, except the eldest, and that never was by way of annuity, but an express provision of a determinate sum of money payed by way of dowry. The objections were over-ruled; and the house complied with his majesty's request. Then the duke of Newcastle produced a subsidy-treaty, by which his majesty obliged himself to pay to the king of Denmark seventy thousand pounds per annum, on condition of furnishing to his Britannic majesty a body of six thousand men, when demanded. At the same time his grace delivered a message from the king, desiring the house would enable him to fulfil this engagement; and also to raise what money and troops the exigency of affairs, during the approaching recess, might require. Another vehement dispute arose from this proposal. With respect to the treaty, lord Carteret observed, that no use could be made of the Danish troops in any expedition undertaken against Spain, because it was stipulated in the treaty, that they should not be used either in Italy or on board of the fleet, or be transported in whole or in part beyond sea, after they should have marched out of the territories of Denmark; except for the defence of the kingdoms of Great-Britain and Ireland; nay, should France join against the English, the Danes could not act against that power or Spain, except as part of an army formed in Germany or Flanders. This body of Danes may be said, therefore, to have been retained for the defence and protection of Hanover: or, if the interest of Britain was at all consulted in the treaty, it must have been in preventing the Danes from joining their fleets to those of France and Spain. Then he argued against the second part of the message with great vivacity. He said, nothing could be more dangerous to the constitution than a general and unlimited vote of credit. Such a demand our ancestors would have heard with amazement, and rejected with scorn. He affirmed, that the practice was but of modern date in England: that it was never heard of before the revolution; and never became frequent until the nation was blessed with the present wise administration. He said, if ever a general vote of credit and confidence should become a customary compliment from the parliament to the crown at the end of every session, or as often as the minister might think fit to desire it, parliaments would grow despicable in the eyes of the people; then a proclamation might be easily substituted in its stead, and happy would it be for the nation if that should be sufficient; for when a parliament ceases to be a check upon ministers, it becomes an useless and unnecessary burden on the people. The representatives must always be payed some way or other, if their wages are not payed openly and surely by their respective constituents, as they were formerly, a majority of them, may in fu-

ture times be always ready to accept of wages from the administration, and these must come out of the pockets of the people. The duke of Argyle and the earl of Chesterfield enlarged upon the same topics. Nevertheless, the house complied with the message; and presented an address, in which they not only approved of the treaty with Denmark, but likewise assured him they would concur with his measures, and support him in fulfilling his engagements, as well as in making such further augmentation of his forces by sea and land, as he should think necessary for the honour, interest, and safety of these kingdoms.

§ XXI. The same message being communicated to the commons, they voted seventy thousand five hundred and eighty-three pounds for the subsidy to Denmark, and five hundred thousand pounds for augmenting the forces on any emergency. As Great-Britain stood engaged by the convention to pay to the crown of Spain the sum of sixty thousand pounds, in consideration of the ships taken and destroyed by Sir George Byng, which sum was to be applied to the relief of the British merchants who had suffered by the Spanish depredations, the commons inserted in a bill a clause, providing for this sum to be paid by the parliament. When the bill was read in the house of lords, a motion was made by lord Bathurst for an address, to know, whether Spain had paid the money stipulated by the convention, as the time limited for the payment of it was now expired? The duke of Newcastle, by his majesty's permission, acquainted the house, that it was not paid; and, that Spain had as yet given no reason for the non-payment. Then a day was appointed to consider the state of the nation, when lord Carteret moved for a resolution, that the failure of Spain in this particular was a breach of the convention, an high indignity to his majesty, and an injustice to the nation. But, after a warm debate, this motion was over-ruled by the majority. The minister, in order to atone in some measure for the unpopular step he had taken in the convention, allowed a salutary law to pass for the encouragement of the woollen manufacture; and two bills in behalf of the sugar colonies, one permitting them, for a limited time, to export their produce directly to foreign parts, under proper restrictions; and the other making more effectual provisions for securing the duties layed upon the importation of foreign sugars, rum, and molasses into Great-Britain, and his majesty's plantations in America. The supplies being voted, the funds established, and the crown gratified in every particular, the king closed the session with a speech on the fourteenth day of June, when the chancellor, in his majesty's name, prorogued the parliament*.

§ XXII. Letters of marque and reprisal were granted against the Spaniards; a promotion was made of general-officers; the troops were augmented; a

* Among the laws enacted in the course of this session was an act against gaming, which had become universal through all ranks of people, and likely to prove destructive of all morals, industry, and sentiment. Another bill passed, for granting a reward to Joanna Stevens, on her discovering, for the benefit of the public, a nostrum for the cure of persons afflicted with the stone; a medicine which has by no means answered the expectations of the legislature.

In the house of lords complaint was made by

the lord Delaware, of a satire, intituled, *Manners*, written by Mr. Whitehead; in which some characters of distinction were severely lashed, in the true spirit of poetry. It was voted a libel; and a motion was made to take the author into custody; but he having withdrawn himself, the resentment of the house fell upon R. Doddsley, the publisher of the work, who was committed to the usher of the black-rod; though lord Carteret, the earl of Abingdon, and lord Talbot, spoke in his behalf.

great fleet was assembled at Spithead; a reinforcement sent out to admiral Haddock; and an embargo layed on all merchant ships outward bound. Notwithstanding these preparations of war, Mr. Keen, the British minister at Madrid, declared to the court of Spain, that his master, although he had permitted his subjects to make reprisals, would not be understood to have broken the peace; and, that this permission would be recalled as soon as his catholic majesty should be disposed to make the satisfaction which had been so justly demanded. He was given to understand, that the king of Spain looked upon those reprisals as acts of hostility; and that he hoped, with the assistance of heaven and his allies, he should be able to support a good cause against his adversaries. He published a manifesto in justification of his own conduct, complaining, that admiral Haddock had received orders to cruise with his squadron between the capes St. Vincent and St. Mary, in order to surprise the assogue ships; that letters of reprisal had been published at London, in an indecent style, and even carried into execution in different parts of the world. He excused his non-payment of the ninety-five thousand pounds stipulated in the convention, by affirming, that the British court had first contravened the articles of that treaty, by the orders sent to Haddock; by continuing to fortify Georgia; by reinforcing the squadron at Jamaica; and by eluding the payment of the sixty-eight thousand pounds due to Spain from the South-sea company, on the assiento for negroes. The French ambassador at the Hague declared, that the king his master was obliged by treaties to assist his catholic majesty by sea and land, in case he should be attacked: he dissuaded the states-general from espousing the quarrel of Great-Britain; and they assured him they would observe a strict neutrality, though they could not avoid furnishing his Britannic majesty with such succours as he could demand, by virtue of the treaties subsisting between the two powers. The people of England were inspired with uncommon alacrity at the near prospect of war, for which they had so long clamoured; and the ministry seeing it unavoidable, began to be earnest and effectual in their preparations.

§ XXIII. The events of war were still unfavourable to the emperor. He had bestowed the command of his army upon velt marechal count Wallis, who assembled his forces in the neighbourhood of Belgrade, and advanced towards Crotika, where he was attacked by the Turks with such impetuosity and perseverance, that he was obliged to give ground, after a long and obstinate engagement, in which he lost above six thousand men. The earl of Crawford, who served as a volunteer in the Imperial army, signalized his courage in an extraordinary manner on this occasion, and received a dangerous wound, of which he never perfectly recovered. The Turks were afterwards worsted at Jabouka: nevertheless, their grand army invested Belgrade on the side of Servia, and carried on the operations of the siege with extraordinary vigour. The emperor dreading the loss of this place, seeing his finances exhausted, and his army considerably diminished, consented to a negotiation for peace, which was transacted under the mediation of the French ambassador at the Ottoman Porte. The count de Neuperg, as Imperial plenipotentiary, signed the preliminaries on the first day of September. They were ratified by the emperor, though he pretended to be dissatisfied with the articles; and declared, that his minister had

exceeded his powers. By this treaty the house of Austria ceded to the grand signor Belgrade, Sabatz, Servia, Austrian Walachia, the isle and fortress of Orsova, with the fort of St. Elizabeth; and the contracting powers agreed, that the Danube and the Saave should serve as boundaries to the two empires. The emperor published a circular letter, addressed to his ministers at all the courts in Europe, blaming count Wallis for the bad success of the last campaign, and disowning the negotiations of count Neuperg: nay, these two officers were actually disgraced and confined in different castles. This, however, was no other than a sacrifice to the resentment of the czarina, who loudly complained, that the emperor had concluded a separate peace, contrary to his engagements with the Russian empire. Her general count Munich had obtained a victory over the Turks at Choczim in Moldavia, and made himself master of that place, in which he found two hundred pieces of artillery; but, the country was so ruined by the incursions of the Tartars, that the Muscovites could not subsist in it during the winter. The czarina finding herself abandoned by the emperor, and unable to cope with the whole power of the Ottoman empire, took the first opportunity of putting an end to the war upon honourable terms. After a short negotiation the conferences ended in a treaty, by which she was left in possession of Asoph, on condition that its fortifications should be demolished; and the antient limits were re-established between the two empires.

§ XXIV. A rupture between Great-Britain and Spain was now become inevitable. The English squadron in the Mediterranean had already made prize of two rich Caracca ships. The king had issued orders for augmenting his land-forces, and raising a body of marines: and a great number of ships of war were put in commission. Admiral Vernon had been sent to the West-Indies, to assume the command of the squadron in those seas; and to annoy the trade and settlements of the Spaniards. This gentleman had rendered himself considerable in the house of commons, by loudly condemning all the measures of the ministry, and bluntly speaking his sentiments, whatever they were, without respect of persons, and sometimes without any regard to decorum. He was counted a good officer, and this boisterous manner seemed to inhanse his character. As he had once commanded a squadron in Jamaica, he was perfectly well acquainted with those seas; and in a debate upon the Spanish depredations, he chanced to affirm, that Porto-Bello on the Spanish main might be easily taken: nay, he even undertook to reduce it with six ships only. This offer was echoed from the mouths of all the members in the opposition. Vernon was extolled as another Drake or Raleigh: he became the idol of a party, and his praise resounded from all corners of the kingdom. The minister, in order to appease the clamours of the people on this subject, sent him as commander in chief to the West-Indies. He was pleased with an opportunity to remove such a troublesome censor from the house of commons; and perhaps, he was not without hope, that Vernon would disgrace himself and his party, by failing in the exploit he had undertaken. His catholic majesty having ordered all the British ships in his harbours to be seized and detained, the king of England would keep measures with him no longer, but denounced war against him on the twenty-third day of October. Many English merchants began to equip privateers, and arm their trading vessels, to protect their own commerce as well as

to distress that of the enemy. The session of parliament was opened in November, when the king in his speech to both houses declared, that he had augmented his forces by sea and land, pursuant to the power vested in him by parliament for the security of his dominions, the protection of trade, and the annoyance of the enemy; and, he expressed his apprehension, that the heats and animosities which had been industriously fomented throughout the kingdom, encouraged Spain to act in such a manner as rendered it necessary for him to have recourse to arms. In answer to this speech, affectionate addresses were presented by both houses, without any considerable opposition.

§ XXV. The seceding members had again resumed their seats in the house of commons; and Mr. Pulteney thought proper to vindicate the extraordinary step which they had taken. He said, they thought it was necessary, as affairs then stood, for clearing their characters to posterity from the imputation of sitting in an assembly where a determined majority gave a sanction to measures evidently to the disgrace of his majesty and the nation. He observed, that their conduct was so fully justified by the declaration of war against Spain, that any further vindication would be superfluous; for every assertion contained in it had been almost in the same words insisted upon by those who opposed the convention: "Every sentence in it (added he) is an echo of what was said in our reasonings against that treaty: every positive truth which the declaration lays down, was denied with the utmost confidence by those who spoke for the convention; and, since that time, there has not one event happened which was not then foreseen and foretold." He proposed, that in maintaining the war the Spanish settlements in the West-Indies should be attacked; and, that the ministry should not have the power to give up the conquests that might be made. He said, he heartily wished for his majesty's honour and service, that no mention had been made of heats and animosities in the king's speech; and gave it as his opinion, that they should take no notice of that clause in their address. He was answered by Sir Robert Walpole, who took occasion to say, he was in no great concern lest the service of his majesty or the nation should suffer by the absence of those members who had quitted the house: he affirmed, the nation was generally sensible, that the many useful and popular acts which passed towards the end of the last session, were greatly forwarded and facilitated by the secession of those gentlemen; and, if they were returned only to oppose and perplex, he should not be at all sorry to see them secede again.

§ XXVI. Mr. Pulteney revived the bill which he had formerly prepared for the encouragement of seamen. After a long dispute, and eager opposition by the ministry, it passed both houses, and obtained the royal assent. Mr. Sandys having observed, that there could be no immediate use for a great number of forces in the kingdom; and explained how little service could be expected from raw and undisciplined men, proposed an address to the king, desiring, that the body of marines should be composed of draughts from the old regiments: that as few officers should be appointed as the nature of the case would permit; and he expressed his hope, that the house would recommend this method to his majesty, in tender compassion to his people, already burthened with many heavy and grievous taxes. This scheme was repugnant to the intention of the ministry.

nistry, whose aim was to increase the number of their dependants, and extend their parliamentary interest by granting a great number of commissions. The motion was therefore, after a long debate, rejected by the majority. Motions were made for an inquiry into the conduct of those who concluded the convention; but, they were over-ruled. The pension-bill was revived, and so powerfully supported by the eloquence of Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Pulteney, and Mr. Lyttleton, that it made its way through the commons to the upper house, where it was again lost, upon a division, after a very long debate. As the seamen of the kingdom expressed uncommon aversion to the service of the government, and the fleet could not be manned without great difficulty, the ministry prepared a bill, which was brought in by Sir Charles Wager, for registering all seamen, watermen, fishermen, and lightermen throughout his majesty's dominions. Had this bill passed into a law, a British sailor would have been reduced to the most abject degree of slavery: had he removed from a certain district allotted for the place of his residence, he would have been deemed a deserter, and punished accordingly: he must have appeared, when summoned, at all hazards, whatever might have been the circumstances of his family, or the state of his private affairs: had he been incumbered with debt, he must either have incurred the penalties of this law, or lain at the mercy of his creditors: had he acquired by industry, or received by inheritance, an ample fortune, he would have been liable to be torn from his possessions, and subjected to hardships which no man would endure but from the sense of fear or indigence. The bill was so vigorously opposed by Sir John Barnard and others, as a flagrant encroachment on the liberties of the people, that the house rejected it on the second reading.

§ XXVII. The king having by message communicated to the house his intention of disposing the princess Mary in marriage to prince Frederick of Hesse; and expressing his hope, that the commons would enable him to give a suitable portion to his daughter; they unanimously resolved to grant forty thousand pounds for that purpose; and presented an address of thanks to his majesty, for having communicated to the house this intended marriage. On the thirteenth day of March a ship arrived from the West-Indies, dispatched by admiral Vernon, with an account of his having taken Porto-Bello, on the isthmus of Darien, with six ships only, and demolished all the fortifications of the place. The Spaniards acted with such pusillanimity on this occasion, that their forts were taken almost without bloodshed. The two houses of parliament joined in an address of congratulation upon this success of his majesty's arms; and the nation in general was wonderfully elated by an exploit which was magnified much above its merit. The commons granted every thing the crown thought proper to demand. They provided for eight and twenty thousand land-forces, besides six thousand marines. They enabled his majesty to equip a very powerful navy: they voted the subsidy to the king of Denmark; and they empowered their sovereign to defray certain extraordinary expences not specified in the estimates. To answer these uncommon grants, they imposed a land-tax of four shillings in the pound; and enabled his majesty to deduct twelve hundred thousand pounds from the sinking fund: in a word, the expence of the war, during the course of the ensuing year, amounted to about four millions.

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The session was closed on the twenty-ninth day of April, when the king thanked the commons for the supplies they had so liberally granted, and recommended union and moderation to both houses.

§ XXVIII. During the greatest part of this winter, the poor had been grievously afflicted in consequence of a severe frost, which began at Christmas and continued till the latter end of February. The river Thames was covered with such a crust of ice, that a multitude of people dwelled upon it in tents, and a great number of booths were erected for the entertainment of the populace. The navigation was entirely stopped: the watermen and fishermen were disabled from earning a livelihood: the fruits of the earth were destroyed by the cold, which was so extreme, that many persons were chilled to death; and this calamity was the more deeply felt, as the poor could not afford to supply themselves with coals and fuel, which were advanced in price in proportion to the severity and continuance of the frost. The lower class of labourers, who worked in the open air, were now deprived of all means of subsistence: many kinds of manufacture were layed aside, because it was found impracticable to carry them on. The price of all sorts of provision rose almost to a dearth: even water was sold in the streets of London. In this season of distress, many wretched families must have perished by cold and hunger, had not those of opulent fortunes been inspired with a remarkable spirit of compassion and humanity. Nothing can more redound to the honour of the English nation, than did those instances of benevolence and well-conducted charity which were then exhibited. The liberal hand was not only opened to the professed beggar, and the poor that owned their distress: but uncommon pains were taken to find out and relieve those more unhappy objects that from motives of false pride, or ingenuous shame, endeavoured to conceal their misery. These were assisted almost in their own despite. The solitary habitations of the widow, the fatherless, and the unfortunate, were visited by the beneficent, who felt for the woes of their fellow-creatures; and, to such as refused to receive a portion of the public charity, the necessaries of life were privately conveyed in such a manner as could least shock the delicacy of their dispositions.

§ XXIX. In the beginning of May, the king of Great-Britain set out for An. Ch. 1740. Hanover, after having appointed a regency, and concerted vigorous measures for distressing the enemy. In a few days after his departure, the spousals of the princess Mary were celebrated by proxy; the duke of Cumberland representing the prince of Hesse; and in June the princess embarked for the continent. About the same time a sloop arrived in England with dispatches from admiral Vernon, who, since his adventure at Porto-Bello, had bombarded Carthage, and taken the fort of San Lorenzo, on the river of Chagre, in the neighbourhood of his former conquest. This month was likewise marked by the death of his Prussian majesty, a prince by no means remarkable for great or amiable qualities. He was succeeded on the throne by Frederick his eldest son, the reigning king of that realm, who has so eminently distinguished himself as a warrior and legislator. In August the king of Great-Britain concluded a treaty with the landgrave of Hesse, who engaged to furnish him with a body of six thousand men for four years, in consideration of an annual subsidy of two hundred and fifty thousand crowns.

§ XXX.

§ XXX. Mean while, preparations of war were vigorously carried on by the ministry in England. They had wisely resolved to annoy the Spaniards in their American possessions. Three ships of war cruising in the bay of Biscay, fell in with a large Spanish ship of the line strongly manned, and took her after a very obstinate engagement; but the assogue ships arrived, with the treasure, in Spain, notwithstanding the vigilance of the English commanders, who were stationed in a certain latitude to intercept that flora. One camp was formed on Hounslow heath; and the six thousand marines lately levied were encamped on the isle of Wight, in order to be embarked for the West-Indies. Intelligence being received that a strong squadron of Spanish ships of war waited at Ferrol for orders to sail to their American settlements, Sir John Norris sailed with a powerful fleet from Spithead, to dispute their voyage; and the duke of Cumberland served in person as a volunteer in this expedition: but, after divers fruitless efforts, he was by contrary winds obliged to lie inactive for the greatest part of the summer in Torbay; and, upon advice that the French and Spanish squadrons had sailed to the West-Indies in conjunction, the design against Ferrol was wholly layed aside. In September, a small squadron of ships, commanded by commodore Anson, set sail for the South-sea, in order to act against the enemy on the coast of Chili and Peru, and co-operate occasionally with admiral Vernon across the isthmus of Darien. The scheme was well layed, but ruined by unnecessary delays, and unforeseen accidents. But the hopes of the nation centered chiefly in a formidable armament designed for the northern coast of New Spain, and his catholic majesty's other settlements on that side of the Atlantic. Commissions had been issued for raising a regiment of four battalions in the English colonies of North-America, that they might be transported to Jamaica, and join the forces from England. These, consisting of the marines, and detachments from some old regiments, were embarked in October at the isle of Wight, under the command of lord Cathcart, a nobleman of approved honour, and great experience in the art of war; and they sailed under convoy of Sir Chaloner Ogle, with a fleet of seven and twenty ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and tenders. They were likewise furnished with hospital-ships, and store-ships loaded with provision, ammunition, all sorts of warlike implements, and every kind of convenience. Never was an armament more completely equipped; and never had the nation more reason to hope for extraordinary success.

§ XXXI. On the twentieth day of October, Charles VI. emperor of Germany, the last prince of the house of Austria, died at Vienna, and was succeeded in his hereditary dominions by his eldest daughter the archduchess Maria Theresa, married to the grand duke of Tuscany. Though she succeeded as queen of Hungary, by virtue of the pragmatic sanction guaranteed by all the powers in Europe, her succession produced such contests as kindled a cruel war in the empire. The young king of Prussia was no sooner informed of the emperor's death, than he entered Silesia at the head of twenty thousand men, seized certain fiefs to which his family layed claim; and published a manifesto, declaring, that he had no intention to contravene the pragmatic sanction. The elector of Bavaria refused to acknowledge the archduchess as queen of Hungary and Bohemia, alledging that he himself had pretensions to these

these countries, as the descendant of the emperor Ferdinand I. who was head of the German branch of the house of Austria. Charles VI. was survived but a few days by his ally the czarina Anne Iwanowna, who died in the forty-fifth year of her age, after having bequeathed her crown to Iwan, or John, the infant son of her niece the princess Anne of Mecklenburg, who had been married to Anthony Ulric duke of Brunswic-Luñenburg-Bevern. She appointed the duke of Courland regent of the empire, and even guardian of the young czar, though his own parents were alive: but this disposition was not long maintained.

§ XXXII. The king of Great-Britain having returned to England from his German dominions, the session of parliament was opened in November. His majesty assured them, on this occasion, that he was determined to prosecute the war vigorously, even though France should espouse the cause of Spain, as her late conduct seemed to favour this supposition. He took notice of the emperor's death, as an event which in all likelihood would open a new scene of affairs in Europe; he therefore recommended to their consideration, the necessary supplies for putting the nation in such a posture that it should have nothing to fear from any emergency. Finally, he desired them to consider of some proper regulations for preventing the exportation of corn, and for more effectual methods to man the fleet at this conjuncture. The commons, after having voted an address of thanks, brought in a bill for prohibiting the exportation of corn and provisions, for a limited time, out of Great-Britain, Ireland, and the American plantations. This was a measure calculated to distress the enemy, who were supposed to be in want of these necessities. The French had contracted for a very large quantity of beef and pork in Ireland, for the use of their own and of the Spanish navy; and an embargo had been layed upon the ships of that kingdom. This bill met with a vigorous opposition; yet the house unanimously resolved, that his majesty should be addressed to lay an immediate embargo upon all the ships laden with corn, grain, starch, rice, beef, pork, and other provisions, to be exported to foreign parts. They likewise resolved, that the thanks of the house should be given to vice-admiral Vernon, for the services he had done to his king and country in the West-Indies. One William Cooley was examined at the bar of the house, and committed to prison, after having owned himself author of a paper intituled, "Considerations upon the embargo on provision of victual." The performance contained many shrewd and severe animadversions upon the government, for having taken a step which, without answering the purpose of distressing the enemy, would prove a grievous discouragement to trade, and ruin all the graziers of Ireland. Notwithstanding the arguments used in this remonstrance, and several petitions that were presented against the corn-bill, it passed by meer dint of ministerial influence. The other party endeavoured, by various motions, to set on foot an inquiry into the orders, letters, and instructions, which had been sent to admiral Vernon and admiral Haddock: but all such investigations were carefully avoided.

§ XXXIII. A very hot contest arose from a bill which the ministry brought in under the specious title of, A bill for the encouragement and increase of seamen, and for the better and speedier manning his majesty's fleet. This was a revival of the oppressive scheme which had been rejected in the former session;

a scheme by which the justices of the peace were empowered to issue warrants to constables and headboroughs, to search by day or night for such seafaring men as should conceal themselves within their respective jurisdictions. Those searchers were vested with authority to force open doors, in case of resistance; and encouraged to this violence by a reward for every seaman they should discover; while the unhappy wretches so discovered were dragged into the service, and their names entered in a register to be kept at the navy or the admiralty-office. Such a plan of tyranny did not pass uncensured. Every exceptionable clause produced a warm debate, in which Sir John Barnard, Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Sandys, lord Gage, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Lyttleton, signalized themselves nobly in defending the liberties of their fellow-subjects. Mr. Pitt having expressed a laudable indignation at such a large stride towards despotic power, in justification of which nothing could be urged but the plea of necessity, Mr. H. Walpole thought proper to attack him with some personal sarcasms. He reflected upon his youth; and observed, that the discovery of truth was very little promoted by pompous diction and theatrical emotion. These insinuations exposed him to a severe reply. Mr. Pitt standing up again, said, he would not undertake to determine whether youth could be justly imputed to any man as a reproach; but he affirmed, that the wretch, who, after having seen the consequences of repeated errors, continues still to blunder, and whose age has only added obstinacy to stupidity, is surely the object of either abhorrence or contempt, and deserves not that his grey head should secure him from insults: much more is he to be abhorred, who, as he has advanced in age, has receded from virtue, and becomes more wicked with less temptation; who prostitutes himself for money which he cannot enjoy; and spends the remains of his life in the ruin of his country. Petitions were presented from the city of London, and county of Gloucester, against the bill, as detrimental to the trade and navigation of the kingdom, by discouraging rather than encouraging sailors, and destructive to the liberties of the subject: but they were both rejected, as insults upon the house of commons. After very long debates maintained on both sides with extraordinary ardour and emotion, the severe clauses were dropped, and the bill passed with amendments.

§ XXXIV. But the most remarkable incident of this session was an open and personal attack upon the minister, who was become extremely unpopular all over the kingdom. The people were now more than ever sensible of the grievous taxes under which they groaned; and saw their burdens daily increasing. No effectual attempt had as yet been made to annoy the enemy. Expensive squadrons had been equipped; had made excursions and returned without striking a blow. The Spanish fleet had sailed first from Cadiz, and then from Ferrol, without any interruption from admiral Haddock, who commanded the British squadron in the Mediterranean, and who was supposed to be restricted by the instructions he had received from the ministry, though in fact his want of success was owing to accident. Admiral Vernon had written from the West-Indies to his private friends, that he was neglected, and in danger of being sacrificed. Notwithstanding the numerous navy which the nation maintained, the Spanish privateers made prize of the British merchant-ships with impunity. In violation of treaties, and in contempt of that intimate connection which had been so long cultivated between the French and English ministry,

the king of France had ordered the harbour and fortifications of Dunkirk to be repaired: his fleet had sailed to the West-Indies, in conjunction with that of Spain; and the merchants of England began to tremble for Jamaica: finally, commerce was in a manner suspended, by the practice of pressing sailors into the service, and by the embargo which had been layed upon ships in all the ports of Great-Britain and Ireland. These causes of popular discontent, added to other complaints which had been so long repeated against the minister, exaggerated and inculcated by his enemies with unwearied industry, at length rendered him so universally odious, that his name was seldom or never mentioned with decency, except by his own dependants.

§ XXXV. The country-party in parliament seized this opportunity of vengeance. Mr. Sandys went up to Sir Robert Walpole in the house, and told him, that on Friday next he should bring a charge against him in public. The minister seemed to be surprised at this unexpected intimation; but, after a short pause, thanked him politely for this previous notice, and said, he desired no favour, but fair play*. Mr. Sandys, at the time which he had appointed for this accusation, stood up, and in a studied speech entered into a long deduction of the minister's misconduct. He insisted upon the discontents of the nation at the measures which had been for many years pursued at home and abroad. He professed his belief that there was not a gentleman in the house who did not know, that one single person in the administration was the chief, if not the sole adviser and promoter, of all those measures. "This (added he) is known without doors as well as within; therefore the discontents, the reproaches, and even the curses of the people, are all directed against that single person. They complain of present measures; they have suffered by past measures; they expect no redress; they expect no alteration or amendment, whilst he has a share in directing or advising our future administration. These, Sir, are the sentiments of the people in regard to that minister: these sentiments we are in honour and duty bound to represent to his majesty; and the proper method for doing this, as established by our constitution, is to address his majesty to remove him from his councils." He then proceeded to explain the particulars of the minister's misconduct in the whole series of his negotiations abroad. He charged him with having endeavoured to support his own interest, and to erect a kind of despotic government, by the practice of corruption; with having betrayed the interest and honour of Great-Britain in the late convention; with having neglected to prosecute the war against Spain; and he concluded with a motion for an address to the king, that he would be pleased to remove Sir Robert Walpole from his presence and councils for ever. He was answered by Mr. Pelham, who undertook to defend or excuse all the measures which the other had condemned; and acquitted himself as a warm friend and unshaken adherent. Against this champion Sir John Barnard entered the lists, and was sustained by Mr. Pulteney, who, with equal spirit and pre-

* Upon this occasion he misquoted Horace. "culpæ." He was corrected by Mr. Pulteney; but insisted upon his being in the right, and actually laid a wager of a guinea on the justness of his quotation.

cision, pointed out and exposed all the material errors and mal-practices of the administration. Sir Robert Walpole spoke with great temper and deliberation in behalf of himself. With respect to the article of bribery and corruption, he said, if any one instance had been mentioned; if it had been shewn that he ever offered a reward to any member of either house, or ever threatened to deprive any member of his office or employment, in order to influence his voting in parliament, there might have been some ground for this charge; but, when it was so generally layed, he did not know what he could say to it, unless to deny it as generally and as positively as it had been asserted. Such a declaration as this, in the hearing of so many persons, who not only knew, but subsisted by his wages of corruption, was a strong proof of the minister's being dead to all sense of shame, and all regard to veracity. The debate was protracted by the court-members till three o'clock in the morning, when above sixty of the opposite party having retired, the motion was rejected by a considerable majority.

§ XXXVI. A bill was brought in for prohibiting the practice of insuring ships belonging to the enemies of the nation; but it was vigorously opposed by Sir John Barnard and Mr. Willmot, who demonstrated that this kind of traffic was advantageous to the kingdom; and the scheme was dropped. Another warm contest arose upon a clause of the mutiny-bill relating to the quartering of soldiers upon inn-keepers and publicans, who complained of their being distressed in furnishing those guests with provisions and necessaries at the rates prescribed by law or custom. There were not wanting advocates to expatiate upon the nature of this grievance, which however was not redressed. A new trade was at this time opened with Persia, through the dominions of the czar, and vested with an exclusive privilege in the Russia company, by an act of parliament. The commons voted forty thousand seamen for the service of the ensuing year, and about thirty thousand men for the establishment of land-forces. They provided for the subsidies granted to the king of Denmark and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; and took every step which was suggested for the ease and convenience of the government.

§ XXXVII. The parties in the house of lords were influenced by the same motives which actuated the commons. The duke of Argyle, who had by this time resigned all his places, declared open war against the ministry. In the beginning of the session, the king's speech was no sooner reported by the chancellor, than this nobleman stood up and moved, that a general address of thanks should be presented to his majesty, instead of a recapitulation of every paragraph of the king's speech, re-echoed from the parliament to the throne, with expressions of blind approbation, implying a general concurrence with all the measures of the minister. He spoke on this subject with an astonishing impetuosity of eloquence, that rolled like a river which had overflowed its banks and deluged the whole adjacent country. The motion was supported by lord Bathurst, lord Carteret, the earl of Chesterfield, and lord Gower, who, though they displayed all the talents of oratory, were out-voted by the opposite party, headed by the duke of Newcastle, the earl of Cholmondely, lord Hervey, and the lord chancellor. The motion was rejected, and the address composed in the usual strain. The same motions for an inquiry into orders and instructions, which had miscarried in the lower house, were here repeated with the same bad success;

success, and in the debates which ensued, the young earls of Halifax and Sandwich acquired a considerable share of reputation, for the strength of argument and elocution with which they contended against the adherents of the ministry. When the house took into consideration the state of the army, the duke of Argyle, having harrangued with equal skill and energy on military affairs, proposed that the forces should be augmented by adding new levies to the old companies, without increasing the number of officers; a practice that served only to debase the dignity of the service, by raising the lowest of mankind to the rank of gentlemen; and to extend the influence of the minister, by multiplying his dependents. He therefore moved for a resolution, that the augmenting the army by raising regiments, as it is the most unnecessary and most expensive method of augmentation, is also the most dangerous to the liberties of the nation. This proposal was likewise over-ruled, after a short though warm contention. This was the fate of all the other motions made by the lords in the opposition; though the victory of the courtiers was always clogged with a nervous and spirited protest. Two days were expended in the debate produced by lord Carteret's motion for an address, beseeching his majesty to remove Sir Robert Walpole from his presence and councils for ever. The speech that ushered in this memorable motion would not have disgraced a Cicero. It contained a retrospect of all the public measures which had been pursued since the revolution. It explained the nature of every treaty, whether right or wrong, which had been concluded under the present administration. It described the political connexions subsisting between the different powers in Europe. It exposed the weakness, the misconduct, and the iniquity of the minister, both in his foreign and domestic transactions. It was embellished with all the ornaments of rhetoric, and warmed with a noble spirit of patriot indignation. The duke of Argyle, the lord Bathurst, and his other colleagues, seemed to be animated with uncommon fervour, and even inspired, by the subject. A man of imagination, in reading their speeches, will think himself transported into the Roman senate, before the ruin of that republic. Nevertheless, the minister still triumphed by dint of number; though his victory was dearly purchased. Thirty peers entered a vigorous protest; and Walpole's character sustained such a rude shock from this opposition, that his authority seemed to be drawing near a period. Immediately after this contest was decided, the duke of Marlborough moved for a resolution, that any attempt to inflict any kind of punishment on any person, without allowing him an opportunity to make his defence, or without any proof of any crime or misdemeanour committed by him, is contrary to natural justice, the fundamental laws of the realm, and the antient established usage of parliament; and is a high infringement of the liberties of the subject. It was seconded by the duke of Devonshire and the lord Lovel; and opposed by lord Gower, as an intended censure on the proceedings of the day. This sentiment was so warmly espoused by lord Talbot, who had distinguished himself in the former debate, that he seemed to be transported beyond the bounds of moderation. He was interrupted by the earl of Cholmondely, who charged him with having violated the order and decorum which ought to be preserved in such an assembly. His passion was inflamed by this rebuke: he declared himself an independent lord; a character which he would not forfeit for the smiles of a court, the profit of an

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an employment, or the reward of a pension: he said, when he was engaged on the side of truth, he would trample on the insolence that should command him to suppress his sentiments. On a division, however, the motion was carried.

§ XXXVIII. In the beginning of April, the king repairing to the house of peers, passed some acts that were ready for the royal assent. Then, in his speech to both houses, he gave them to understand, that the queen of Hungary had made requisition of the twelve thousand men stipulated by treaty; and that he had ordered the subsidy-troops of Denmark and Hesse-Cassel to be in readiness to march to her assistance. He observed, that in this complicated and uncertain state of affairs, many incidents might arise, and render it necessary for him to incur extraordinary expences for maintaining the pragmatic sanction, at a time when he could not possibly have recourse to the advice and assistance of his parliament. He therefore demanded of the commons such a supply as might be requisite for these ends; and promised to manage it with all possible frugality. The lower house, in their address, approved of all his measures; declared they would effectually support him against all insults and attacks that might be made upon any of his territories, though not belonging to the crown of Great-Britain; and that they would enable him to contribute, in the most effectual manner, to the support of the queen of Hungary. Sir Robert Walpole moved, that an aid of two hundred thousand pounds should be granted to that princess. Mr. Shippen protested against any interposition in the affairs of Germany. He expressed his dislike of the promise which had been made to defend his majesty's foreign dominions; a promise, in his opinion, inconsistent with that important and inviolable law, the act of settlement; a promise which, could it have been foreknown, would perhaps have for ever precluded from the succession that illustrious family to which the nation owed such numberless blessings, such continued felicity. The motion however passed, though not without further opposition; and the house resolved, that three hundred thousand pounds should be granted to his majesty, to enable him effectually to support the queen of Hungary. Towards the expence of this year, a million was deducted from the sinking-fund; and the land-tax continued at four shillings in the pound. The preparations for this war had already cost five millions. The session was closed on the twenty-fifth day of April, when the king took his leave of this parliament, with warm expressions of tenderness and satisfaction. Henry Bromley, Stephen Fox, and John Howe, three members of the lower house, who had signalized themselves in defence of the minister, were now enobled, and created barons of Montfort, Ilchester, and Chedworth. A camp was formed near Colchester; and the king having appointed a regency, set out in May for his German dominions *.

* Sir William Wyndham died in the preceding year, deeply regreted as an orator, a patriot, and a man, the constant assertor of British liberty, and one of the chief ornaments of the English nation. In the course of the same year, general Oglethorpe, governor of Georgia, had, with some succours obtained from the colony of Carolina, and a small squadron of the king's ships, made

an attempt upon fort Augustine, the capital of Spanish Florida; and actually reduced some small forts in the neighbourhood of the place: but the Carolinians withdrawing in disgust, dissensions prevailing among the sea-officers, the hurricane months approaching, and the enemy having received a supply and reinforcement, he abandoned the enterprize, and returned to Georgia.

C H A P. VII.

§ I. *The army under lord Cathcart and Sir Chaloner Ogle, proceeds to the West-Indies.* § II. *Nature of the climate on the Spanish main.* § III. *Admiral Vernon sails to Carthagene.* § IV. *Attack of fort Lazar.* § V. *Expedition to Cuba.* § VI. *Rupture between the queen of Hungary and the king of Prussia.* § VII. *Battle of Moltwitz.* § VIII. *The king of Great-Britain concludes with France a treaty of neutrality for the electorate of Hanover.* § IX. *A body of French forces join the elector of Bavaria.* § X. *He is crowned king of Bohemia at Prague.* § XI. *Fidelity of the Hungarians.* § XII. *War between Russia and Sweden.* § XIII. *Revolution in Russia.* § XIV. *The Spanish and French squadrons pass unmolested by the English admiral in the Mediterranean.* § XV. *Inactivity of the naval power of Great-Britain.* § XVI. *Obstinate struggle in electing members in the new parliament.* § XVII. *Remarkable motion in the house of commons by lord Noel Somerset.* § XVIII. *The country-party obtain a majority in the house of commons.* § XIX. *Sir Robert Walpole created earl of Orford.* § XX. *Change in the ministry.* § XXI. *Inquiry into the administration of Sir Robert Walpole.* § XXII. *Obstructed by the new ministry.* § XXIII. *Reports of the secret committee.* § XXIV. *The elector of Bavaria chosen emperor.* § XXV. *The king of Prussia gains the battle at Czaślaw.* *Treaty at Breslaw.* § XXVI. *The French troops retire under the cannon of Prague.* *A fresh body sent with the marechal de Mallebois to bring them off.* § XXVII. *Extraordinary retreat of M. de Belleisle.* § XXVIII. *The king of Great-Britain forms an army in Flanders.* § XXIX. *Progress of the war between Russia and Sweden.* § XXX. *The king of Sardinia declares for the house of Austria.* § XXXI. *Motions of the Spaniards in Italy and Savoy.* § XXXII. *Conduct of admiral Matthews in the Mediterranean.* § XXXIII. *Operations in the West-Indies.* § XXXIV. *The attention of the ministry turned chiefly on the affairs of the continent.* § XXXV. *Extraordinary motion in the house of lords by earl Stanhope.* § XXXVI. *Warm and obstinate debate on the repeal of the gin-act.* § XXXVII. *Bill for quieting corporations.* § XXXVIII. *Convention between the emperor and the queen of Hungary.* § XXXIX. *Difference between the king of Prussia and the elector of Hanover.* § XL. *The king of Great-Britain obtains a victory over the French at Dettingen.* § XLI. *Treaty of Worms.* § XLII. *Conclusion of the campaign.* § XLIII. *Affairs of the North.* § XLIV. *Battle of Campo-Santo.* § XLV. *Transactions of the British fleet in the Mediterranean.* § XLVI. *Unsuccessful attempts upon the Spanish settlements in the West-Indies.*

§ I. **T**HE British armament had by this time proceeded to action in the West-Indies. Sir Chaloner Ogle, who sailed from Spithead, had been overtaken by a tempest in the bay of Biscay, by which the fleet, consisting of about one hundred and seventy sail, were scattered and dispersed. Nevertheless, he prosecuted his voyage, and anchored with a view to provide wood and water, in the neutral island of Dominica, where the intended expedition

dition sustained a terrible shock in the death of the gallant lord Cathcart, who was carried off by a dysentery. The loss of this nobleman was the more severely felt, as the command of the land-forces devolved upon general Wentworth, an officer without experience, authority, and resolution. As the fleet sailed along the island of Hispaniola, in its way to Jamaica, four large ships of war were discovered; and Sir Chaloner detached an equal number of his squadron to give them chase, while he himself proceeded on his voyage. As those strange ships refused to bring to, lord Augustus Fitzroy, the commodore of the four British ships, saluted one of them with a broadside, and a smart engagement ensued. After they had fought during the best part of the night, the enemy hoisted their colours in the morning, and appeared to be part of the French squadron, which had sailed from Europe under the command of the marquis de Antin, with orders to assist the Spanish admiral de Torres, in attacking and distressing the English ships and colonies. War was not yet declared between France and England; therefore hostilities ceased: the English and French commanders complimented each other; excused themselves mutually, for the mistake which had happened, and parted as friends, with a considerable loss of men on both sides.

§ II. In the mean time Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived at Jamaica, where he joined vice-admiral Vernon, who now found himself at the head of the most formidable fleet and army that ever visited those seas, with full power to act at discretion. The conjoined squadrons consisted of nine and twenty ships of the line, with almost an equal number of frigates, fireships, and bomb-ketches, well manned, and plentifully supplied with all kinds of provisions, stores, and necessaries. The number of seamen amounted to fifteen thousand: that of the land-forces, including the American regiment of four battalions, and a body of negroes enlisted at Jamaica, did not fall short of twelve thousand. Had this armament been ready to act in the proper season of the year, under the conduct of wise experienced officers, united in councils, and steadily attached to the interest and honour of their country, the Havannah, and whole island of Cuba might have been easily reduced; the whole treasure of the Spanish West-Indies would have been intercepted; and Spain must have been humbled into the most abject submission. But several unfavourable circumstances concurred to frustrate the hopes of the public. The ministry had detained Sir Chaloner Ogle at Spithead, without any visible cause, until the season for action was almost exhausted: for, on the continent of New Spain, the periodical rains begin about the end of April; and this change in the atmosphere is always attended with epidemical distempers, which render the climate extremely unhealthy: besides, the rain is so excessive, that for the space of two months no army can keep the field.

§ III. Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived at Jamaica on the ninth day of January; and admiral Vernon did not sail on his intended expedition till towards the end of the month. Instead of directing his course to the Havannah, which lay to leeward, and might have been reached in less than three days, he resolved to beat up against the wind to Hispaniola, in order to observe the motion of the French squadron, commanded by the marquis de Antin. The fifteenth day of February had elapsed before he received certain information that the French admiral had sailed for Europe in great distress, for want of men and provisions, which

which he could not procure in the West-Indies. Admiral Vernon thus disappointed, called a council of war, in which it was determined to proceed for Carthagená. The fleet being supplied with wood and water at Hispaniola, set sail for the continent of New-Spain, and on the fourth of March anchored in Playa Grande, to the windward of Carthagená. Admiral de Torres had already sailed to the Havannah; but the place was strongly fortified, and the garrisons reinforced by the crews of a small squadron of large ships, commanded by Don Blas de Lefo, an officer of experience and reputation. There they lay inactive till the ninth, when the troops were landed on the island of Tierra Bomba, near the mouth of the harbour, known by the name of Boca-chica, or Little-mouth, which was surprisingly fortified with castles, batteries, booms, chains, cables, and ships of war. The British forces erected a battery on shore, with which they made a breach in the principal fort, while the admiral sent in a number of ships to divide the fire of the enemy, and co-operate with the endeavours of the army. Lord Aubrey Beauclerc, a gallant officer, who commanded one of these ships, was slain on this occasion. The breach being deemed practicable, the forces advanced to the attack: but, the forts and batteries were abandoned; the Spanish ships that lay athwart the harbour's mouth, were destroyed or taken; the passage was opened, and the fleet entered without further opposition. Then the forces were reembarked with the artillery, and landed within a mile of Carthagená, where they were opposed by about seven hundred Spaniards, whom they obliged to retire. The admiral and general had contracted a hearty contempt for each other, and took all opportunities of expressing their mutual dislike: far from acting vigorously in concert, for the advantage of the community, they maintained a mutual reserve, and separate cabals; and each proved more eager for the disgrace of his rival, than zealous for the honour of the nation.

§ IV. The general complained that the fleet lay idle, while his troops were harassed and diminished by hard duty and distemper. The admiral affirmed, that his ships could not lie near enough to batter the town of Carthagená; and upbraided the general with inactivity and want of resolution to attack the fort of St. Lazar, which commanded the town, and might be taken by escalade. Wentworth, stimulated by these reproaches, resolved to try the experiment. His forces marched up to the attack; but the guides being slain, they mistook their route, and advanced to the strongest part of the fortification, where they were moreover exposed to the fire of the town. Colonel Grant, who commanded the grenadiers, was mortally wounded: the scaling-ladders were found too short; the officers were perplexed for want of orders and directions: yet the soldiers sustained a severe fire for several hours with surprising intrepidity, and at length retreated, leaving about six hundred killed or wounded on the spot. Their number was now so much reduced, that they could no longer maintain their footing on shore: besides, the rainy season had begun with such violence, as rendered it impossible for them to live in camp. They were therefore reembarked; and all hope of further success immediately vanished. The admiral, however, in order to demonstrate the impracticability of taking the place by sea, sent in the Galicia, one of the Spanish ships which had been taken at Boca-chica, to canonnade the town, with sixteen guns mounted on one side, like a floating battery. This vessel, manned by detachments of volunteers from different ships,

and commanded by captain Hore, was warped into the inner harbour, and moored before day, at a considerable distance from the walls, and in very shallow water. In this position she stood the fire of several batteries for some hours, without doing or sustaining much damage: then the admiral ordered the men to be brought off in boats, and the cables to be cut; so that she drove with the sea-breeze upon a shoal, where she was soon filled with water. This exploit was absurd, and the inference which the admiral drew from it, altogether fallacious. He said, it plainly proved, that there was not depth of water in the inner harbour, sufficient to admit large ships near enough to batter the town, with any prospect of success. This indeed was the case in that part of the harbour, to which the *Gallicia* was conducted; but a little farther to the left, he might have stationed four or five of his largest ships a-breast, within pistol-shot of the walls: and if this step had been taken, when the land-forces marched to the attack of St. Lazar, in all probability the town would have been surrendered.

§ V. After the reembarkation of the troops, the distempers peculiar to the climate and season began to rage with redoubled fury; and great numbers of those who escaped the vengeance of the enemy, perished by a more painful and inglorious fate. Nothing was heard but complaints and execrations: the groans of the dying, and the service for the dead; nothing was seen but objects of woe, and images of dejection. The conductors of this unfortunate expedition agreed in nothing but the expediency of a speedy retreat from this scene of misery and disgrace. The fortifications of the harbour were demolished, and the fleet returned to Jamaica. The miscarriage of this expedition, which had cost the nation an immense sum of money, was no sooner known in England, than the kingdom was filled with murmurs and discontent, and the people were depressed, in proportion to that sanguine hope by which they had been elevated. Admiral Vernon, instead of undertaking any enterprize which might have retrieved the honour of the British arms, set sail from Jamaica with the forces in July, and anchored at the south-east part of Cuba, in a bay, on which he bestowed the appellation of Cumberland harbour. The troops were landed, and encamped at the distance of twenty miles farther up the river, where they remained totally inactive, and subsisted chiefly on salt and damaged provisions, till the month of November, when, being considerably diminished by sickness, they were put on board again, and reconveyed to Jamaica. He was afterwards reinforced from England by four ships of war, and about three thousand soldiers; but, he performed nothing worthy of the reputation he had acquired; and the people began to perceive that they had mistaken his character.

§ VI. The affairs on the continent of Europe were now more than ever embroiled. The king of Prussia had demanded of the court of Vienna part of Silesia, by virtue of old treaties of co-fraternity, which were either obsolete or annulled; and promised to assist the queen with all his forces, in case she should comply with his demand: but this being rejected with disdain, he entered Silesia at the head of an army, and prosecuted his conquests with great rapidity. In the mean time the queen of Hungary was crowned at Presburg, after having signed a capitulation, by which the liberties of that kingdom were confirmed; and the grand duke her consort was, at her request, associated with her for ten years in the government. At the same time the states of Hungary

refused to receive a memorial from the elector of Bavaria. During these transactions, his Prussian majesty made his public entrance into Breslau, and confirmed all the privileges of the inhabitants. One of his generals surprised the town and fortrefs of Jablunka, on the confines of Hungary; prince Leopold of Anhalt-Deffau, who commanded another army, which formed the blockade of Great Glogau on the Oder, took the place by escalade, made the generals Wallis and Reyski prisoners, with a thousand men that were in garrison; and here he found the military chest, fifty pieces of brass cannon, and a great quantity of ammunition.

§ VII. The queen of Hungary had solicited the maritime powers for assistance, but found them fearful and backward. Being obliged, therefore, to exert herself with the more vigour, she ordered count Neuperg to assemble a body of forces, and endeavour to stop the progress of the Prussians in Silesia. The two armies encountered each other in the neighbourhood of Niefs, at a village called Molwitz; and, after an obstinate dispute, the Austrians were obliged to retire, with the loss of four thousand men killed, wounded, or taken. The advantage was dearly purchased by the king of Prussia. His kinsman Frederic, margrave of Brandenburg, and lieutenant-general Schuylemberg were killed in the engagement, together with a great number of general officers, and about two thousand soldiers. After this action, Brieg was surrendered to the victor, and he forced the important pass of Fryewalde, which was defended by four thousand Austrian hussars. The English and Dutch ministers, who accompanied him in his progress, spared no pains to effect an accommodation: but the two sovereigns were too much irritated against each other, to acquiesce in any terms that could be proposed. The queen of Hungary was incensed to find herself attacked, in the day of her distress, by a prince to whom she had given no sort of provocation; and his Prussian majesty charged the court of Vienna with a design either to assassinate, or carry him off by treachery: a design which was disowned with expressions of indignation and disdain. Count Neuperg being obliged to abandon Silesia, in order to oppose the Bavarian arms in Bohemia, the king of Prussia sent thither a detachment to join the elector, under the command of count Dessau, who, in his route, reduced Glatz and Neifs, almost without opposition: then his master received the homage of the Silesian states at Breslau, and returned to Berlin. In December, the Prussian army was distributed in winter-quarters in Moravia, after having taken Olmutz, the capital of that province; and, in March, his Prussian majesty formed a camp of observation in the neighbourhood of Magdeburg.

§ VIII. The elector of Hanover was alarmed at the success of the king of Prussia, in apprehension that he would become too formidable a neighbour. A scheme was said to have been proposed to the court of Vienna, for attacking that prince's electoral dominions, and dividing the conquest: but it never was put in execution. Nevertheless, the troops of Hanover were augmented; the auxiliary Danes and Hessians in the pay of Great Britain were ordered to be in readiness to march, and a number of British forces encamped and prepared for embarkation. The subsidy of three hundred thousand pounds, granted by parliament, was remitted to the queen of Hungary; and every thing seemed to presage the vigorous interposition of his Britannic majesty. But in a little time after his arrival at Hanover, that spirit of action seemed to flag, even

while her Hungarian majesty to tottered on the verge of ruin. France resolved to seize this opportunity of crushing the house of Austria. In order to intimidate the elector of Hanover, marechal Mallebois was sent with a numerous army into Westphalia; and this expedient proved effectual. A treaty of neutrality was concluded; and the king of Great-Britain engaged to vote for the elector of Bavaria at the ensuing election of an emperor. The design of the French court was to raise this prince to the Imperial dignity, and furnish him with such succours as should enable him to deprive the queen of Hungary of her hereditary dominions.

§ IX. While the French minister at Vienna endeavoured to amuse the queen with the strongest assurances of his master's friendship, a body of five and thirty thousand men began their march for Germany, in order to join the elector of Bavaria: another French army was assembled upon the Rhine; and the count de Belleisle being provided with large sums of money, was sent to negotiate with the different electors. Having thus secured a majority of voices, he proceeded to Munich, where he presented the elector of Bavaria with a commission appointing him generalissimo of the French troops marching to his assistance; and now the treaty of Nymphenburg was concluded. The French king engaged to assist the elector with his whole power, towards raising him to the Imperial throne: the elector promised, that after his elevation he would never attempt to recover any of the towns or provinces of the empire which France had conquered: that he would, in his Imperial capacity, renounce the barrier-treaty; and agree, that France should irrevocably retain whatever places she should subdue in the Austrian Netherlands. The next step of Belleisle was to negotiate another treaty between France and Prussia, importing, That the elector of Bavaria should possess Bohemia, Upper Austria, and the Tyrolese: That the king of Poland should be gratified with Moravia and Upper Silesia: and, That his Prussian majesty should retain Lower Silesia, with the town of Neiss and the county of Glatz. These precautions being taken, the count de Belleisle repaired to Franckfort, in quality of ambassador and plenipotentiary from France, at the Imperial diet of election. It was in this city that the French king published a declaration, signifying, that as the king of Great-Britain had assembled an army to influence the approaching election of an emperor, his most christian majesty, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, had ordered some troops to advance towards the Rhine, with a view to maintain the tranquillity of the Germanic body, and secure the freedom of the Imperial election.

§ X. In July the elector of Bavaria being joined by the French forces under marechal Broglio, surprised the imperial city of Passau upon the Danube; and entering Upper Austria, at the head of seventy thousand men, took possession of Linz, where he received the homage of the states of that country. Understanding that the garrison of Vienna was very numerous, and that count Palfi had assembled thirty thousand Hungarians in the neighbourhood of this capital, he made no farther progress in Austria, but marched into Bohemia, where he was reinforced by a considerable body of Saxons, under the command of count Rutowski, natural son to the late king of Poland. By this time his Polish majesty had acceded to the treaty of Nymphenburg, and declared war against the queen of Hungary, on the most frivolous pretences. The elector of Bavaria

advanced to Prague, which was taken in the night by scalade: an achievement in which Maurice count of Saxe, another natural son of the king of Poland, distinguished himself at the head of the French forces. In December the elector of Bavaria made his public entry into this capital, where he was proclaimed king of Bohemia, and inaugurated with the usual solemnities: then he set out for Franckfort, to be present at the diet of election.

§ XI. At this period the queen of Hungary saw herself abandoned by all her allies, and seemingly devoted to destruction. She was not, however, forsaken by her courage; nor destitute of good officers and an able ministry. She retired to Pressburg, and in a pathetic Latin speech to the states, expressed her confidence in the loyalty and valour of her Hungarian subjects. The nobility of that kingdom, touched with her presence and distress, assured her unanimously, that they would sacrifice their lives and fortunes in her defence. The ban being raised, that brave people crowded to her standard; and the diet expressed their resentment against her enemy by a public edict, excluding for ever the electoral house of Bavaria from the succession to the crown of Hungary: yet, without the subsidy she received from Great-Britain their courage and attachment would have proved ineffectual. By this supply she was enabled to pay her army, erect magazines, complete her warlike preparations, and put her strong places in a posture of defence. In December her generals Berenclau and Mentzel defeated count Thoring, who commanded eight thousand men, at the pass of Scardingen, and opening their way into Bavaria, layed the whole country under contribution; while count Khevenhuller retook the city of Lintz, and drove the French troops out of Austria. The grand signor assured the queen of Hungary, that far from taking advantage of her troubles, he should seize all opportunities to convince her of his friendship: the pope permitted her to levy a tenth on the revenues of the clergy within her dominions; and even to use all the church-plate for the support of the war.

§ XII. As the czarina expressed an inclination to assist this unfortunate princess, the French court resolved to find her employment in another quarter. They had already gained over to their interest count Gyllenburg, prime-minister and president of the chancery in Sweden. A dispute happening between him and Mr. Burnaby, the British resident at Stockholm, some warm altercation passed: Mr. Burnaby was forbid the court, and published a memorial in his own vindication, while the king of Sweden justified his conduct in a rescript sent to all the foreign ministers. The king of Great-Britain had proposed a subsidy-treaty to Sweden, which, from the influence of French counsels, was rejected. The Swedes having assembled a numerous army in Finland, and equipped a large squadron of ships, declared war against Russia, upon the most trifling pretences; and the fleet putting to sea, commenced hostilities by blocking up the Russian ports in Livonia. A body of eleven thousand Swedes, commanded by general Wrangel, having advanced to Willmenstrand, were in August attacked and defeated by general Lasci, at the head of thirty thousand Russians. Count Lewenhaupt, who commanded the main army of the Swedes, resolved to take vengeance for this disgrace, after the Russian troops had retired into winter-quarters. In December he marched towards Wybourg; but, receiving letters from the prince of Hesse-Homburgh, and the marquis de la Chetardie, the French ambassador at Petersburg, informing him of the surprising revolution which had just happened

pened in Russia, and proposing a suspension of hostilities, he retreated with his army, in order to wait for further instructions; and the two courts agreed to a cessation of arms for three months.

§ XIII. The Russians had been for some time discontented with their government. The late czarina was influenced chiefly by German councils, and employed a great number of foreigners in her service. These causes of discontent produced factions and conspiracies; and when they were discovered, the empress treated the authors of them with such severity as increased the general disaffection. Besides, they were displeased at the manner in which she had settled the succession. The prince of Brunswic-Lunenburgh-Bevern, father to the young czar, was not at all agreeable to the Russian nobility, and his consort the princess Anne of Mecklenburgh, having assumed the reins of government during her son's minority, seemed to follow the maxims of her aunt, the late czarina. The Russian grandees and generals, therefore, turned their eyes upon the princess Elizabeth, who was daughter to Peter the Great, and the darling of the empire. The French ambassador gladly concurred in a project for deposing a princess who was well affected to the house of Austria. General Lasce approved of the design, which was chiefly conducted by the prince of Hesse-Homburgh, who, in the reigns of the empress Catherine and Peter II. had been generalissimo of the Russian army. The good will and concurrence of the troops being secured, two regiments of guards took possession of all the avenues of the imperial palace at Peterburgh. The princess Elizabeth, putting herself at the head of one thousand men, on the fifth day of December entered the winter-palace, where the princess of Mecklenburgh and the infant czar resided. She advanced into the chamber where the princess and her consort lay, and desired them to rise and quit the palace, adding, that their persons were safe; and, that they could not justly blame her for asserting her right. At the same time, the counts Osterman, Golofkin, Mingden, and Munich, were arrested; their papers and effects were seized, and their persons conveyed to Schlisselbourg, a fortress on the Neva. Early in the morning the senate assembling, declared all that had passed since the reign of Peter II. to be usurpation; and, that the imperial dignity belonged of right to the princess Elizabeth, who was publicly proclaimed empress of all the Russias, and immediately recognized by the army in Finland. She forthwith published a general act of indemnity: she created the prince of Hesse-Homburgh generalissimo of her armies: she restored the Dolgorucky family to their honours and estates: she recalled and rewarded all those who had been banished for favouring her pretensions: she mitigated the exile of the duke of Courland, by indulging him with a maintenance more suitable to his rank: she released general Wrangel, count Wasaburg, and the other Swedish officers, who had been taken at the battle of Wilmanstrand; and the princess Anne of Mecklenburgh, with her consort and children, were sent under a strong guard, to Riga the capital of Livonia.

§ XIV. Amidst these tempests of wars and revolution, the states-general wisely determined to preserve their own tranquillity. It was doubtless, their interest to avoid the dangers and expence of a war, and to profit by that stagnation of commerce which would necessarily happen among their neighbours that were at open enmity with each other: besides, they were over-awed by the declarations of the French monarch on one side; by the power, activity, and pretensions

tensions of his Prussian majesty on the other; and they dreaded the prospect of a stadtholder at the head of their army. These at least were the sentiments of many Dutch patriots, reinforced by others that acted under French influence. But, the prince of Orange numbered among his partisans and adherents many persons of dignity and credit in the commonwealth; and he was adored by the populace, who loudly exclaimed against their governors, and clamoured for a war, without ceasing. This national spirit, joined to the remonstrances and requisitions made by the courts of Vienna and London, obliged the states to issue orders for an augmentation of their forces; but these were executed so slowly, that neither France nor Prussia had much cause to take umbrage at their preparations. In Italy the king of Sardinia declared for the house of Austria: the republic of Genoa was deeply engaged in the French interest: the pope, the Venetians, and the dukedom of Tuscany were neutral: the king of Naples resolved to support the claim of his family to the Austrian dominions in Italy, and began to make preparations accordingly. His mother the queen of Spain had formed a plan for erecting these dominions into a monarchy for her second son Don Philip; and a body of fifteen thousand men being embarked at Barcelona, were transported to Orbitello, under the convoy of the united squadrons of France and Spain. While admiral Haddock, with twelve ships of the line, lay at anchor in the bay of Gibraltar, the Spanish fleet passed the Streights in the night, and was joined by the French squadron from Toulon. The British admiral sailing from Gibraltar, fell in with them in a few days, and found both squadrons drawn up in line of battle. As he bore down upon the Spanish fleet, the French admiral sent a flag of truce to inform him, that as the French and Spaniards were engaged in a joint-expedition, he should be obliged to act in concert with his master's allies. This interposition prevented an engagement, the combined fleets amounting to double the number of the English squadron. Admiral Haddock was obliged to desist; and proceeded to Portmahon, leaving the enemy to prosecute their voyage without molestation. The people of England were incensed at this transaction, and did not scruple to affirm, that the hands of the British admiral were tied up by the neutrality of Hanover*.

§ XV. The court of Madrid seemed to have shaken off that indolence and phlegm which had formerly disgraced the councils of Spain. They no sooner learned the destination of commodore Anson, who had sailed from Spithead in the course of the preceding year, than they sent Don Pizzaro, with a more powerful squadron, upon the same voyage, to defeat his design. He accordingly steered the same course, and actually fell in with one or two ships of the British armament, near the Streights of Magellan; but he could not weather

* In the month of July two ships of Haddock's squadron falling in with three French ships of war, captain Barret the English commodore, supposing them to be Spanish register ships, fired a shot, in order to bring them to; and they refusing to comply with this signal, a sharp engagement ensued: after they had fought several hours, the French commander ceased firing, and thought proper to come to an explanation, when he and Barret parted with mutual apologies.

In the course of this year a dangerous conspiracy was discovered at New York in North America. One Hewson, a low publican, had engaged several negroes in a design to destroy the town and massacre the people. Fire was set to several parts of the city; nine or ten negroes were apprehended, convicted, and burned alive. Hewson, with his wife and a servant-maid, privy to the plot, were found guilty and hanged, though they dyed protesting their innocence.

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a long and furious tempest, through which Mr. Anson proceeded into the South-Sea. One of the Spanish ships perished at sea; another was wrecked on the coast of Brazil; and Pizarro bore away for the Rio de la Plata, where he arrived with the three remaining ships, in a shattered condition, after having lost twelve hundred men by sickness and famine. The Spaniards exerted the same vigilance and activity in Europe. Their privateers were so industrious and successful, that in the beginning of this year, they had taken, since the commencement of the war, four hundred and seven ships, belonging to the subjects of Great-Britain, and valued at near four millions of piastres. The traders had therefore too much cause to complain, considering the formidable fleets which were maintained for the protection of commerce. In the course of the summer, Sir John Norris had twice sailed towards the coast of Spain, at the head of a powerful squadron, without taking any effectual step for annoying the enemy, as if the sole intention of the ministry had been to expose the nation to the ridicule and contempt of its enemies. The inactivity of the British arms appears the more inexcusable, when we consider the great armaments which had been prepared. The land-forces of Great-Britain, exclusive of the Danish and Hessian auxiliaries, amounted to sixty thousand men; and the fleet consisted of above one hundred ships of war, manned by fifty-four thousand sailors.

§ XVI. The general discontent of the people had a manifest influence upon the election of members for the new parliament, which produced one of the most violent contests between the two parties, which had happened since the revolution. All the adherents of the prince of Wales concurred with the country party, in opposition to the minister; and the duke of Argyle exerted himself so successfully among the shires and burroughs of Scotland, that the partisans of the ministry could not secure six members out of the whole number returned from North-Britain. They were however much more fortunate in the election of the sixteen peers, who were chosen literally according to the list transmitted from court. Instructions were delivered by the constituents to a great number of members returned for cities and counties, exhorting and requiring them to oppose a standing army in time of peace; to vote for the mitigation of excise laws; for the repeal of septennial parliaments; for the limitation of place-men in the house of commons; and they insisted upon their examining into the particulars of the public expence, and endeavouring to redress the grievances of the nation. Obstinate struggles were maintained in all parts of the united kingdom with uncommon ardour and perseverance; and such a national spirit of opposition prevailed, that notwithstanding the whole weight of ministerial influence, the contrary interest seemed to preponderate in the new parliament.

§ XVII. The king returned to England in the month of October; and on the first day of December, the session was opened. Mr. Onslow being re-chosen speaker, was approved of by his majesty, who spoke in the usual stile to both houses. He observed, that the former parliament had formed the strongest resolutions in favour of the queen of Hungary, for the maintenance of the pragmatic sanction: for the preservation of the balance of power, and the peace and liberties of Europe; and that, if the other powers which were under the like engagements with him, had answered the just expectations so solemnly given, the support of the common cause would have been attended with less difficulty.

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He said, he had endeavoured, by the most proper and early applications, to induce other powers that were united with him by the ties of common interest, to concert such measures as so important and critical a conjuncture required: that where an accommodation seemed necessary, he had laboured to reconcile princes whose union would have been the most effectual means to prevent the mischiefs which had happened, and the best security for the interest and safety of the whole. He owned his endeavours had not hitherto produced the desired effect; though he was not without hope, that a just sense of approaching danger would give a more favourable turn to the councils of other nations. He represented the necessity of putting the nation in such a posture of defence as would enable him to improve all opportunities of maintaining the liberties of Europe, and defeat any attempts that should be made against him and his dominions; and he recommended unanimity, vigour, and dispatch. The house of commons having appointed their several committees, the speaker reported the king's speech; and Mr. Herbert moved for an address of thanks, including an approbation of the means by which the war had been prosecuted. The motion being seconded by Mr. Trevor, lord Noel Somerset stood up and moved, that the house would in their address desire his majesty, not to engage these kingdoms in a war for the preservation of his foreign dominions. He was supported by that incorruptible patriot Mr. Shippen, who declared, he was neither ashamed nor afraid to affirm, that thirty years had made no change in any of his political opinions. He said, he was grown old in the house of commons; that time had verified the predictions he had formerly uttered; and that he had seen his conjectures ripened into knowledge. "If my country, added he, has been so unfortunate as once more to commit her interest to men who propose to themselves no advantage from their trust but that of selling it, I may, perhaps, fall once more under censure for declaring my opinion, and be once more treated as a criminal, for asserting what they who punish me cannot deny; for maintaining, that Hanoverian maxims are inconsistent with the happiness of this nation; and for preserving the caution so strongly inculcated by those patriots who framed the act of settlement, and conferred upon the present royal family their title to the throne." He particularised the instances in which the ministry had acted in diametrical opposition to that necessary constitution; and he insisted on the necessity of taking some step to remove the apprehensions of the people, who began to think themselves in danger of being sacrificed to the security of foreign dominions. Mr. Gibbon, who spoke on the same side of the question, expatiated upon the absurdity of returning thanks for the prosecution of a war which had been egregiously mismanaged. "What! said he, are our thanks to be solemnly returned for defeats, disgrace, and losses, the ruin of our merchants, the imprisonment of our sailors, idle shows of armaments, and useless expences?" Sir Robert Walpole having made a short speech in defence of the first motion for an address, was answered by Mr. Pulteney, who seemed to be animated with a double proportion of patriot indignation. He asserted, that from a review of that minister's conduct since the beginning of the dispute with Spain, it would appear, that he had been guilty not only of single errors, but of deliberate treachery: that he had always co-operated with the enemies of his country, and sacrificed to his private interest the happiness and honour of the British nation. He then entered into a detail of that conduct against which

he had so often declaimed ; and being transported by an over-heated imagination, accused him of personal attachment and affection to the enemies of the kingdom. A charge that was, doubtless, the result of exaggerating animosity, and served only to invalidate the other articles of imputation that were much better founded. His objections were over-ruled ; and the address, as at first proposed, was presented to his majesty.

§ XVIII. This small advantage, however, the minister did not consider as a proof of his having ascertained an undoubted majority in the house of commons. There was a great number of disputed elections ; and the discussion of these was the point on which the people had turned their eyes, as the criterion of the minister's power and credit. In the first, which was heard at the bar of the house, he carried his point by a majority of six only ; and this he looked upon as a defeat rather than a victory. His enemies exulted in their strength : they knew they would be joined, in matters of importance, by several members who voted against them on this occasion. The inconsiderable majority that appeared on the side of the administration, plainly proved, that the influence of the minister was greatly diminished, and seemed to prognosticate his further decline. This consideration induced some individuals to declare against him as a setting sun, from whose beams they could expect no warmth. His adherents began to tremble ; and he himself had occasion for all his art and equanimity. The court-interest was not sufficient to support the election of their own members for Westminster. The high-bailiff had been guilty of some illegal practices at the poll ; and three justices of the peace had, on pretence of preventing riots, sent for a military force to overawe the election. A petition presented by the electors of Westminster was taken into consideration by the house ; and the election was declared void by a majority of four voices. The high-bailiff was taken into custody ; the officer who had ordered the soldiers to march, and the three justices who signed the letter, in consequence of which he acted, were reprimanded on their knees at the bar of the house.

§ XIX. The country-party maintained the advantage they had gained in deciding upon several other controverted elections ; and Sir Robert Walpole tottered on the brink of ruin. He knew that the majority of a single vote would at any time commit him prisoner to the Tower, should ever the motion be made ; and he saw that his safety could be effected by no other expedient but that of dividing the opposition. Towards the accomplishment of this purpose he employed all his credit and dexterity. His emissaries did not fail to tamper with those members of the opposite party, who were the most likely to be converted by their arguments. A message was sent by the bishop of Oxford to the prince of Wales, importing, That if his royal highness would write a letter of condescension to the king, he and all his counsellors should be taken into favour ; fifty thousand pounds should be added to his revenue ; four times that sum be disbursed immediately for the payment of his debts ; and suitable provision be made in due time for all his followers. The prince declined this proposal, declaring, that he would accept no such conditions while Sir Robert Walpole continued to direct the public affairs : that he looked upon him as a bar between his majesty and the affections of his people ; as the author of the national grievances both at home and abroad ; and the sole cause of that contempt which Great-Britain had incurred in all the courts of Europe. His royal highness was now chief of
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this formidable party, revered by the whole nation; a party which had gained the ascendancy in the house of commons; which professed to act upon the principles of public virtue; which demanded the fall of an odious minister, as a sacrifice due to an injured people; and declared, that no temptation could shake their virtue; that no art could dissolve the cement by which they were united. Sir Robert Walpole, though repulsed in his attempt upon the prince of Wales, was more successful in his other endeavours. He resolved to try his strength once more in the house of commons, in another disputed election; and had the mortification to see the majority in the opposition augmented to sixteen voices. He declared, he would never more sit in that house; and next day, which was the third of February, the king adjourned both houses of parliament to the eighteenth day of the same month. In this interim Sir Robert Walpole was created earl of Orford, and resigned all his employments.

§ XX. At no time of his life did he acquit himself with such prudential policy as he now displayed. He found means to separate the parts that composed the opposition, and to transfer the popular odium from himself to those who had professed themselves his keenest adversaries. The country-party consisted of the Tories, reinforced by discontented Whigs, who had either been disappointed in their own ambitious views, or felt for the distresses of their country, occasioned by a weak and worthless administration. The old patriots and the Whigs whom they had joined, acted upon very different, and indeed, upon opposite principles of government; and therefore, they were united only by the ties of convenience. A coalition was proposed between the discontented Whigs and those of the same denomination who acted in the ministry. Some were gratified with titles and offices; and all were assured, that in the management of affairs, a new system would be adopted, according to the plan they themselves should propose. The court required nothing of them, but that the earl of Orford should escape with impunity. His place of chancellor of the exchequer was bestowed upon Mr. Sandys, who was likewise appointed a lord of the treasury; and the earl of Wilmington succeeded him as first commissioner of that board. Lord Harrington being dignified with the title of earl, was declared president of the council; and in his room lord Carteret became secretary of state. The duke of Argyle was made master-general of the ordnance, colonel of his majesty's royal regiment of horse-guards, and field-marshal and commander in chief of all the forces in South-Britain; but, finding himself disappointed in his expectations of the coalition, he, in less than a month, renounced all these employments. The marquis of Tweeddale was appointed secretary of state for Scotland, a post which had been long suppressed: Mr. Pulteney was sworn of the privy-council, and afterwards created earl of Bath. The earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham was preferred to the head of the admiralty, in the room of Sir Charles Wager; and, after the resignation of the duke of Argyle, the earl of Stair was appointed field-marshal of all his majesty's forces, and ambassador-extraordinary to the states-general. On the seventeenth day of February the prince of Wales, attended by a numerous retinue of his adherents, waited on his majesty, who received him graciously, and ordered his guards to be restored. The lord Carteret and Mr. Sandys were the first who embraced the offers of the court, without the consent or privity of any other leaders in the opposition, except that of Mr. Pulteney; but, they declared to their friends,

they would still proceed upon patriot principles: that they would concur in promoting an inquiry into past measures; and, in enacting necessary laws to secure the constitution from the practices of corruption. These professions were believed, not only by their old coadjutors in the house of commons, but also by the nation in general. The reconciliation between the king and the prince of Wales, together with the change in the ministry, were celebrated with public rejoicings all over the kingdom; and immediately after the adjournment, nothing but concord appeared in the house of commons.

§ XXI. But this harmony was of short duration. It soon appeared, that those who had declaimed the loudest for the liberties of their country, had been actuated solely by the most sordid, and even the most ridiculous motives of self-interest. Jealousy and mutual distrust ensued between them and their former confederates. The nation complained, that instead of a total change of men and measures, they saw the old ministry strengthened by this coalition; and the same interest in parliament predominating with redoubled influence. They branded the new converts as apostates and betrayers of their country; and, in the transports of their indignation, they entirely overlooked the old object of their resentment. That a nobleman of pliant principles, narrow fortune, and unbounded ambition, should forsake his party for the blandishments of affluence, power, and authority, will not appear strange to any person acquainted with the human heart; but, the sensible part of mankind will always reflect with amazement upon the conduct of a man, who seeing himself idolized by his fellow-citizens, as the first and firmest patriot of the kingdom, as one of the most shining ornaments of his country, could give up all his popularity, and incur the contempt or detestation of mankind, for the wretched consideration of an empty title, without office, influence, or the least substantial appendage. One cannot without an emotion of grief, contemplate such an instance of infatuation. One cannot but lament, that such glory should have been so weakly forfeited: that such talents should have been lost to the cause of liberty and virtue. Doubtless, he flattered himself with the hope of one day directing the councils of his sovereign; but, this was never accomplished, and he remained a solitary monument of blasted ambition. Before the change in the ministry, Mr. Pulteney moved, that the several papers relating to the conduct of the war which had been layed before the house, should be referred to a select committee, who should examine strictly into the particulars, and make a report to the house of their remarks and objections. The motion introduced a debate; but, upon a division was rejected by a majority of three voices. Petitions having been presented by the merchants of London, Bristol, Liverpool, Glasgow, and almost all the trading towns in the kingdom, complaining of the losses they had sustained by the bad conduct of the war, the house resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate on these remonstrances. The articles of the London petition were explained by Mr. Glover, an eminent merchant of that city. Six days were spent in perusing papers and examining witnesses; then the same gentleman summed up the evidence, and in a pathetic speech endeavoured to demonstrate, that the commerce of Great-Britain had been exposed to the insults and rapine of the Spaniards, not by inattention or accident, but by one uniform and continued design. This inquiry being resumed after the adjournment, copies of instructions to admirals and captains of cruising ships were layed before

fore the house; and the commons passed several resolutions, upon which a bill was prepared for the better protecting and securing the trade and navigation of the kingdom. It made its way through the lower house; but was thrown out by the lords. The pension-bill was revived and sent up to the peers, where it was again rejected, lord Carteret voting against that very measure which he had so lately endeavoured to promote. On the ninth day of March the lord Limerick made a motion for appointing a committee, to inquire into the conduct of affairs for the last twenty years: he was seconded by Sir John St. Aubyn, and supported by Mr. Velters Cornwall, Mr. Philips, Mr. W. Pitt, and lord Percival the new member for Westminster, who had already signalized himself by his eloquence and capacity. The motion was opposed by Sir Charles Wager, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Henry Fox, surveyor-general to his majesty's works, and brother to lord Ilchester. Though the opposition was faint and frivolous, the proposal was rejected by a majority of two voices. Lord Limerick, not yet discouraged, *An. Ch. 1742.* made a motion on the twenty-third day of March, for an inquiry into the conduct of Robert earl of Orford, for the last ten years of his administration; and after a sharp debate, it was carried in the affirmative. The house resolved to choose a secret committee by ballot; and in the mean time presented an address to the king, assuring him of their fidelity, zeal, and affection.

§ XXII. Sir Robert Godschall having moved for leave to bring in a bill, to repeal the act for septennial parliaments, he was seconded by Sir John Barnard; but warmly opposed by Mr. Pulteney and Mr. Sandys; and the question passed in the negative. The committee of secrecy being chosen, began to examine evidence, and Mr. Paxton solicitor to the treasury, refusing to answer such questions as were put to him, lord Limerick, chairman of the committee, complained to the house of his obstinacy. He was first taken into custody; and still persisting in his refusal, committed to Newgate. Then his lordship moved, that leave should be given to bring in a bill for indemnifying evidence against the earl of Orford; and it was actually prepared by a decision of the majority. In the house of lords it was vigorously opposed by lord Carteret, and as strenuously supported by the duke of Argyle; but fell upon a division, by the weight of superior numbers. Those members in the house of commons who heartily wished that the inquiry might be prosecuted, were extremely incensed at the fate of this bill. A committee was appointed to search the journals of the lords for precedents; and their report being read, lord Strange, son of the earl of Derby, moved for a resolution, That the lords refusing to concur with the commons of Great-Britain, in an indemnification necessary to the effectual carrying on the inquiry now depending in parliament, is an obstruction to justice, and may prove fatal to the liberties of this nation. The motion, which was seconded by lord Quarendon, son of the earl of Litchfield, gave rise to a warm debate; and Mr. Sandys declaimed against it as a step that would bring on an immediate dissolution of the present form of government. It is really amazing to see with what effrontery some men can shift their maxims, and openly contradict the whole tenor of their former conduct. Mr. Sandys did not pass uncensured; he sustained some severe sarcasms on his apostacy, from Sir John Hynde Cotton, who refuted all his objections: nevertheless, the motion passed in the negative. Notwithstanding this great obstruction; purposely thrown in
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the way of the inquiry, the secret committee discovered many flagrant instances of fraud and corruption in which the earl of Orford had been concerned. It appeared, that he had granted fraudulent contracts for paying the troops in the West-Indies : that he had employed iniquitous arts to influence elections : that for secret-service during the last ten years, he had touched one million four hundred fifty-three thousand four hundred pounds of the public money : that above fifty thousand pounds of this sum had been payed to authors and printers of news-papers and political tracts, written in defence of the ministry : that on the very day which preceded his resignation, he had signed orders on the civil-list revenues for above thirty thousand pounds : that as the cash remaining in the exchequer, did not much exceed fourteen thousand pounds, he had raised the remaining part of the thirty thousand, by pawning the orders to a banker. The committee proceeded to make further progress in their scrutiny, and had almost prepared a third report, when they were interrupted by the prorogation of parliament.

§ XXIII. The ministry finding it was necessary to take some step for conciliating the affection of the people, gave way to a bill for excluding certain officers from seats in the house of commons. They passed another for encouraging the linen manufacture ; another for regulating the trade of the plantations ; and a third to prevent the marriage of lunatics. They voted forty thousand seamen, and sixty-two thousand five hundred landmen for the service of the current year. They provided for the subsidies to Denmark and Hesse Cassel, and voted five hundred thousand pounds to the queen of Hungary. The expence of the year amounted to near six millions, raised by the land-tax at four shillings in the pound, the malt-tax, one million from the sinking fund, annuities granted upon it for eight hundred thousand pounds, and a loan of one million six hundred thousand pounds from the bank. In the month of July, John lord Gower was appointed keeper of his majesty's privy-seal ; Allen lord Bathurst was made captain of the band of pensioners ; on the fifteenth day of the month, Mr. Pulteney took his seat in the house of peers, as earl of Bath. The king closed the session in the usual way, after having given them to understand, that a treaty of peace was concluded between the queen of Hungary and the king of Prussia, under his mediation ; and that the late successes of the Austrian arms were in a great measure owing to the generous assistance afforded by the British nation.

§ XXIV. By this time great changes had happened in the affairs of the continent. The elector of Bavaria was chosen emperor of Germany at Franckfort on the Maine, and crowned by the name of Charles VII. on the twelfth day of February. Thither the imperial diet was removed from Ratisbon : they confirmed his election, and indulged him with a subsidy of fifty Roman months, amounting to about two hundred thousand pounds sterling. In the mean time, the Austrian general Khevenhuller ravaged his electorate, and made himself master of Munich, the capital of Bavaria : he likewise laid part of the Palatinate under contribution, in resentment for that elector's having sent a body of his troops to reinforce the Imperial army. In March, count Saxe, with a detachment of French and Bavarians, reduced Egra ; and the Austrians were obliged to evacuate Bavaria, though they afterwards returned. Khevenhuller took post in the neighbourhood of Passau, and detached general Bern-

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clau to Dinglefing on the Iser, to observe the motions of the enemy, who were now become extremely formidable. In May, a detachment of French and Bavarians advanced to the castle of Hilkerfbergh on the Danube, with a view to take possession of a bridge over the river: the Austrian garrison immediately marched out to give them battle, and a severe action ensued, in which the Imperialists were defeated.

§ XXV. In the beginning of the year, the queen of Hungary had assembled two considerable armies in Moravia and Bohemia. Prince Charles of Lorrain, at the head of fifty thousand men, advanced against the Saxons and Prussians, who thought proper to retire with precipitation from Moravia, which they had invaded. Then the prince took the route to Bohemia; and marshal Broglio, who commanded the French forces in that country, must have fallen a sacrifice, had not the king of Prussia received a strong reinforcement, and entered that kingdom before his allies could be attacked. The two armies advanced towards each other; and, on the seventeenth of May, joined battle at Czaflaw, where the Austrians at first gained a manifest advantage, and penetrated as far as the Prussian baggage; then the irregulars began to plunder so eagerly, that they neglected every other consideration. The Prussian infantry took this opportunity to rally; the battle was renewed, and, after a very obstinate contest, the victory was snatched out of the hands of the Austrians, who were obliged to retire with the loss of five thousand men killed, and twelve hundred taken by the enemy. The Prussians paid dear for the honour of remaining on the field of battle; and from the circumstances of this action, the king is said to have conceived a disgust to the war. When the Austrians made such progress in the beginning of the engagement, he rode off with great expedition, until he was recalled by a message from his general the count de Schwerin, assuring his majesty that there was no danger of a defeat. Immediately after this battle, he discovered an inclination to accommodate all differences with the queen of Hungary. The earl of Hyndford, ambassador from the court of Great-Britain, who accompanied him in this campaign, and was vested with full powers by her Hungarian majesty, did not fail to cultivate this favourable disposition; and on the first day of June, a treaty of peace between the two powers was concluded at Breslau. The queen ceded to his Prussian majesty, the Upper and Lower Silesia, with the county of Glatz in Bohemia; and he charged himself with the payment of the sum lent by the merchants of London to the late emperor, on the Silesian revenues. He likewise engaged to observe a strict neutrality during the war, and to withdraw his forces from Bohemia in fifteen days after the ratification of the treaty, in which were comprehended the king of Great-Britain elector of Hanover, the Czarina, the king of Denmark, the states-general, the house of Wolfenbuttle, and the king of Poland elector of Saxony, on certain conditions, which were accepted.

§ XXVI. The king of Prussia, recalled his troops; while marshal Broglio, who commanded the French auxiliaries in that kingdom, and the count de Belleisle, abandoned their magazines and baggage, and retired with precipitation under the cannon of Prague. There they intrenched themselves in an advantageous situation; and prince Charles being joined by the other body of Austrians under prince Lobkowitz, encamped in sight of them, on the hills of Girsnitz. The grand duke of Tuscany arrived in the Austrian army, of which he took

took the command; and the French generals offered to surrender Prague, Egra, and all the other places they possessed in Bohemia, provided they might be allowed to march off with their arms, artillery, and baggage. The proposal was rejected, and Prague invested on all sides about the end of July. Though the operations of the siege were carried on in an awkward and slovenly manner, the place was so effectually blocked up, that famine must have compelled the French to surrender at discretion, had not very extraordinary efforts been made for their relief. The emperor had made advances to the queen of Hungary. He promised that the French forces should quit Bohemia, and evacuate the empire; and he offered to renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of Bohemia, on condition that the Austrians would restore Bavaria: but these conditions were declined by the court of Vienna. The king of France was no sooner apprised of the condition to which the generals Broglio and Belleisle were reduced, than he sent orders to marshal Maillebois, who commanded his army on the Rhine, to march to their relief. His troops were immediately put in motion; and when they reached Amberg in the Upper Palatinate, joined by the French and Imperialists from Bavaria. Prince Charles of Lorraine having received intelligence of their junction and design, left eighteen thousand men to maintain the blockade of Prague, under the command of general Festitz, while he himself, with the rest of his army, advanced to Haydon on the frontiers of Bohemia, where he was joined by count Khevenhuller, who had followed the enemy from Bavaria, now commanded by count Seckendorff, and the count de Saxe. Seckendorff, however, was sent back to Bavaria, while marshal Maillebois entered Bohemia on the twenty-fifth day of September. But, he marched with such precaution, that prince Charles could not bring him to an engagement. Mean while Festitz, for want of a sufficient force, was obliged to abandon the blockade of Prague; and the French generals being now at liberty, took post at Leutmaritz. Maillebois advanced as far as Kadan; but, seeing the Austrians possessed of all the passes of the mountains, he marched back to the Palatinate, and was miserably harrassed in his retreat by prince Charles, who had left a strong body with prince Lobkowitz, to watch the motions of Belleisle and Broglio.

§ XXVII. These generals seeing themselves surrounded on all hands, returned to Prague, from whence Broglio made his escape in the habit of a courier, and was sent to command the army of Maillebois, who was by this time disgraced. Prince Lobkowitz, who now directed the blockade of Prague, had so effectually cut off all communication between that place and the adjacent country, that in a little time the French troops were reduced to great extremity, both from the severity of the season, and the want of provision. They were already reduced to the necessity of eating horse-flesh, and unclean animals, and they had no other prospect but that of perishing by famine or war; when their commander formed the scheme of a retreat, which was actually put in execution. Having taken some artful precautions to deceive the enemy, he, in the middle of December, departed from Prague at midnight, with about fourteen thousand men, thirty pieces of artillery, and some of the principal citizens as hostages for the safety of nine hundred soldiers whom he had left in garrison. Notwithstanding the difficulties he must have encountered at that season of the year, in a broken and unfrequented road, which he purposely chose, he
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marched with such expedition, that he had gained the passes of the mountains, before he was overtaken by the horse and hussars of prince Lobkowitz. The fatigue and hardships which the miserable soldiers underwent, are inexpressible. A great number perished in the snow, and many hundreds fainting with weariness, cold, and hunger, were left to the mercy of the Austrian irregulars, consisting of the most barbarous people on the face of the earth. The count de Belleisle, though tortured with the hip-gout, behaved with surprising resolution and activity. He caused himself to be carried in a litter to every place where he thought his presence was necessary, and made such dispositions, that the pursuers never could make an impression upon the body of his troops: but all his artillery, baggage, and even his own equipage, fell into the hands of the enemy. On the twenty-ninth day of December, he arrived at Egra, from whence he proceeded to Alsace without further molestation: but, when he returned to Versailles, he met with a very cold reception, notwithstanding the gallant exploit which he had performed. After his escape, prince Lobkowitz returned to Prague, and the small garrison which Belleisle had left surrendered upon honourable terms; so that this capital reverted to the house of Austria.

§ XXVIII. The king of Great-Britain resolving to make a powerful diversion in the Netherlands, had, in the month of April, ordered sixteen thousand effective men to be embarked for that country: but, as this step was taken without any previous concert with the states-general, the earl of Stair destined to the command of the forces in Flanders, was in the mean time appointed ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary to their high-mightinesses, in order to persuade them to co-operate vigorously in the plan which his Britannic majesty had formed. A plan by which Great Britain was engaged as a principal in a foreign dispute, and intailed upon herself the whole burden of an expensive war, big with ruin and disgrace. England, from being the umpire, was now become a party in all continental quarrels; and instead of trimming the balance of Europe, lavished away her blood and treasure, in supporting the interest and allies of a puny electorate in the north of Germany. The king of Prussia had been at variance with the elector of Hanover. The dutchy of Mecklenburg was the avowed subject of dispute; but his Prussian majesty is said to have had other more provoking causes of complaint, which, however, he did not think proper to divulge. The king of Great-Britain found it convenient to accommodate these differences. In the course of this summer, the two powers concluded a convention, in consequence of which, the troops of Hanover evacuated Mecklenburg; and three regiments of Brandenburg took possession of those bailiwicks that were mortgaged to the king of Prussia. The electorate of Hanover being now secured from danger, sixteen thousand troops of that country, together with the six thousand auxiliary Hessians, began their march for the Netherlands; and about the middle of October arrived in the neighbourhood of Brussels, where they encamped. The earl of Stair repaired to Ghent, where the British forces were quartered: a body of Austrians was assembled; and though the season was far advanced, he seemed determined upon some expedition: but all of a sudden, the troops were sent into winter-quarters. The Austrians retired to Luxemburg; the English and Hessians remained in

Flanders; and the Hanoverians marched into the county of Liege, without paying any regard to the bishop's protestation.

§ XXIX. The states-general had made a considerable augmentation of their forces by sea and land; but, notwithstanding the repeated instances of the earl of Stair, they resolved to adhere to their neutrality: they dreaded the neighbourhood of the French; and they were far from being pleased to see the English get footing in the Netherlands. The friends of the house of Orange began to exert themselves: the states of Groningen and West-Friesland, protested, in favour of the prince, against the promotion of foreign generals, which had lately been made: but his interest was powerfully opposed by the provinces of Zealand and Holland, which had the greatest weight in the republic. The revolution in Russia did not put an end to the war with Sweden. These two powers had agreed to an armistice of three months, during which the czarina augmented her forces in Finland. She likewise ordered the counts Osterman and Munich, with their adherents, to be tried: they were condemned to death, but pardoned on the scaffold, and sent in exile to Siberia. The Swedes still encouraged by the intrigues of France, refused to listen to any terms of accommodation, unless Carelia, and the other conquests of the czar Peter should be restored. The French court had expected to bring over the new empress to their measures; but they found her as well disposed as her predecessor, to assist the house of Austria. She remitted a considerable sum of money to the queen of Hungary; and at the same time congratulated the elector of Bavaria on his elevation to the imperial throne. The ceremony of her coronation was performed in May, with great solemnity at Moscow; and in November, she declared her nephew the duke of Holstein-Gottorp her successor, by the title of grand prince of all the Russias. The cessation of arms being expired, general Lascey reduced Frederickheim, and obliged the Swedish army, commanded by count Lewenhaupt, to retire before him, from one place to another, until at length they were quite surrounded near Helsingfors. In this emergency, the Swedish general submitted to a capitulation, by which his infantry were transported by sea to Sweden; his cavalry marched by land to Abo, and his artillery and magazines remained in the hands of the Russians. The king of Sweden being of an advanced age, the diet assembled in order to settle the succession; and the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, as grandson to the eldest sister of Charles XII. was declared next heir to the crown. A courier was immediately dispatched to Moscow, to notify to the duke this determination of the diet; and this message was followed by a deputation: but, when they understood that he had embraced the religion of the Greek church, and been acknowledged successor to the throne of Russia, they annulled his election for Sweden, and resolved that the succession should not be re-established, until a peace should be concluded with the czarina. Conferences were opened at Abo for this purpose. In the mean time, the events of war had been so long unfortunate for Sweden, that it was absolutely necessary to appease the indignation of the people with some sacrifice. The generals Lewenhaupt and Bodenbrock were tried by a court-martial for misconduct: and being found guilty and condemned to death, they appealed to the diet, by which the sentence was confirmed. The term of the subsidy-treaty between Great-Britain and Denmark expiring, his Danish majesty refused

refused to renew it; nor would he accede to the peace of Breslau. On the other hand, he became subsidiary to France, with which also he concluded a new treaty of commerce.

§ XXX. The court of Versailles were now heartily tired of maintaining the war in Germany, and had actually made equitable proposals of peace to the queen of Hungary, by whom they were rejected. Thus repulsed, they redoubled their preparations; and endeavoured, by advantageous offers, to detach the king of Sardinia from the interest of the house of Austria. This prince had espoused a sister of the grand duke, who pressed him to declare for her brother, and the queen of Hungary promised to gratify him with some territories in the Milanese; besides, he thought the Spaniards had already gained too much ground in Italy: but, at the same time, he was afraid of being crushed between France and Spain, before he could be properly supported. He therefore temporised, and protracted the negotiation, until he was alarmed at the progress of the Spanish arms in Italy, and fixed in his determination by the subsidies of Great-Britain. The Spanish army assembled at Rimini, under the duke de Montemar; and being joined by the Neapolitan forces, amounted to sixty thousand men, furnished with a large train of artillery. About the beginning of May, they entered the Bolognese: then the king of Sardinia declaring against them, joined the Austrian army commanded by count Traun, marched into the duchy of Parma; and understanding that the duke of Modena had engaged in a treaty with the Spaniards, he dispossessed that prince of his dominions. The duke de Montemar seeing his army diminished by sickness and desertion, retreated to the kingdom of Naples, and was followed by the king of Sardinia, as far as Rimini.

§ XXXI. Here he received intelligence, that Don Philip, third son of his catholic majesty, had made an irruption into Savoy with another army of Spaniards, and already taken possession of Chamberri the capital. He forthwith began his march for Piedmont. Don Philip abandoned Savoy at his approach, and retreating into Dauphiné, took post under the cannon of fort Barreaux. The king pursued him thither, and both armies remained in sight of each other till the month of December, when the marquis de Minas, an active and enterprising general, arrived from Madrid, and took upon him the command of the forces under Don Philip. His first exploit was against the castle of Aspremont, in the neighbourhood of the Sardinian camp. He attacked it so vigorously that the garrison was obliged to capitulate in four and forty hours. The loss of this important post compelled the king to retire into Piedmont, and the Spaniards marched back into Savoy, where they established their winter-quarters. In the mean time the duke de Montemar, who directed the other Spanish army, though the duke of Modena was nominal generalissimo, resigned his command to count Gages, who attempted to penetrate into Tuscany; but was prevented by the vigilance of count Traun the Austrian general. In December he quartered his troops in the Bolognese and Romagna; while the Austrians and Piedmontese, were distributed in the Modenese and Parmesan. The pope was passive during the whole campaign; the Venetians maintained their neutrality; and the king of the two Sicilies was overawed by the British fleet in the Mediterranean.

§ XXXII. The new ministry in England had sent out admiral Matthews to assume the command of this squadron, which had been for some time conducted by Lestock, an inferior officer, as Haddock had been obliged to resign his commission on account of his ill state of health. Matthews was likewise invested with the character of minister-plenipotentiary to the king of Sardinia and the states of Italy. Immediately after he had taken possession of his command, he ordered captain Norris to destroy five Spanish galleys which had put into the bay of St. Tropez; and this service was effectually performed. In May he detached commodore Rowley with eight sail, to cruise off the harbour of Toulon; and a great number of merchant-ships belonging to the enemy fell into his hands. In August he sent commodore Martin with another squadron into the bay of Naples, to bombard that city, unless his Sicilian majesty would immediately recal his troops which had joined the Spanish army, and promise to remain neuter during the continuance of the war. Naples was immediately filled with consternation: the king subscribed to these conditions; and the English squadron rejoined the admiral in the road of Hieres, which he had chosen for his winter-station. But before this period he had landed some men at St. Remo, in the territories of Genoa, and destroyed the magazines that were erected for the use of the Spanish army. He had likewise ordered two of his cruisers to attack a Spanish ship of the line which lay at anchor in the port of Ajaccio, in the island of Corsica; but, the Spanish captain set his men on shore, and blew up his ship, rather than she should fall into the hands of the English.

§ XXXIII. In the course of this year admiral Vernon and general Wentworth made another effort in the West-Indies. They had received in January a reinforcement from England, and planned a new expedition, in concert with the governor of Jamaica, who accompanied them in the voyage. Their design was to disembark the troops at Porto-Bello, and march across the isthmus of Darien, to attack the rich town of Panama. They sailed from Jamaica on the ninth day of March, and on the twenty-eighth arrived at Porto-Bello. There they held a council of war, in which it was resolved, that as the troops were sickly, the rainy season begun, and several transports not yet arrived, the intended expedition was become impracticable. In pursuance of this determination the armament immediately returned to Jamaica, exhibiting a ridiculous spectacle of folly and irresolution*. In August a ship of war was sent from thence, with about three hundred soldiers, to the small island Rattan, in the bay of Honduras, of which they took possession. In September Vernon and Wentworth received orders to return to England with such troops as remained alive; and these did not amount to a tenth part of the number which had been sent abroad in that inglorious service. The inferior officers fell ignobly by sickness and despair, without an opportunity of signalizing their cou-

* In May two English frigates, commanded by captain Smith and captain Stuart, fell in with three Spanish ships of war, near the island of St. Christopher's. They forthwith engaged, and the action continued till night, by the favour of which the enemy retired to Porto-Rico in a shattered condition.

In the month of September the Tilbury ship of war of sixty guns was accidentally set on fire, and destroyed, off the island of Hispaniola: on which occasion one hundred and twenty-seven men perished; the rest were saved by captain Hoare of the Defiance, who happened to be on the same cruise.

rage, and the commanders lived to feel the scorn and reproach of their country. In the month of June the new colony of Georgia was invaded by an armament from St. Augustine, commanded by Don Marinel de Monteano, governor of that fortress. It consisted of six and thirty ships, from which four thousand men were landed at St. Simon's; and began their march for Frederica. General Oglethorpe, with a handful of men, took such wise precautions for opposing their progress, and harassed them in their march with such activity and resolution, that after two of their detachments had been defeated, they retired to their ships, and totally abandoned the enterprize.

§XXXIV. In England the merchants still complained, that their commerce was not properly protected, and the people clamoured against the conduct of the war. They said, their burthens were increased to maintain quarrels with which they had no concern; to defray the enormous expence of inactive fleets and pacific armies. The lord C. had now insinuated himself into the confidence of his sovereign, and engrossed the whole direction of public affairs. The war with Spain was now become a secondary consideration, and neglected accordingly; while the chief attention of the new minister was turned upon the affairs of the continent. The dispute with Spain concerned Britain only. The interests of Hanover were connected with the troubles of the empire. By pursuing this object he soothed the wishes of his master, and opened a more ample field for his own ambition. He had studied the policy of the continent with peculiar eagerness. This was the favourite subject of his reflection, upon which he thought and spoke with a degree of enthusiasm. The intolerable taxes, the poverty, the ruined commerce of his country, the iniquity of standing armies, votes of credit, and foreign connexions, upon which he had so often expatiated, were now forgotten, or overlooked. He saw nothing but glory, conquest, and acquired dominion. He set the power of France at defiance; and, as if Great-Britain had felt no distress, but teemed with treasure which she could not otherwise employ, he poured forth her millions with a rash and desperate hand, in purchasing beggarly allies and maintaining mercenary armies. The earl of Stair had arrived in England towards the end of August, and conferred with his majesty. A privy-council was summoned; and in a few days that nobleman returned to Holland. The lord Carteret was sent with a commission to the Hague in September; and when he returned, the baggage of the king and the duke of Cumberland, which had been shipped for Flanders, was ordered to be brought on shore. The parliament met on the sixteenth day of November, when his majesty told them, that he had augmented the British forces in the Low-Countries with sixteen thousand Hanoverians and the Hessian auxiliaries, in order to form such a force, in conjunction with the Austrian troops, as might be of service to the common cause in all events. He extolled the magnanimity and fortitude of the queen of Hungary, as well as the resolute conduct of the king of Sardinia, and his strict adherence to his engagements, though attacked in his own dominions. He mentioned the requisition made by Sweden, of his good offices for procuring a peace between that nation and Russia; the defensive alliances which he had concluded with the czarina, and with the king of Prussia, as events which could not have been expected if Great-Britain had not manifested a seasonable spirit and vigour, in defence and assistance of her ancient allies, and in maintaining the liberties of Europe. He said, the honour and interest of
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his crown and kingdoms, the success of the war with Spain, the re-establishment of the ballance and tranquillity of Europe, would greatly depend on the prudence and vigour of their resolutions. The marquis of Tweedale moved for an address of thanks, which was opposed by the earl of Chesterfield, for the reasons so often urged on the same occasion; but supported by the lord C. on his new-adopted maxims, with those specious arguments which he could at all times produce, delivered with amazing serenity and assurance. The motion was adopted, and the address presented to his majesty. About this period a treaty of mutual defence and guarantee between his majesty and the king of Prussia, was signed at Westminster. In the house of commons Mr. Lyttleton made a motion for reviving the place-bill; but it was opposed by a great number of members who had formerly been strenuous advocates for this measure, and rejected upon a division. This was also the fate of a motion made to renew the inquiry into the conduct of Robert earl of Orford. As many strong presumptions of guilt had appeared against him in the reports of the secret committee, the nation had reason to expect that this proposal would have been embraced by a great majority; but, several members, who in the preceding session had been loud in their demands of justice, now shamefully contributed in stifling the inquiry.

§ XXXV. When the house of lords took into consideration the several estimates of the expence occasioned by the forces in the pay of Great-Britain, earl Stanhope, at the close of an elegant speech, moved for an address to beseech and advise his majesty, that in compassion to his people, loaded already with such numerous and heavy taxes, such large and growing debts, and greater annual expences than the nation at any time before had ever sustained, he would exonerate his subjects of the charge and burthen of those mercenaries who were taken into the service last year, without the advice or consent of parliament. The motion was supported by the earl of Sandwich, who took occasion to speak with great contempt of Hanover, and in mentioning the royal family, seemed to forget that decorum which the subject required. He had indeed reason to talk with asperity on the contract by which the Hanoverians had been taken into the pay of Great-Britain. Levy-money was charged to the account, though they were engaged for one year only; and though not a single regiment had been raised on this occasion: they had been levied for the security of the electorate; and would have been maintained if England had never engaged in the affairs of the continent. The duke of Bedford enlarged upon the same subject. He said, it had been suspected, nor was the suspicion without foundation, that the measures of the English ministry had long been regulated by the interest of his majesty's electoral territories: that these had been long considered as a gulph into which the treasures of Great-Britain had been thrown: that the state of Hanover had been changed without any visible cause, since the accession of its princes to the throne of England: affluence had begun to wanton in their towns, and gold to glitter in their cottages, without the discovery of mines, or the increase of their commerce; and new dominions had been purchased, of which the value was never payed from the revenues of Hanover. The motion was hunted down by the new minister, the patriot lord Bathurst, and the earl of Bath, which last nobleman declared, that he considered it as an act of cowardice and meanness, to fall passively down the stream of popularity, to suffer his reason and integrity

integrity to be overborne by the noise of vulgar clamours, which had been raised against the measures of the government by the low arts of exaggeration, fallacious reasonings, and partial representations. This is the very language which Sir Robert Walpole had often used against Mr. Pulteney and his confederates in the house of commons. The associates of the new secretary pleaded the cause of Hanover, and insisted upon the necessity of a land-war against France, with all the vehemence of declamation. Their suggestions were answered; their conduct was severely stigmatized by the earl of Chesterfield, who observed, that the assembling an army in Flanders, without the concurrence of the states-general, or any other power engaged by treaty, or bound by interest, to support the queen of Hungary, was a rash and ridiculous measure: that the taking sixteen thousand Hanoverians into British pay, without consulting the parliament, seemed highly derogatory to the rights and dignity of the great council of the nation, and a very dangerous precedent to future times: that these troops could not be employed against the emperor, whom they had already recognized: that the arms and wealth of Britain alone were altogether insufficient to raise the house of Austria to its former strength, dominion, and influence: that the assembling an army in Flanders would engage the nation as principals in an expensive and ruinous war, with a power which it ought not to provoke, and could not pretend to withstand in that manner: that while Great-Britain exhausted herself almost to ruin, in pursuance of schemes founded on engagements to the queen of Hungary, the electorate of Hanover, though under the same engagements, and governed by the same prince, did not appear to contribute any thing as an ally to her assistance, but was payed by Great-Britain for all the forces it had sent into the field, at a very exorbitant price: that nothing could be more absurd and iniquitous than to hire these mercenaries, while a numerous army lay inactive at home; and the nation groaned under such intolerable burthens. "It may be proper, added he, to repeat what may be forgotten in the multitude of other objects, that this nation, after having exalted the elector of Hanover from a state of obscurity to the crown, is condemned to hire the troops of that electorate to fight their own cause; to hire them at a rate which was never demanded before, and to pay levy-money for them, though it is known to all Europe, that they were not raised for this occasion." All the partisans of the old ministry joined in the opposition to earl Stanhope's motion, which was rejected by the majority. Then the earl of Scarborough moved for an address, to approve of the measures which had been taken on the continent; and this was likewise carried by dint of number. It was not, however, a very eligible victory: what they gained in the parliament they lost with the people. The new ministers became more odious than their predecessors; and people began to think that public virtue was an empty name.

§ XXXVI. But the most severe opposition they underwent, was in their endeavours to support a bill which they had concerted, and which had passed through the house of commons with great precipitation: it repealed certain duties on spirituous liquors, and licences for retailing these liquors; and imposed others at an easier rate. When those severe duties, amounting almost to a prohibition, were imposed, the populace of London were sunk into the most brutal degeneracy, by drinking to excess the pernicious spirit called Gin, which was sold so cheap, that the lowest class of the people could afford to indulge themselves in one

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continued state of intoxication; to the destruction of all morals, industry, and order. Such a shameful degree of profligacy prevailed, that the retailers of this poisonous compound set up painted boards in public, inviting people to be drunk for the small expence of one penny; assuring them, they might be dead drunk for two-pence, and have straw for nothing. They accordingly provided cellars and places strewed with straw, to which they conveyed those wretches who were overwhelmed with intoxication. In these dismal caverns they lay until they recovered some use of their faculties, and then they had recourse to the same mischievous potion; thus consuming their health, and ruining their families in hideous receptacles of the most filthy vice, resounding with riot, execration, and blasphemy. Such beastly practices too plainly denoted a total want of all police and civil regulation, and would have reflected disgrace upon the most barbarous community. In order to restrain this evil, which was become intolerable, the legislature enacted that law which we have already mentioned. But the populace soon broke through all restraint. Though no licence was obtained, and no duty payed, the liquor continued to be sold in all corners of the streets: informers were intimidated by the threats of the people; and the justices of the peace, either from indolence or corruption, neglected to put the law in execution. The new ministers foresaw that a great revenue would accrue to the crown from a repeal of this act; and this measure they thought they might the more decently take, as the law had proved ineffectual: for, it appeared, that the consumption of gin had considerably increased every year since those heavy duties were imposed. They therefore pretended, that should the price of the liquor be moderately raised, and licences granted at twenty shillings each to the retailers, the lowest class of people would be debarred the use of it to excess; their morals would of consequence be mended, and a considerable sum of money might be raised for the support of the war, by mortgaging the revenue arising from the duty and the licences. Upon these maxims the new bill was founded, and passed through the lower house without opposition; but, among the peers it produced the most obstinate dispute which had happened since the beginning of this parliament. The first assault it sustained was from lord Hervey, who had been divested of his post of privy-seal, which was bestowed on lord Gower; and these two noblemen exchanged principles from that instant. The first was hardened into a sturdy patriot, the other suppld into an obsequious courtier. Lord Hervey, on this occasion, made a florid harangue, upon the pernicious effects of that destructive spirit they were about to let loose upon their fellow-creatures. Several prelates expatiated on the same topics; but, the earl of Chesterfield attacked the bill with the united powers of reason, wit, and ridicule. The lord Carteret, the lord Bathurst, and the earl of Bath, were numbered among its advocates; and shrewd arguments were advanced on both sides of the question. After very long, warm, and repeated debates, the bill passed without amendments, though the whole bench of bishops voted against it; and we cannot help owning, that it has not been attended with those dismal consequences which the lords in the opposition foretold. When the question was put for committing this bill, and the earl of Chesterfield saw the bishops join in his division, "I am in doubt, said he, whether I have not got on the other side of the question; for I have not had the honour to divide with so many lawn-sleeves for several years."

§ XXXVII. By the report of the secret committee it appeared, that the then minister had commenced prosecutions against the mayors of boroughs who opposed his influence in the elections of members of parliament. These prosecutions were founded on ambiguities in charters, or trivial informalities in the choice of magistrates. An appeal on such a process was brought into the house of lords; and this evil falling under consideration, a bill was prepared for securing the independency of corporations: but, as it tended to diminish the influence of the ministry, they argued against it with their usual eagerness and success; and it was rejected on a division. The mutiny-bill and several others passed both houses. The commons granted supplies to the amount of six millions, raised by the land-tax, the malt-tax, duties on spirituous liquors, and licences, and a loan from the sinking-fund. In two years the national debt had suffered an increase of two millions four hundred thousand pounds. On the twenty-first day of April the session was closed in the usual manner. The king in his speech to both houses told them, that at the requisition of the queen of Hungary, he had ordered his army, in conjunction with the Austrians, to pass the Rhine for her support and assistance: that he had continued one squadron of ships in the Mediterranean, and another in the West-Indies. He thanked the commons for the ample supplies they had granted; and, declared, it was the fixed purpose of his heart, to promote the true interest and happiness of his kingdoms. Immediately after the prorogation of parliament he embarked for Germany, accompanied by the duke of Cumberland, the lord Carteret, and other persons of distinction.

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§ XXXVIII. At this period the queen of Hungary seemed to triumph over all her enemies. The French were driven out of Bohemia and part of the Upper Palatinate; and their forces under marechal Broglio were posted on the Danube. Prince Charles of Lorraine, at the head of the Austrian army, entered Bavaria; and in April obtained a victory over a body of Bavarians at Braunau: at the same time three bodies of Croats penetrating through the passes of the Tyroleze, ravaged the open country to the very gates of Munich. The emperor pressed the French general to hazard a battle; but, he refused to run this risque, though he had received a strong reinforcement from France. His Imperial majesty thinking himself unsafe in Munich, retired to Augsburgh; and marechal Seckendorf retreated with the Bavarian troops to Ingoldstadt, where he was afterwards joined by marechal Broglio, whose troops had in this retreat been pursued and terribly harrassed by the Austrian cavalry and hussars. Prince Charles had now a free communication with Munich, which now for the third time fell into the hands of the queen of Hungary. Her arms likewise reduced Friedberg and Landsperg; while prince Charles continued to pursue the French to Donawert, where they were joined by twelve thousand men from the Rhine. Broglio still avoided an engagement, and retreated before the enemy to Hailbron. The emperor being thus abandoned by his allies, and stripped of all his dominions, repaired to Franckfort, where he lived in indigence and obscurity. He now made advances towards an accommodation with the queen of Hungary. His general Seckendorf had an interview with count Khevenhuller at the convent of Lowerconfield, where a convention was signed, importing, That the emperor should remain neuter during the continuance of the present war; and, That his troops should be quartered in Franconia: That the queen of Hungary should keep possession of Bavaria till the peace: That Braunau and Scharching

should be delivered up to the Austrians: That the French garrison of Ingoldstadt should be permitted to withdraw, and be replaced by Bavarians; but, that the Austrian generals should be put in possession of all the artillery, magazines, and war-like stores belonging to the French, which should be found in the place. The governors of Egra and Ingoldstadt refusing to acquiesce in this capitulation, the Austrians had recourse to the operations of war; and both places were reduced. In Ingoldstadt they found all the emperor's domestic treasure, jewels, plate, pictures, cabinets, and curiosities, with the archives of the house of Bavaria, the most valuable effects belonging to the nobility of that electorate, a prodigious train of artillery, and a vast quantity of provisions, arms, and ammunition.

§ XXXIX. The French king, baffled in all the efforts he had hitherto made for the support of the emperor, ordered his minister at Franckfort to deliver a declaration to the diet, professing himself extremely well pleased to hear they intended to interpose their mediation for terminating the war. He said, he was no less satisfied with the treaty of neutrality which the emperor had concluded with the queen of Hungary; an event of which he was no sooner informed, than he had ordered his troops to return to the frontiers of his dominions, that the Germanic body might be convinced of his equity and moderation. To this declaration the queen of Hungary answered in a rescript, that the design of France was to embarrass her affairs, and deprive her of the assistance of her allies: that the elector of Bavaria could not be considered as a neutral party in his own cause: that the mediation of the empire could only produce a peace either with or without the concurrence of France: that in the former case no solid peace could be expected; in the latter, it was easy to foresee, that France would pay no regard to a peace in which she should have no concern. She affirmed, that the aim of the French king was solely to gain time to repair his losses, that he might afterwards revive the troubles of the empire. The elector of Mentz, who had favoured the emperor, was now dead, and his successor inclined to the Austrian interest. He allowed this rescript to be entered in the journal of the diet, together with the protests which had been made when the vote of Bohemia was suppressed in the late election. The emperor complained in a circular letter of this transaction as a stroke levelled at his Imperial dignity; and it gave rise to a warm dispute among the members of the Germanic body. Several princes resented the haughty conduct, and began to be alarmed at the success of the house of Austria; and others pitied the deplorable situation of the emperor. The kings of Great-Britain and Prussia, as electors of Hanover and Brandenburg, espoused opposite sides in this contest. His Prussian majesty protested against the investiture of the dutchy of Saxe-Lawenburgh, claimed by the king of Great-Britain: he had an interview with general Seckendorf at Anspach, and was said to have privately visited the emperor at Franckfort.

§ XL. The troops which the king of Great-Britain had assembled in the Netherlands, began their march for the Rhine in the latter end of February; and in May they incamped near Hoech on the river Mayne, under the command of the earl of Stair, who sent major-general Bland to Franckfort with a compliment to the emperor, assuring him, in the name of his Britannic majesty, that the respect owing to his dignity should not be violated, nor the place of his residence disturbed. Notwithstanding this assurance the emperor retired to Munich, though he was afterwards compelled to return by the success of the
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Austrians in Bavaria. The French king, in order to prevent the junction of the British forces with prince Charles of Lorraine, ordered the marechal de Noailles to assemble sixty thousand men upon the Mayne; while Coigny was sent into Alsace with a numerous army, to defend that province and oppose prince Charles, should he attempt to pass the Rhine. The marechal de Noailles having secured the towns of Spire, Worms, and Oppenheim, passed the Rhine in the beginning of June, and posted himself on the east side of that river, above Franckfort. The earl of Stair advanced towards him, and encamped at Killenbach, between the river Mayne and the forest of D'Armstadt; from this situation he made a motion to Aschaffenburg, with a view to secure the navigation of the Upper Mayne; but, he was anticipated by the enemy, who lay on the other side of the river, and had taken possession of the posts above, so as to intercept all supplies. They were posted on the other side of the river, opposite to the allies, whose camp they overlooked; and they found means, by their parties and other precautions, to cut off the communication by water between Franckfort and the confederates. The duke of Cumberland had already come to make his first campaign, and his majesty arrived in the camp on the ninth day of June. He found his army, amounting to about forty thousand men, in danger of starving: he received intelligence, that a reinforcement of twelve thousand Hanoverians and Hessians had reached Hanau; and he resolved to march thither, both with a view to effect the junction, and to procure provision for his forces. With this view he decamped on the twenty-sixth day of June. He had no sooner quitted Aschaffenburg than it was seized by the French; and he had not marched above three leagues, when he perceived the enemy, to the number of thirty thousand, had passed the river farther down, and were drawn up in order of battle at the village of Dettingen, to dispute his passage. Thus he found himself cooped up in a very dangerous situation. The enemy had possessed themselves of Aschaffenburg behind, so as to prevent his retreat: his troops were confined in a narrow plain, bounded by hills and woods on the right, flanked on the left by the river Mayne, on the opposite side of which the French had erected batteries that annoyed the allies on their march; and in the front a considerable part of the French army was drawn up, with a narrow pass before them, the village of Dettingen on their right, a wood on the left, and a morass in the center. Thus environed, the confederates must either have fought at a very great disadvantage, or surrendered themselves prisoners of war, had not the duke de Gramont, who commanded the enemy, been instigated by the spirit of madness to foregoe these advantages. He passed the defile, and advancing towards the allies, a battle ensued. The French horse charged with great impetuosity, and some regiments of British cavalry were put in disorder; but, the infantry of the allies behaved with such intrepidity and deliberation, under the eye of their sovereign, as soon determined the fate of the day: the French were obliged to give way, and repass the Mayne with great precipitation, having lost about five thousand men killed, wounded, or taken. Had they been properly pursued before they recollected themselves from their first confusion, in all probability they would have sustained a total overthrow. The earl of Stair proposed, that a body of cavalry should be detached on this service; but, his advice was over-ruled. The loss of the allies in this action amounted to two thousand men. The generals Clayton and Monroy were killed: the

duke of Cumberland, who exhibited uncommon proofs of courage, was shot through the calf of the leg: the earl of Albemarle, general Hufke, and several other officers of distinction, were wounded. The king exposed his person to a severe fire of cannon as well as musquetry: he rode between the first and second lines with his sword drawn, and encouraged the troops to fight for the honour of England. Immediately after the action he continued his march to Hanau, where he was joined by the reinforcement. The earl of Stair sent a trumpet to marechal de Noailles, recommending to his protection the sick and wounded that were left on the field of battle; and these the French general treated with great care and tenderness. Such generosity softens the rigours of war, and does honour to humanity.

§ XLI. The two armies continued on different sides of the river till the twelfth day of July, when the French general receiving intelligence, that prince Charles of Lorraine had approached the Neckar, he suddenly retired, and repassed the Rhine between Worms and Oppenheim. The king of Great-Britain was visited by prince Charles and count Khevenhuller at Hanau, where the future operations of the campaign were regulated. On the twenty-seventh day of August, the allied army passed the Rhine at Mentz, and the king fixed his head-quarters in the episcopal palace at Worms. Here the forces lay encamped till the latter end of September, when they advanced to Spire, where they were joined by twenty thousand Dutch auxiliaries from the Netherlands. Marechal Noailles having retreated into Upper Alsace, the allies took possession of Germerheim, and demolished the intrenchments which the enemy had raised on the Queich; then they returned to Mentz, and in October were distributed into winter-quarters, after an inactive campaign that redounded very little to the honour of those by whom the motions of the army were conducted. In September a treaty had been concluded at Worms between his Britannic majesty, the king of Sardinia, and the queen of Hungary. She engaged to maintain thirty thousand men in Italy: the king of Sardinia obliged himself to employ forty thousand infantry and five thousand horse, in consideration of his commanding the combined army, and receiving an annual subsidy of two hundred thousand pounds from Great-Britain. As a further gratification, the queen yielded to him the city of Placentia, with several districts in the duchy of Pavia, and in the Novarese; and all her right and pretensions to Final, at present possessed by the republic of Genoa, which, they hoped, would give it up on being repayed the purchase-money, which amounted to three hundred thousand pounds. This sum the king of England promised to disburse; and moreover to maintain a strong squadron in the Mediterranean, the commander of which should act in concert with his Sardinian majesty. Finally, the contracting powers agreed, That Final should be constituted a free-port like that of Leghorn. Nothing could be more unjust than this treaty, by which the Genoese were negotiated out of their property. They had purchased the marquise of Final of the late emperor for a valuable consideration, and the purchase had been guaranteed by Great-Britain. It could not therefore be expected, that they would part with this acquisition to a prince whose power they thought already too formidable; especially, on condition of its being made a free-port, to the prejudice of their own commerce. They presented remonstrances against this article, by their ministers at the courts of London, Vienna, and Turin; and as
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very little regard was payed to their representations, they threw themselves into the arms of France and Spain for protection.

§ XLII. After the battle of Dettingen colonel Mentzel, at the head of a large body of irregulars belonging to the queen of Hungary, made an irruption into Lorraine, part of which they ravaged without mercy. In September prince Charles, with the Austrian army, entered the Brisgaw, and attempted to pass the Rhine; but, marechal Coigny had taken such precautions for guarding it on the other side, that he was obliged to abandon his design, and marching back into the Upper Palatinate, quartered his troops in that country and in Bavaria. By this time the earl of Stair had solicited and obtained leave to resign his command. He had for some time thought himself neglected; and was unwilling that his reputation should suffer on account of measures in which he had no concern. In October the king of Great-Britain returned to Hanover, and the army separated. The troops in British pay marched back to the Netherlands, and the rest took the route to their respective countries. The states-general still wavered between their own immediate interest and their desire to support the house of Austria. At length, however, they supplied her with a subsidy, and ordered twenty thousand men to march to her assistance, notwithstanding the intrigues of the marquis de Fenelon, the French ambassador at the Hague, and the declaration of the king of Prussia, who disapproved of this measure, and refused them a passage through his territories, to the Rhine.

§ XLIII. Sweden was filled with discontents, and divided into factions. The generals Bodenbrock and Lewenhaupt were beheaded, having been sacrificed as scape-goats for the ministry. Some unsuccessful efforts by sea and land were made against the Russians. At last the peace of Abo was concluded; and the duke of Holstein-Utin, uncle to the successor of the Russian throne, was chosen as next heir to the crown of Sweden. A party had been formed in favour of the prince of Denmark; and the order of the peasants actually elected him as successor. The debates in the college of nobles rose to a very dangerous degree of animosity, and were appeased by an harangue in Swedish verse, which one of the senators pronounced. The peasants yielded the point, and the succession was settled on the duke of Holstein. Denmark, instigated by French counsels, began to make preparations of war against Sweden; but, a body of Russian auxiliaries arriving in that kingdom, under the command of general Keith, and the czarina declaring she would assist the Swedes with her whole force, the king of Denmark thought proper to disarm. It had been an old maxim of French policy to embroil the courts of the North, that they might be too much employed at home to intermeddle in the affairs of Germany, while France was at war with the house of Austria. The good understanding between the czarina and the queen of Hungary, was at this period destroyed, in consequence of a conspiracy which had been formed by some persons of distinction at the court of Petersburg, for removing the empress Elizabeth, and recalling the princess Anne to the administration. This design being discovered, the principal conspirators were corporally punished, and sent in exile to Siberia. The marquis de Botta, the Austrian minister, who had resided at the court of the czarina, was suspected of having been concerned in the plot; though the grounds of this suspicion did not appear until after he was recalled and sent as ambassador to the court of Berlin. The empress demanded satisfaction of the queen

queen of Hungary, who appointed commissioners to inquire into his conduct, and he was acquitted; but the czarina was not at all satisfied of his innocence. In February a defensive treaty of alliance was concluded between this princess and the king of Great-Britain.

§ XLIV. By this time France was deprived of her ablest minister in the death of the cardinal de Fleury, who had for many years managed the affairs of that kingdom. He is said to have possessed a lively genius, and an insinuating address; to have been regular in his deportment, and moderate in his disposition; but at the same time he has been branded as deceitful, dissembling, and vindictive. His scheme of politics was altogether pacific: he endeavoured to accomplish his purposes by raising and fomenting intrigues at foreign courts: he did not seem to pay much regard to the military glory of France; and he too much neglected the naval power of that kingdom. Since Broglie was driven out of Germany, the French court affected uncommon moderation. They pretended, that their troops had only acted as auxiliaries while they remained in the empire; but, being apprehensive of an irruption into their own dominions, they declared, that those troops were no longer to be considered in that light, but as subjects acting in the service of France. The campaign in Italy proved unfavourable to the Spaniards. In the beginning of February count Gages, who commanded the Spanish army in the Bolognese, amounting to four and twenty thousand men, passed the Panaro in the beginning of February, and advanced to Campo-Santo, where he encountered the Imperial and Piedmontese forces, commanded by count Traun and count Aspremont. The strength of the two armies was nearly equal. The action was obstinate and bloody, though indecisive. The Spaniards lost about four thousand men, killed, wounded, or taken. The damage sustained by the confederates was not quite so great. Some cannon and colours were taken on both sides; and each claimed the victory. Count Gages repassed the Panaro; retreated suddenly from Bologna, and marched to Rimini in the ecclesiastical state, where he fortified his camp in an advantageous situation, after having suffered severely by desertion. Count Traun remained inactive in the Modenese till September, when he resigned his command to prince Lobkowitz. This general entered the Bolognese in October, and then advanced towards count Gages, who, with his forces, now reduced to seven thousand, retreated to Fano; but afterwards took possession of Pesaro, and fortified all the passes of the river Foglia. The season was far advanced before the Spanish troops, commanded by Don Philip, in Savoy, entered upon action. In all probability, the courts of Versailles and Madrid carried on some private negotiation with the king of Sardinia. This expedient failing, Don Philip decamped from Chamberri in the latter end of August, and defiling through Dauphiné towards Briançon, was joined by the prince of Conti, at the head of twenty thousand French auxiliaries. Thus reinforced, he attacked the Piedmontese lines at Chateau-Dauphiné; but was repulsed in several attempts, and obliged to retreat with considerable loss. The French established their winter-quarters in Dauphiné and Provence; and the Spaniards maintained their footing in Savoy.

§ XLV. The British fleet commanded by admiral Matthews overawed all the states that bordered on the Mediterranean. About the end of June understanding, that fourteen xebecs, loaded with artillery and ammunition for the
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Spanish army, had arrived at Genoa, he sailed thither from the road of Hieres, and demanded of the republic, that they would either oblige these vessels with the stores to quit their harbour, or sequester their lading until a general peace should be established. After some dispute it was agreed, that the cannon and stores should be deposited in the castle of Bonifacio, situated on a rock at the south end of Corsica: and, that the xebecs should have leave to retire without molestation. The Corsicans had some years before revolted, and shaken off the dominion of the Genoese, under which their island had remained for many centuries. They found themselves oppressed, and resolved to assert their freedom. They conferred the sovereign authority on a German adventurer, who was solemnly proclaimed by the name of king Theodore. He had supplied them with some arms and ammunition which he had brought from Tunis; and amused them with promises of being assisted by foreign powers in retrieving their independency; but as these promises were not performed, they treated him so roughly, that he had thought proper to quit the island, and they submitted again to their old masters. The troubles of Corsica were now revived. Theodore revisited his kingdom, and was recognized by the principal chiefs of the island. He published a manifesto: he granted a general pardon to all his subjects who should return to their obedience; and pretended to be countenanced and supported by the king of Great-Britain and the queen of Hungary. He was certainly thought a proper instrument to perplex and harass the Genoese, and supplied at this juncture with a sum of money, to purchase arms for the Corsicans; but, a change soon happened in the British ministry, and then he was suffered to relapse into his original obscurity. Admiral Matthews, though he did not undertake any expedition of importance against the maritime towns of Spain, continued to assert the British empire at sea through the whole extent of the Mediterranean. The Spanish army under Don Philip was no sooner in motion, than the English admiral ordered some troops and cannon to be disembarked for the security of Villa-Franca. Some stores having been landed at Civita-Vecchia for the use of the Spanish forces under count Gages, Matthews interpreted this transaction into a violation of the neutrality which the pope had professed; and sent thither a squadron to bombard the place. The city of Rome was filled with consternation; and the pope had recourse to the good offices of his Sardinian majesty, in consequence of which the English squadron was ordered to withdraw. The captains of single cruising ships, by their activity and vigilance, wholly interrupted the commerce of Spain, cannonaded and burned some towns on the sea-side, and kept the whole coast in continual alarm*.

* In May a dreadful plague broke out at Messina in Sicily. It was imported in cotton and other commodities brought from the Morea; and swept off such a multitude of people, that the city was almost depopulated: all the galley-slaves who were employed in burying the dead, perished by the contagion; and this was the fate of many priests and monks who administered to those who were infected. The dead bodies lay in heaps on the streets, corrupting the air, and adding fresh fuel to the rage of the pestilence. Numbers died miserably for want of proper attendance and necessities; and all was horror and desolation. At

the beginning of winter it ceased, after having destroyed near fifty thousand inhabitants of Messina, and of the garrisons in the citadel and castle. It was prevented from spreading in Sicily by a strong barricado drawn from Melazzo to Taormina; but, it was conveyed to Reggio in Calabria, by the avarice of a broker of that place, who bought some goods at Messina. The king of Naples immediately ordered lines to be formed, together with a chain of troops, which cut off all communication between that place and the rest of the continent.

§ XLVI. In the West-Indies some unsuccessful efforts were made by an English Squadron, commanded by commodore Knowles. He attacked La Guaira on the coast of Carraccas, in the month of February; but, met with such a warm reception, that he was obliged to desist, and make the best of his way for the Dutch island Curaçoa, where he repaired the damage he had sustained. His ships being refitted, he made another attempt upon Porto-Cavallo in April, which like the former miscarried. Twelve hundred marines, being landed in the neighbourhood of the place, were seized with such a panic, that it was found necessary to reembark them without delay. Then the commodore abandoned the enterprize, and sailed back to his station at the Leeward-Islands, without having added much to his reputation either as to conduct or resolution. On the continent of America the operations of the war were very inconsiderable. General Oglethorpe having received intelligence, that the Spaniards prepared for another invasion from St. Augustine, assembled a body of Indians as a reinforcement to part of his own regiment, with the Highlanders and rangers; and in the spring began his march, in order to anticipate the enemy. He encamped for some time in the neighbourhood of St. Augustine, by way of defiance: but they did not think proper to hazard an engagement; and as he was in no condition to undertake a siege, he returned to Georgia. In October the princess Louisa, youngest daughter of his Britannic majesty, was married by proxy at Hanover, to the prince-royal of Denmark, who met her at Altena, and conducted her to Copenhagen.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

§ I. Debate in parliament against the Hanoverian troops. § II. Supplies granted. § III. Projected invasion of Great-Britain. § IV. A French squadron sails up the English channel. § V. The kingdom is put in a posture of defence. § VI. The design of the French defeated. War between France and England. § VII. Bill against those who should correspond with the sons of the pretender. § VIII. Naval engagement off Toulon. § IX. Advances towards peace made by the emperor. § X. Treaty of Franckfort. § XI. Progress of the French king in the Netherlands. § XII. Prince Charles of Lorraine passes the Rhine. § XIII. The king of Prussia makes an irruption into Bohemia. § XIV. Campaign in Bavaria and Flanders. § XV. The king of Naples joins count Gages in Italy. § XVI. Battle of Coni. § XVII. Return of commodore Anson. Sir John Balchen perishes at sea. § XVIII. Revolution in the British ministry. Session of parliament. § XIX. Death of the emperor Charles VII. Accommodation between the queen of Hungary and the young elector of Bavaria. § XX. The king of Prussia gains two successive battles at Friedberg and Sobr, over the Austrian and Saxon forces. § XXI. Treaty of Dresden. The grand duke of Tuscany elected emperor of Germany. § XXII. The allies are defeated at Fontenoy. § XXIII. The king of Sardinia is almost stripped of his dominions. § XXIV. The English forces take Cape Breton. § XXV. The importance of this conquest. § XXVI. Project of an insurrection in Great-Britain. § XXVII. The eldest son of the chevalier de St. George lands in Scotland. § XXVIII. Takes possession of Edinburgh. § XXIX. Defeats Sir John Cope at Preston-pans. § XXX. Efforts of the friends of the government in Scotland. § XXXI. Precautions taken in England. § XXXII. The prince-pretender reduces Carlisle, and penetrates as far as Derby. Consternation of the Londoners. § XXXIII. The rebels retreat into Scotland. § XXXIV. They invest the castle of Stirling. § XXXV. The king's troops under Hawley are worsted at Falkirk. § XXXVI. The duke of Cumberland assumes the command of the forces in Scotland. § XXXVII. The rebels undertake the siege of Fort William.

§ I. **T**HE discontents of England were artfully inflamed by antiministerial writers, who not only exaggerated the burthens of the people, and drew frightful pictures of the distress and misery, which they said, impended over the nation, but also employed the arts of calumny and misrepresentation, to excite a jealousy and national quarrel between the English and Hanoverians. They affirmed, that in the last campaign the British general had been neglected and despised; while the counsels of foreign officers, greatly inferior to him in capacity, quality, and reputation, had been followed, to the prejudice of the common cause: that the British troops sustained daily insults from their own mercenaries, who were indulged with particular marks of royal favour: that the sovereign himself appeared at Dettingen in a Hanoverian scarf: and, that his electoral troops were of very little service in that engagement. Though the most material of these assertions were certainly false, they made a strong im-

pression on the minds of the people, already irritated by the enormous expence of a continental war maintained for the interest of Germany. When the parliament met in the beginning of December, a motion was made in the house of peers by the earl of Sandwich, for an address, beseeching his majesty to discontinue the Hanoverian troops in British pay, in order to remove the popular discontent, and stop the murmurs of the English troops abroad. He was supported by the duke of Bedford, the earl of Chesterfield, and all the leaders in the opposition, who did not fail to enumerate and insist upon all the circumstances we have mentioned. They moreover observed, that better troops might be hired at a smaller expence: that it would be a vain and endless task to exhaust the national treasure, in enriching a hungry and barren electorate: that the popular dissatisfaction against these mercenaries was so general, and raised to such violence, as nothing but their dismissal could appease: that if such hirelings should be thus continued from year to year, they might at last become a burthen entailed upon the nation, and made subservient, under some ambitious prince, to purposes destructive of British liberty. These were the suggestions of spleen and animosity: for, granting the necessity of a land-war, the Hanoverians were the most natural allies and auxiliaries which Great-Britain could engage and employ. How insolent soever some few individual generals of that electorate might have been in their private deportment, certain it is, their troops behaved with great sobriety, discipline, and decorum; and in the day of battle did their duty with as much courage and alacrity as any body of men ever displayed on the like occasion. The motion was rejected by the majority; but, when the term for keeping them in the British pay was nearly expired, and the estimates for their being continued the ensuing year, were layed before the house, the earl of Sandwich renewed his motion. The lord-chancellor, as speaker of the house, interposing, declared, that by their rules a question once rejected could not be revived during the same session. A debate ensued, and the second motion was over-ruled. The Hanoverian troops were voted in the house of commons: nevertheless, the same nobleman moved in the upper house, that the continuing sixteen thousand Hanoverians in British pay, was prejudicial to his majesty's true interest, useless to the common cause, and dangerous to the welfare and tranquillity of the nation. He was seconded by the duke of Marlborough, who had resigned his commission in disgust, and the proposal gave birth to another warm dispute; but victory declared, as usual, for the ministry.

§ II. In the house of commons they sustained divers attacks. A motion was made for laying a duty of eight shillings in the pound on all places and pensions. Mr. Greenville moved for an address, to beseech his majesty, that he would not engage the British nation any further in the war on the continent, without the concurrence of the states-general, on certain stipulated proportions of force and expence, as in the late war. These proposals begat vigorous debates, in which the country-party were always foiled by dint of superior number. Such was the credit and influence of the ministry in parliament, that although the national debt was increased by above six millions since the commencement of the war, the commons indulged them with an enormous sum for the expence of the ensuing year. The grants specified in the votes amounted to six millions and an half: to this sum were added three millions and an half paid to the sinking fund in perpetual taxes; so that this year's expence rose to ten millions.

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The funds established for the annual charge were the land and malt-taxes, one million paid by the East-India company for the renewal of their charter, twelve hundred thousand pounds by annuities, one million from the sinking fund, six and thirty thousand pounds from the coinage; and six hundred thousand pounds by a lottery: an expedient which for some time had been annually repeated; and which, in a great measure, contributed to debauch the morals of the public, by introducing a spirit of gaming, destructive of all industry and virtue.

§ III. The dissensions of the British parliament were suddenly suspended by an event that seemed to unite both parties in the prosecution of the same measures. This was the intelligence of an intended invasion. By the parliamentary disputes, the loud clamours, and the general dissatisfaction of the people in Great-Britain, the French ministry were persuaded, that the nation was ripe for revolt. This belief was corroborated by the assertions of their emissaries in different parts of Great-Britain and Ireland. These were papists and jacobites of strong prejudices and warm imaginations, who saw things through the medium of passion and party, and spoke rather from extravagant zeal than from sober conviction. They gave the court of Versailles to understand, that if the chevalier de St. George, or his eldest son Charles-Edward, should appear at the head of a French army in Great-Britain, a revolution would instantly follow in his favour. This intimation was agreeable to cardinal de Tencin, who had succeeded Fleury as prime-minister of France. He was of a violent enterprising temper. He had been recommended to the purple by the chevalier de St. George, and was warmly attached to the Stuart family. His ambition was flattered with a prospect of giving a king to Great-Britain, of performing such eminent service to his benefactor, and of restoring to the throne of their ancestors, a family connected by the ties of blood with all the greatest princes of Europe. He foresaw, that even if his aim should miscarry, a descent upon Great-Britain would make a considerable diversion from the continent in favour of France, and embroil and embarrass his Britannic majesty, who was the chief support of the house of Austria and all its allies. Actuated by these motives, he concerted measures with the chevalier de St. George at Rome, who being too much advanced in years to engage personally in such an expedition, agreed to delegate his pretensions and authority to his son Charles, a youth of promising talents, sage, secret, brave, and enterprising; amiable in his person, grave, and even reserved in his deportment. He approved himself in the sequel composed and moderate in success, wonderfully firm in adversity; and, though tenderly nursed in all the delights of an effeminate country, and gentle climate, patient almost beyond belief of cold, hunger, and fatigue. Such was the adventurer now destined to fulfil the hope which the French minister had conceived from the projected invasion of Great-Britain.

§ IV. Count Saxe was appointed by the French king commander of the troops designed for this expedition, which amounted to fifteen thousand. They began their march to Picardy, and a great number of vessels was assembled for their embarkation, at Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne. It was determined that they should be landed in Kent, under convoy of a strong squadron equipped at Brest, and commanded by monsieur de Roquefeuille, an officer of experience and capacity. The chevalier de St. George is said to have required the personal service of the duke of Ormond, who excused himself on

account of his advanced age : be that as it will, prince Charles departed from Rome about the end of December, in the disguise of a Spanish courier, attended by one servant only, and furnished with passports by cardinal Aquaviva. He travelled through Tuscany to Genoa, from whence he proceeded to Savona, where he embarked for Antibes, and prosecuting his journey to Paris, was indulged with a private audience of the French king : then he set out incognito for the coast of Picardy. The British ministry being apprised of his arrival in France, at once comprehended the destination of the armaments prepared at Brest and Boulogne. Mr. Thompson, the English resident at Paris, received orders to make a remonstrance to the French ministry, on the violation of those treaties by which the pretender to the crown of Great-Britain was excluded from the territories of France. But he was given to understand, that his most christian majesty would not explain himself on that subject, until the king of England should have given satisfaction on the repeated complaints which had been made to him, touching the infractions of those very treaties which had been so often violated by his orders. In the month of January, M. de Roquefeuille sailed from Brest, directing his course up the English channel, with twenty ships of war. They were immediately discovered by an English cruiser, which ran into Plymouth ; and the intelligence was conveyed by land to the board of admiralty. Sir John Norris was forthwith ordered to take the command of the squadron at Spithead, with which he sailed round to the Downs, where he was joined by some ships of the line from Chatham, and then he found himself at the head of a squadron considerably stronger than that of the enemy.

§ V. Several regiments marched to the southern coast of England : all governors and commanders were ordered to repair immediately to their respective posts : the forts at the mouths of the Thames and the Medway were put in a posture of defence ; and directions were issued to assemble the Kentish militia, to defend the coast in case of an invasion. On the fifteenth day of February, the king sent a message to both houses of parliament, intimating the arrival of the pretender's son in France, the preparations at Dunkirk, and the appearance of a French fleet in the English channel. They joined in an address, declaring their indignation and abhorrence of the design formed in favour of a popish pretender ; and assuring his majesty, that they would, with the warmest zeal and unanimity, take such measures as would enable him to frustrate and defeat so desperate and insolent an attempt. Addresses of the same kind were presented by the city of London, both universities, the principal towns of Great-Britain, the clergy, the dissenting ministers, the quakers, and almost all the corporations and communities of the kingdom. A requisition was made of the six thousand auxiliaries which the states-general were by treaty obliged to furnish on such occasions ; and these were granted with great alacrity and expedition. The earl of Stair forgetting his wrongs, took this opportunity of offering his services to the government, and was reinvested with the chief command of the forces in Great-Britain. His example was followed by several noblemen of the first rank. The duke of Montague was permitted to raise a regiment of horse ; and orders were sent to bring over six thousand of the British troops from Flanders, in case the invasion should actually take place. His majesty was, in another address from parliament, exhorted to
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augment his forces by sea and land: the habeas corpus act was suspended for six months, and several persons of distinction were apprehended on suspicion of treasonable practices: a proclamation was issued for putting the laws in execution against papists and nonjurors, who were commanded to retire ten miles from London; and every precaution taken which seemed necessary for the preservation of the public tranquillity.

§ VI. Mean while the French court proceeded with their preparations, at Boulogne and Dunkirk, under the eye of the young pretender; and seven thousand men were actually embarked. M. de Roquefeuille sailed up the channel as far as Dungeness, a promontory on the coast of Kent, after having detached M. de Barreil with five ships, to hasten the embarkation at Dunkirk. While the French admiral anchored off Dungeness, he perceived, on the twenty-fourth day of February, the British fleet under Sir John Norris, doubling the South-Foreland from the Downs; and, though the wind was against him, taking the opportunity of the tide to come up and engage the French squadron. Roquefeuille, who little expected such a visit, could not be altogether composed, considering the great superiority of his enemies: but the tide failing, the English admiral was obliged to anchor two leagues short of the enemy. In this interval, M. Roquefeuille called a council of war, in which it was determined to avoid an engagement, weigh anchor at sunset, and make the best of their way to the place from whence they had set sail. This resolution was favoured by a very hard gale of wind, which began to blow from the north-east, and carried them down the channel with incredible expedition. But the same storm which, in all probability, saved their fleet from destruction, utterly disconcerted the design of invading England. A great number of their transports was driven ashore and destroyed, and the rest so damaged that they could not be speedily repaired. The English were now masters at sea, and their coast was so well guarded that the enterprize could not be prosecuted with any probability of success. The French generals nominated to serve in this expedition returned to Paris, and the pretender resolved to wait a more favourable opportunity. The French king no longer preserved any measures with the court of London: the British resident at Paris was given to understand, that a declaration of war must ensue; and this was actually published on the twentieth day of March. The king of Great-Britain was taxed with having dissuaded the court of Vienna from entertaining any thoughts of an accommodation; with having infringed the convention of Hanover; with having exercised piracy upon the subjects of France, and even blocked up the harbour of Toulon. On the thirty-first day of March, a like denunciation of war against France was published at London, amidst the acclamations of the people.

§ VII. The commons of England, in order to evince their loyalty, brought in a bill denouncing the penalties of high-treason against those who should maintain correspondence with the sons of the pretender. In the upper house, lord Hardwicke the chancellor moved, that a clause should be inserted, extending the crime of treason to the posterity of the offenders, during the lives of the pretender's sons. The motion, which was supported by the whole strength of the ministry, produced a warm debate, in which the duke of Bedford, the earl of Chesterfield, the lords Talbot and Harvey, argued against it in the most pathetic manner, as an illiberal expedient, contrary to the dictates of

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of humanity, the law of nature, the rules of common justice, and the precepts of religion; an expedient that would involve the innocent with the guilty, and tend to the augmentation of ministerial power, for which purpose it was undoubtedly calculated. Notwithstanding these suggestions, the clause was carried in the affirmative, and the bill sent back to the commons, where the amendment was vigorously opposed by lord Strange, lord Guernsey, Mr. W. Pitt, and other members, by whom the original bill had been countenanced *: the majority, however, declared for the amendment, and the bill obtained the royal assent. The session of parliament was closed in May, when the king told them that the French had made vast preparations on the side of the Netherlands; and that the states-general had agreed to furnish the succours stipulated by treaties.

§ VIII. By this time an action had happened in the Mediterranean between the British fleet commanded by admiral Matthews; and the combined squadrons of France and Spain, which had been for some time blocked up in the harbour of Toulon. On the ninth day of February they were perceived standing out of the road, to the number of four and thirty sail: the English admiral immediately weighed from Hieres-bay; and on the eleventh, part of the fleets engaged. Matthews attacked the Spanish admiral Don Navarro, whose ship the Real was a first-rate, mounted with above an hundred guns. The rear-admiral Rowley singled out M. de Court who commanded the French squadron; and a very few captains followed the example of their commanders: but vice admiral Lestock, with his whole division, remained at a great distance astern; and several captains that were immediately under the eye of Matthews, behaved in such a manner as reflected disgrace upon their country. The whole transaction was conducted without order or deliberation. The French and Spaniards would have willingly avoided an engagement, as the British squadron was superior to them in strength and number. M. de Court therefore made the best of his way towards the Streights mouth, probably with intention to join the Brest squadron: but, he had orders to protect the Spanish fleet; and as they sailed heavily, he was obliged to wait for them, at the hazard of maintaining a battle with the English. Thus circumstanced he made sail and lay to by turns; so that the British admiral could not engage them in proper order; and as they outailed his ships, he began to fear they would escape him altogether should he wait for vice-admiral Lestock, who was so far astern. Under this apprehension he made the signal for engaging, while that for the line of battle was still displayed; and this inconsistency naturally introduced confusion. The fight was maintained by the few who engaged with great vivacity. The Real being quite disabled, and lying like a wreck upon the water, Mr. Matthews sent a fireship to destroy her; but, the expedient did not take effect. The ship ordered to cover this machine did not obey the signal; so that the captain of the fireship was exposed to the whole fire of the enemy. Nevertheless, he continued to advance until he found the vessel sinking; and being within a few yards of the Real, he set fire to the fuses. The ship was immediately in flames, in the midst of which he and his lieutenant, with twelve men, perished. This was like-

* The opposition had sustained a heavy blow in the death of the duke of Argyle, a nobleman of shining qualifications for the senate and the fel whose character would have been still more illustrious had not some parts of his conduct subjected him to the suspicion of selfishness and inconstancy. He was succeeded in that title by his brother Archibald earl of Ilay.

wife the fate of a Spanish launch, which had been manned with fifty sailors to prevent the fireship from running on board the Real. One ship of the line, belonging to the Spanish squadron, struck to captain Hawke, who sent a lieutenant to take possession of her: she was afterwards retaken by the French squadron; but was found so disabled, that they left her deserted, and she was next day burned by the order of admiral Matthews. At night the action ceased; and the admiral found his own ship so much damaged, that he moved his flag into another. Captain Cornwall fell in the engagement, after having exhibited a remarkable proof of courage and intrepidity: but, the loss of men was very inconsiderable. Next day the enemy appeared to leeward, and the admiral gave chase till night, when he brought to, that he might be joined by the ships a-stern. They were perceived again on the thirteenth at a considerable distance, and pursued till the evening. In the morning of the fourteenth, twenty sail of them were seen distinctly, and Lestock with his division had gained ground of them considerably, by noon; but, admiral Matthews displayed the signal for leaving off chase, and bore away for Port-mahon, to repair the damage he had sustained. Mean while the combined squadrons continued their course towards the coast of Spain. M. de Court, with his division, anchored in the road of Alicant, and Don Navarro sailed into the harbour of Carthagena. Admiral Matthews, on his arrival at Minorca, accused Lestock of having misbehaved on the day of action; suspended him from his office, and sent him prisoner to England, where, in his turn, he accused his accuser. Long before the engagement, these two officers had expressed the most virulent resentment against each other. Matthews was brave, open, and undisguised; but proud, imperious, and precipitate. Lestock had signalized his courage on many occasions, and perfectly understood the whole discipline of the navy; but, he was cool, cunning and vindictive. He had been treated superciliously by Matthews, and in revenge took advantage of his errors and precipitation. To gratify this passion, he betrayed the interest and glory of his country; for, it is not to be doubted, but that he might have come up in time to engage; and in that case, the fleets of France and Spain would in all likelihood have been destroyed: but, he intrenched himself within the punctilios of discipline, and saw with pleasure his antagonist expose himself to the hazard of death, ruin, and disgrace. Matthews himself, in the sequel, sacrificed his duty to his resentment, in restraining Lestock from pursuing and attacking the combined squadrons on the third day after the engagement, when they appeared disabled and in manifest disorder, and would have fallen an easy prey, had they been vigorously attacked. One can hardly, without indignation, reflect upon those instances, in which a community has so severely suffered from the personal animosity of individuals. The miscarriage off Toulon became the subject of a parliamentary inquiry in England. The commons, in an address to the throne, desired that a court-martial might be appointed to try the delinquents. By this time Lestock had in his turn accused Matthews, and all the captains of his division who misbehaved in the day of battle. The court-martial was constituted, and proceeded to trial. Several commanders of ships were cashiered: vice-admiral Lestock was honourably acquitted, and admiral Matthews rendered incapable of serving for the future in his majesty's navy. All the world knew that Lestock kept aloof, and that Matthews rushed into the hottest part of the engagement. Yet, the former triumphed on his trial, and the latter narrowly escaped the sentence of death for

for cowardice and misconduct. Such decisions are not to be accounted for, except from prejudice and faction.

§ IX. The war in Germany, which had been almost extinguished in the last campaign, began to revive, and raged with redoubled violence. The emperor had solicited the mediation of his Britannic majesty for compromising the differences between him and the court of Vienna. Prince William of Hesse-Cassel had conferred with the king of England on this subject; and a negotiation was begun at Hanau. The emperor offered to dismiss the French auxiliaries, provided the Austrians would evacuate his hereditary dominions. Nay, prince William and lord Carteret, as plenipotentiaries, actually agreed to preliminaries, by which his Imperial majesty engaged to renounce the alliance of France, and throw himself into the arms of the maritime powers; to resign all pretensions to the succession of the house of Austria; and to revive the vote of Bohemia in the electoral college; on condition of his being re-established in the possession of his dominions, and recognized as emperor by the queen of Hungary; and of his being accommodated with a monthly subsidy for his maintainance, as his own territories were exhausted and impoverished by the war. By a separate article, the king of Great-Britain promised to furnish him with three hundred thousand crowns, and to interpose his good offices with the queen of Hungary, that his electoral dominions should be favourably treated. These preliminaries, though settled, were not signed. The court of Vienna was unwilling to part with their conquests in Bavaria and the Upper-Palatinate. The queen trusted too much to the valour of her troops, and the wealth of her allies, to listen to such terms of accommodation; and whatever arguments were used with the king of Great-Britain, certain it is the negotiation was dropped, on pretence that the articles were disapproved by the ministry of England. The emperor, invironed with distress, renewed his application to the king of Great-Britain; and even declared that he would refer his cause to the determination of the maritime powers: but, all his advances were discountenanced; and the treaty of Worms dispelled all hope of accommodation. In this manner did the British ministry reject the fairest opportunity that could possibly occur, of terminating the war in Germany with honour and advantage, and of freeing their country from that insufferable burthen of expence under which she groaned.

§ X. The inflexibility of the house of Austria, and its chief ally, proved serviceable to the emperor. The forlorn situation of this unfortunate prince excited the compassion of divers princes: they resented the insolence with which the head of the empire had been treated by the court of Vienna; and they were alarmed at the increasing power of a family noted for pride, tyranny, and ambition. These considerations gave rise to the treaty of Frankfort, concluded in May between the emperor, the king of Prussia, the king of Sweden as landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the elector-palatine. They engaged to preserve the constitutions of the empire, according to the treaty of Westphalia, and to support the emperor in his rank and dignity. They agreed to employ their good offices with the queen of Hungary, that she might be induced to acknowledge the emperor, to restore his hereditary dominions, and give up the archives of the empire that were in her possession. They guaranteed to each other their respective territories: the disputes about the succession of the late emperor they referred to the decision of the states of the empire: they promised to assist

one another in case of being attacked; and they invited the king of Poland, the elector of Cologne, and the bishop of Liege, to accede to this treaty. Such was the confederacy that broke all the measures which had been concerted between the king of Great-Britain and her Hungarian majesty, for the operations of the campaign. In the mean time, the French king declared war against this princess, on pretence of her being obstinately deaf to all terms of accommodation, and determined to carry the war into the territories of France. In her counter-declaration she taxed him with having infringed the most solemn engagement with respect to the pragmatic sanction; with having spirited up different pretenders to lay claim to the succession of the late emperor; with having endeavoured to instigate the common enemy of Christendom against her; and with having acted the incendiary in the north of Europe, that the czarina might be prevented from assisting the house of Austria, while his numerous armies overspread the empire, and desolated her hereditary countries. These recriminations were literally true. The houses of Bourbon and Austria have, for many centuries, been the common disturbers and plagues of Europe.

§ XI. The king of France, though in himself pacific and unenterprising, was stimulated by his ministry to taste the glory of conquest in the Netherlands, where he had assembled an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, provided with a very formidable train of artillery. The chief command was vested in the marechal count de Saxe, who possessed great military talents, and proved to be one of the most fortunate generals of the age in which he lived. The allied forces, consisting of English, Hanoverians, Dutch, and Austrians, to the number of seventy thousand effective men, were in the month of May assembled in the neighbourhood of Brussels, from whence they marched towards Oudenarde, and posted themselves behind the Schelde, being unable to retard the progress of the enemy. The French monarch, attended by his favourite ladies, with all the pomp of eastern luxury, arrived at Lille on the twelfth day of the same month; and in the adjacent plain reviewed his army. The states-general, alarmed at his preparations, had, in a conference with his ambassador at the Hague, expressed their apprehensions, and intreated his most christian majesty would desist from his design of attacking their barrier. Their remonstrances having proved ineffectual, they now sent a minister to wait upon that monarch, to enforce their former representations and repeat their intreaties: but no regard was payed to his request. The French king told him, he was determined to prosecute the war with vigour, as his moderation hitherto had served no other purpose but that of rendering his enemies more intractable. Accordingly his troops invested Menin, which was in seven days surrendered upon capitulation. Ypres, Fort Knocke, and Furnes, underwent the same fate; and, on the twenty-ninth day of June, the king of France entered Dunkirk in triumph.

§ XII. He had taken such precautions for the defence of Alsace, which was guarded by considerable armies under the command of Coigni and Seckendorf, that he thought he had nothing to fear from the Austrians in that quarter: besides, he had received secret assurances that the king of Prussia would declare for the emperor; so that he resolved to pursue his conquests in the Netherlands. But all his measures were defeated by the skill and activity of prince Charles of Lorraine, who found means to pass the Rhine, and obliged the French and Bavarian generals to retire to Lampertheim, that they might cover

Straßburgh. The Austrians made themselves masters of Haguenau and Saverne: they secured the passes of Lorraine, and laid all the country of Lower Alsace under contribution. The king of France was no sooner apprised of the prince's having passed the Rhine, and penetrated into this province, than he sent off a detachment of thirty thousand men from his army in Flanders to reinforce that under the marshal de Coigny; and he himself began his journey from the Rhine, that he might in person check the progress of the enemy: but this design was anticipated by a severe distemper that overtook him at Metz in Lorraine. The physicians despaired of his life. The queen, with her children, and all the princes of the blood, hastened from Versailles to pay the last duties to their dying sovereign, who, as a true penitent, dismissed his concubines, and began to prepare himself for death: yet the strength of his constitution triumphed over the fever, and his recovery was celebrated all over his dominions with uncommon marks of joy and affection.

§ XIII. In the mean time, the schemes of the Austrian general were frustrated by the king of Prussia, who, in the month of August, entered the electorate of Saxony, at the head of a numerous army. There he declared, in a public manifesto, that his aims were only to re-establish the peace of the empire, and to support the dignity of its head. He assured the inhabitants that they might depend upon his protection, in case they should remain quiet; but threatened them with fire and sword should they presume to oppose his arms. In a rescript addressed to his ministers at foreign courts, he accused the queen of Hungary of obstinacy, in refusing to acknowledge the emperor, and restore her hereditary dominions: he said he had engaged in the league of Franckfort, to hinder the head of the empire from being oppressed: that he had no intention to violate the peace of Breslau, or enter as a principal into this war: he affirmed, that his design was to act as auxiliary to the emperor, and establish the quiet of Germany. He penetrated into Bohemia, and undertook the siege of Prague, the governor of which surrendered himself and his garrison prisoners of war on the sixteenth day of September. He afterwards reduced Tabor, Budweis, and Teyn, and in a word subdued the greatest part of the kingdom; the Austrian forces in that country being in no condition to stop his progress. Nevertheless, he was soon obliged to relinquish his conquests. Prince Charles of Lorraine was recalled from Alsace, and repassed the Rhine in the face of the French army, commanded by the marshals de Coigny, Noailles, and Belleisle. Then he marched to the Danube, laid the Upper Palatinate under contribution, and entering Bohemia, joined the troops under Bathiani at Merotitz. The king of Poland elector of Saxony, at this juncture, declared in favour of her Hungarian majesty. A convention for the mutual guaranty of their dominions had been signed between these two powers in December; and now prince Charles of Lorraine was reinforced by twenty thousand Saxon troops under the conduct of the duke of Saxe-Weissenfels. The combined army was superior to that of his Prussian majesty, whom they resolved to engage. But he retired before them, and having evacuated all the places he had garrisoned in Bohemia, retreated with precipitation into Silesia. There his troops were put into winter-quarters; and he himself returned to Berlin, extremely mortified at the issue of the campaign.

§ XIV.

§ XIV. During these transactions, count Seckendorf marching into Bavaria, at the head of a strong army, drove the Austrians out of that electorate, and the emperor regained possession of Munich, his capital, on the twenty-second day of October. In August the French army passed the Rhine at fort Louis, and invested the strong and important city of Fribourg, defended by general Damnitz, at the head of nine thousand veterans. The king of France arrived in the camp on the eleventh day of October; and the siege was carried on with uncommon vigour. The Austrian governor made incredible efforts in the defence of the place, which he maintained until it was reduced to a heap of ruins, and one half of the garrison destroyed. At length, however, they were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war, after the trenches had been opened five and forty days, during which they had killed above fifteen thousand of the besiegers. With this conquest, the French king closed the campaign, and his army was cantoned along the Rhine, under the inspection of the count de Maillebois. By the detachments drawn from the French army in Flanders, count Saxe had found himself considerably weaker than the confederates: he threw up strong intrenchments behind the Lys, where he remained on the defensive, until he was reinforced by the count de Clermont, who commanded a separate body on the side of Newport. The allies, to the number of seventy thousand, passed the Schelde, and advanced towards Helchin; but the enemy being so advantageously posted, that they could not attack him with any prospect of advantage, they filed on in sight of Tournay; and on the eighth day of August encamped in the plains of Lisse, in hope of drawing count Saxe from the situation in which he was so strongly fortified. Here they foraged for several days, and laid the open country under contribution; but they made no attempt upon the place itself, which in all probability would have fallen into their hands had they invested it at their first approach; for then there was no other garrison but two or three battalions of militia: but count Saxe soon threw in a considerable reinforcement. The allies were unprovided with a train of battering cannon; and their commanders would not deviate from the usual forms of war. Besides, they were divided in their opinions, and despised one another. General Wade, who commanded the English and Hanoverians, was a vain, weak man, without confidence, weight, or authority; and the Austrian general, the duke d'Aremberg, was a proud, rapacious glutton, devoid of talents and sentiment. After having remained for some time in sight of Lisse, and made a general forage without molestation, they retired to their former camp on the Schelde, from whence they soon marched into winter-quarters. Count Saxe at length quitted his lines; and, by way of retaliation, sent out detachments to ravage the Low-Countries, to the very gates of Ghent and Bruges. The conduct of the allied generals was severely censured in England, and ridiculed in France, not only in private conversation but also on their public theatres, where it became the subject of farces and pantomimes.

§ XV. The campaign in Italy produced divers vicissitudes of fortune. The king of Naples having assembled an army, joined count Gages, and published a manifesto in vindication of his conduct, which was a direct violation of the neutrality he had promised to observe. He maintained, that his moderation had been undervalued by the courts of London and Vienna; that his fron-

tiers were threatened with the calamities of war; and that the queen of Hungary made no secret of her intention to invade his dominions. This charge was not without foundation. The emissaries of the house of Austria endeavoured to excite a rebellion in Naples, which prince Lobkowitz had orders to favour by an invasion. This general was encamped at Monte Rotundo, in the neighbourhood of Rome, when, in the month of June, the confederates advanced to Velletri. While the two armies remained in sight of each other, prince Lobkowitz detached a strong body of forces, under count Soro and general Gorani, who made an irruption into the province of Abruzzo, and took the city of Aquila, where they distributed a manifesto, in which the queen of Hungary exhorted the Neapolitans to shake off the Spanish yoke, and submit again to the house of Austria. This step, however, produced little or no effect; and the Austrian detachment retired at the approach of the duke of Vieuville, with a superior number of forces. In August, count Brown, at the head of an Austrian detachment, surprised Velletri in the night; and the king of the two Sicilies, with the duke of Modena, were in the utmost danger of being taken. They escaped by a postern with great difficulty, and repaired to the quarters of count Gages, who performed the part of a great general on this occasion. He rallied the fugitives, dispelled the panic and confusion which had begun to prevail in his camp, and made a disposition for cutting off the retreat of the Austrians. Count Brown, finding himself in danger of being surrounded, thought proper to secure his retreat, which he effected with great art and gallantry, carrying off a prodigious booty. Three thousand Spaniards are said to have fallen in this action; and eight hundred men were taken, with some standards and colours. Count Mariani, a Neapolitan general, was among the prisoners. The Austrians lost about six hundred men; and general Novati fell into the hands of the enemy: but the exploit produced no consequence of importance. The heats of autumn proved so fatal to the Austrians, who were not accustomed to the climate, that prince Lobkowitz saw his army mouldering away, without any possibility of its being recruited: besides, the country was so drained, that he could no longer procure subsistence. Impelled by these considerations, he meditated a retreat. On the eleventh day of November, he decamped from Faiola, marched under the walls of Rome, passed the Tyber at Ponte Molle, formerly known by the name of the Pons Milvius, which he had just time to break down behind him, when the vanguard of the Spaniards and Neapolitans appeared. Part of his rear-guard, however, was taken, with count Soro who commanded it, at Nocera; and his army suffered greatly by desertion. Nevertheless, he continued his retreat with equal skill and expedition, passed the mountains of Gubio, and by the way of Viterbo reached the Bolognese. The pope was altogether passive. In the beginning of the campaign, he had caressed Lobkowitz; and now he received the king of the two Sicilies with marks of the warmest affection. That prince having visited the chief curiosities of Rome, returned to Naples, leaving part of his troops under the command of count Gages.

§ XVI. Fortune likewise favoured his brother Don Philip in Savoy and Piedmont. He was early in the season joined at Antibes by the French army, under the conduct of the prince of Conti. In the latter end of March, the combined forces passed the Var, reduced the castle of Apremont, and entered the

the city of Nice, without opposition. In April, they attacked the king of Sardinia, who, with twenty thousand men, was strongly intrenched among the mountains at Villa Franca. The action was obstinate and bloody; but their numbers and perseverance prevailed. He was obliged to abandon his posts, and embark on board of the British squadron, which transported him and his troops to Vado. The intention of Don Philip was to penetrate through the territories of Genoa into the Milanese; but admiral Matthews, who hovered with a strong squadron on that coast, sent a message to the republic, declaring, that should the combined army be suffered to pass through her dominions, the king of Great-Britain would consider such a step as a breach of their neutrality. The senate, intimidated by this intimation, intreated the princes to desist from their design; and they resolved to chuse another route. They defiled towards Piedmont, and assaulted the strong post of Chateau-Dauphiné, defended by the king of Sardinia in person. After a desperate attack, in which they lost four thousand men, the place was taken; the garrison of Demont surrendered at discretion, and the whole country of Piedmont was laid under contribution. His Sardinian majesty was not in a condition to hazard a battle; and therefore posted himself at Saluzzes, in order to cover his capital. The combined army advanced to the strong and important town of Coni, which was invested in the beginning of September. Baron Leutrum the governor made an obstinate defence, and the situation of the place was such as rendered the siege difficult, tedious, and bloody. The king of Sardinia being reinforced by ten thousand Austrians, under general Pallavicini, advanced to its relief, and a battle ensued. The action was maintained with great vigour on both sides, till night, when his majesty finding it impracticable to force the enemy's intrenchments, retired in good order to his camp at Murassò. He afterwards found means to throw a reinforcement and supply of provisions into Coni; and the heavy rains that fell at this period, not only retarded, but even dispirited the besiegers. Nevertheless, the princes persisted in their design, notwithstanding a dearth of provisions, and the approach of winter, till the latter end of November, when the chevalier de Soto entered the place with six hundred fresh men. This incident was no sooner known, than the princes abandoned their enterprize; and leaving their sick and wounded to the mercy of the Piedmontese, marched back to Demont. Having dismantled the fortifications of this place, they retreated with great precipitation to Dauphiné, and were dreadfully harrassed by the Vaudois and light troops in the service of his Sardinian majesty, who now again saw himself in possession of Piedmont. The French troops were quartered in Dauphiné: but Don Philip still maintained his footing in Savoy, the inhabitants of which he fleeced without mercy.

§ XVII. After the action at Toulon nothing of consequence was achieved by the British squadron in the Mediterranean; and indeed the naval power of Great Britain was, during the summer, quite inactive. In the month of June, commodore Anson returned from his voyage of three years and nine months, in which he had surrounded the terraqueous globe. We have formerly observed, that he sailed with a small squadron to the South-Sea, in order to annoy the Spanish settlements of Chili and Peru. Two of his large ships having been separated from him in a storm before he weathered Cape-Horn, had put in at Rio de Janiero, on the coast of Brasil, from whence they returned to Europe.

A frigate, commanded by captain Cheap, was shipwrecked on a desolate island in the South-Sea. Mr. Anson having undergone a dreadful tempest, which dispersed his fleet, arrived at the island of Juan Fernandez, where he was joined by the Gloucester a ship of the line, a sloop and a pink loaded with provisions. These were the remains of his squadron. He made prize of several vessels; took and burned the little town of Payta, set sail from the coast of Mexico, for the Philippine isles; and in this passage the Gloucester was abandoned and sunk: the other vessels had been destroyed, for want of men to navigate them, so that nothing now remained but the commodore's own ship the Centurion, and that but very indifferently manned; for, the crews had been horribly thinned by sickness. Incredible were the hardships and misery they sustained from the shattered condition of the ships, and the scorbutic disorder, when they reached the plentiful island of Tinian, where they were supplied with the necessary refreshments. Thence they prosecuted their voyage to the river of Canton in China, where the commodore ordered the ship to be sheathed, and found means to procure a reinforcement of sailors. The chief object of his attention was the rich annual ship that sails between Acapulco in Mexico, and Manila one of the Philippine islands. In hope of intercepting her, he set sail from Canton, and steered his course back to the straits of Manilla, where she actually fell into his hands, after a short but vigorous engagement. The prize was called Nuestra Señora de Cabadonga, mounted with forty guns, manned with six hundred sailors, and loaded with treasure and effects to the value of three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds sterling: with this windfall, he returned to Canton; from whence he proceeded to the Cape of Good-Hope, and prosecuted his voyage to England, where he arrived in safety. Though this fortunate commander enriched himself by an occurrence that may be termed almost accidental, the British nation was not indemnified for the expence of the expedition, and the original design was intirely defeated. Had the Manilla ship escaped the vigilance of the English commodore, he might have been, at his return to England, laid aside as a superannuated captain, and died in obscurity: but, his great wealth invested him with considerable influence, and added lustre to his talents. He soon became the oracle which was consulted in all naval deliberations; and the king raised him to the dignity of a peerage. In July, Sir John Balchen, an admiral of approved valour and great experience, sailed from Spithead with a strong squadron, in quest of an opportunity to attack the French fleet at Brest, under the command of M. de Rochambault. In the bay of Biscay he was overtaken by a violent storm that dispersed the ships, and drove them up the English channel. Admiral Stewart, with the greater part of them, arrived at Plymouth; but Sir John Balchen's own ship the Victory, which was counted the most beautiful first rate in the world, foundered at sea; and this brave commander perished with all his officers, volunteers, and crew, amounting to eleven hundred choice seamen. On the fourth day of October, after the siege of Friburg, the marshal duke de Belleisle, and his brother, happened, in their way to Berlin, to halt at a village in the forest of Hartz, dependant on the electorate of Hanover. There they were apprehended by the bailiff of the place, and conducted as prisoners to Osterode; from whence they were removed to Stade on the Elbe, and there they embarked for England. They resided at Windsor till the following year, when they

they were allowed the benefit of the cartel which had been established between Great Britain and France at Franckfort, and released accordingly, after they had been treated by the British nobility with that respect and hospitality which was due to their rank and merit *.

§ XVIII. The dissensions in the British cabinet were now ripened into another revolution in the ministry. Lord Carteret, who was by this time earl of Granville, in consequence of his mother's death, had engrossed the royal favour so much, that the duke of N—— and his brother are said to have taken umbrage at his influence and greatness. He had incurred the resentment of those who were distinguished by the appellation of Patriots, and intirely forfeited his popularity. The two brothers were very powerful by their parliamentary interest: they knew their own strength, and engaged in a political alliance with the leading men in the opposition, against the prime-minister and his measures. This coalition was dignified with the epithet of "The Broad Bottom," as if it had been established on a true constitutional foundation, comprehending individuals of every class, without distinction of party. The appellation, however, which they assumed, was afterwards converted into a term of derision. The earl of G—— perceiving the gathering storm, and foreseeing the impossibility of withstanding such an opposition in parliament, wisely avoided the impending danger and disgrace, by a voluntary resignation of his employments. The earl of Harrington succeeded him as secretary of state. The duke of Bedford was appointed first lord of the admiralty, and the earl of Chesterfield declared lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The lords Gower and Cobham were re-established in the offices they had resigned: Mr. Littleton was admitted as a commissioner of the treasury; even Sir John Hynd-Cotton accepted of a place at court; and Sir John Phillips sat at the board of trade and plantations, though he soon renounced this employment. This was rather a change of men than of measures, and turned out to the ease and advantage of the sovereign; for, his views were no longer thwarted by an obstinate opposition in parliament. The session was opened on the twenty-eighth day of November, in the usual manner; and the commons unanimously granted about six millions and an half for the service of the ensuing year, to be raised by the land, the malt, and the salt-taxes, the sinking-fund, and an additional duty on wines. In January, the earl of Chesterfield set out for the Hague, with the character of ambassador-extraordinary, to persuade, if possible, the states-general to engage heartily in the war. About the same time, a treaty of quadruple alliance was signed at Warsaw, by the queen of Hungary, the king of Poland, and the maritime powers. This was a mutual guaranty of the dominions belonging to the contracting parties; but, his Polish majesty was paid for his concurrence, with an annual subsidy of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, two thirds of which were defrayed by England, and the remainder was disbursed by the United-Provinces †.

* Mr. Pope, the celebrated poet, died in the month of June; and in October, the old dutchess of Marlborough resigned her breath, in the eighty fifth year of her age; immensely rich, and very little regretted, either by her own family, or the world in general.

† Robert earl of Orford, late prime minister, died in March, after having for a very short time

enjoyed a pension of four thousand pounds granted by the crown, in consideration of his past services. Though he had for such a length of time directed the application of the public treasure, his circumstances were not affluent; he was liberal in his disposition, and had such a number of rapacious dependants to gratify, that little was left for his own private occasions.

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§ XIX. The business of the British parliament being discussed, the session was closed in the beginning of May; and immediately after the prorogation, the king set out for Hanover. The death of the emperor Charles VII. which happened in the month of January, had intirely changed the face of affairs in the empire; and all the princes of Germany were in commotion. The grand duke of Tuscany, consort to her Hungarian majesty, was immediately declared a candidate for the imperial crown: while his pretensions were warmly opposed by the French king and his allies. The court of Vienna taking advantage of the late emperor's death, sent an army to invade Bavaria in the month of March, under the conduct of general Bathiani, who routed the French and Palatine troops at Pfiffenhoven; took possession of Rain, surrounded and disarmed six thousand Hessians in the neighbourhood of Ingoldstadt, and drove the Bavarian forces out of the electorate. The young elector was obliged to abandon his capital, and retire to Augsburg, where he found himself in danger of losing all his dominions. In this emergency, he yielded to the earnest solicitations of the empress his mother, enforced by the advice of his uncle the elector of Cologne, and of his general count Seckendorff, who exhorted him to be reconciled to the court of Vienna. A negotiation was immediately begun at Fuesien, where in April the treaty was concluded. The queen consented to recognize the imperial dignity, as having been vested in the person of his father; to acknowledge his mother as empress dowager; to restore his dominions, with all the fortresses, artillery, stores, and ammunition, which she had taken: on the other hand, he renounced all claim to the succession of her father, and became guarantee of the pragmatic sanction. He acknowledged the validity of the electoral vote of Bohemia in the person of the queen; and engaged to give his vote for the grand duke, at the ensuing election of a king of the Romans. Until that should be determined, both parties agreed that Ingoldstadt should be garrisoned by neutral troops; and that Braunau and Schardingien, with all the country lying between the Inn and the Saltza, should remain in the queen's possession, though without prejudice to the civil government, or the elector's revenue. In the mean time he dismissed the auxiliaries that were in his pay, and they were permitted to retire without molestation.

§ XX. The court of Vienna had now secured the votes of all the electors, except those of Brandenburg and the Palatinate. Nevertheless, France assembled a powerful army in the neighbourhood of Franckfort, in order to influence the election. But the Austrian army, commanded by the grand duke in person, marched thither from the Danube; and the prince of Conti was obliged to repass the Rhine at Nordlingen. Then the great duke repaired to Franckfort, where, on the second day of September he was by a majority of voices declared king of the Romans, and emperor of Germany. Mean while the king of Prussia had made great progress in the conquest of Silesia. The campaign began in January, when the Hungarian insurgents were obliged to retire into Moravia. In the following month the Prussian general Lehwald defeated a body of twelve thousand Austrians, commanded by general Helfrich: the town of Ratibor was taken by assault; and the king entered Silesia in May, at the head of seventy thousand men. Prince Charles of Lorraine being joined by the duke of Saxe-Weissenfels and twenty thousand Saxons, penetrated into Silesia by the defiles of Landshut; and were attacked by his Prussian majesty

in the plains of Strigan, near Friedbergh. The battle was maintained from morning till noon, when the Saxons giving way, prince Charles was obliged to retire with the loss of twelve thousand men, and a great number of colours, standards, and artillery. This victory, obtained on the fourth day of June, complete as it was, did not prove decisive; for, though the victor transferred the seat of the war into Bohemia, and maintained his army by raising contributions in that country, the Austrians resolved to hazard another engagement. Their aim was to surprise him in his camp at Sohr, which they attacked on the thirtieth of September, at day-break; but they met with such a warm reception, that notwithstanding their repeated efforts during the space of four hours, they were repulsed with considerable damage; and retreated to Jaromire, leaving five thousand killed upon the spot, besides two thousand that were taken, with many standards and twenty pieces of cannon. The loss of this battle was in a great measure owing to the avarice of the irregulars, who having penetrated into the Prussian camp, began to pillage with great eagerness, giving the king an opportunity to rally his disordered troops, and restore the battle: nevertheless, they retired with the plunder of his baggage, including his military chest, the officers of his chancery, his own secretary, and all the papers of his cabinet.

§ XXI. After this action his Prussian majesty returned to Berlin; and breathed nothing but peace and moderation. In August he had signed a convention with the king of Great-Britain, who became guarantee of his possessions in Silesia, as yielded by the treaty of Breslau; and he promised to vote for the grand duke of Tuscany at the election of an emperor. This was intended as the basis of a more general accommodation. But, he now pretended to have received undoubted intelligence, that the king of Poland and the queen of Hungary had agreed to invade Brandenburg with three different armies; and, that for this purpose his Polish majesty had demanded of the czarina the succours stipulated by treaty between the two crowns. Alarmed, or seemingly alarmed at this information, he solicited the maritime powers to fulfil their engagements; and interpose their good offices with the court of Petersburg. Yet, far from waiting for the result of these remonstrances, he made a sudden irruption into Lusatia, took possession of Gorlitz, and obliged prince Charles of Lorraine to retire before him into Bohemia. Then he entered Leipsick, and layed Saxony under contribution. The king of Poland, unable to resist the torrent, quitted his capital and took refuge in Prague. His troops, reinforced by a body of Austrians, were defeated at Pirna on the fifteenth day of December; and his Prussian majesty became master of Dresden without further opposition. The king of Poland, thus deprived of his hereditary dominions, was fain to acquiesce in such terms as the conqueror thought proper to impose; and the treaty of Dresden was concluded under the mediation of his Britannic majesty. By this convention the king of Prussia retained all the contributions he had levied in Saxony; and was intitled to a million of German crowns, to be payed by his Polish majesty at the next fair of Leipsick. He and the elector Palatine consented to acknowledge the grand duke as emperor of Germany; and this last confirmed to his Prussian majesty certain privileges *de non evocando*, which had been granted by the late emperor, with regard to some territories possessed by the king of Prussia, though not belonging to the electorate of Brandenburg.

Immediately after the ratification of this treaty, the Prussian troops evacuated Saxony; and the peace of Germany was restored.

§ XXII. Though the French king could not prevent the elevation of the grand duke to the Imperial throne, he resolved to humble the house of Austria, by making a conquest of the Netherlands. A prodigious army was there assembled, under the auspices of marechal count de Saxe; and his most christian majesty, with the dauphin, arriving in the camp, they invested the strong town of Tournay on the thirtieth day of April. The Dutch garrison consisted of eight thousand men, commanded by the old baron Dorth, who made a vigorous defence. The duke of Cumberland assumed the chief command of the allied army assembled at Soignies; and he was assisted with the advice of the count Konigsfeg, an Austrian general, and the prince of Waldeck, commander of the Dutch forces. Their army was greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy; nevertheless, they resolved to march to the relief of Tournay. They accordingly advanced to Leuse; and on the twenty-eighth day of April took post at Maulbre, in sight of the French army, which was encamped on an eminence from the village of Antoine to a large wood beyond Vezon, having Fontenoy in their front. Next day was employed by the allies in driving the enemy from some outposts, and clearing the defiles through which they were obliged to advance to the attack; while the French completed their batteries, and made the most formidable preparations for their reception. On the thirtieth day of April the duke of Cumberland having made the proper dispositions, began his march to the enemy at two o'clock in the morning: a brisk cannonade ensued; and about nine both armies were engaged. The British infantry drove the French beyond their lines; but, the left wing failing in the attack on the village of Fontenoy, and the cavalry forbearing to advance on the flanks, they measured back their ground with some disorder, from the prodigious fire of the French batteries. They rallied, however, and returning to the charge with redoubled ardour, repulsed the enemy to their camp with great slaughter; but, being wholly unsupported by the other wing, and exposed both in front and flank to a dreadful fire which did great execution, the duke was obliged to make the necessary dispositions for a retreat about three o'clock in the afternoon; and this was effected in tolerable order. The battle was fought with great obstinacy, and the carnage on both sides was very considerable. The allies lost about twelve thousand men, including a good number of officers; and among these lieutenant-general Campbell, and major-general Ponsonby. The victory cost the French almost an equal number of lives; and although the attack was generally judged rash and precipitate, the British and Hanoverian troops fought with such intrepidity and perseverance, that if they had been properly sustained by the Dutch forces, and their flanks covered by the cavalry, the French, in all likelihood, would have been obliged to abandon their enterprize. The duke of Cumberland left his sick and wounded to the humanity of the victors; and retiring to Aeth, encamped in an advantageous situation at Lessines. The garrison of Tournay, though now deprived of all hope of succour, maintained the place to the twenty-first day of June, when the governor obtained an honourable capitulation. After the conquest of Tournay, which was dismantled, the duke of Cumberland apprehending the enemy had a design upon Ghent,

sent a detachment of four thousand men to reinforce the garrison of that city; but, they fell into an ambuscade at Pas-du-mêle; and were killed or taken, except a few dragoons that escaped to Ostend: on that very night, which was the twelfth of June, Ghent was surpris'd by a detachment of the French army. Then they invested Ostend, which, though defended by an English garrison, and open to the sea, was after a short siege surrendered by capitulation on the fourteenth day of August. Dendermonde, Oudenarde, Newport, and Aeth, underwent the same fate; while the allied army lay intrenched beyond the canal of Antwerp: and the French king having subdued the greatest part of the Austrian Netherlands, returned to Paris, which he entered in triumph.

§ XXIII. The campaign in Italy was unpropitious to the queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia. Count Gages pass'd the Appenines, and entered the state of Lucca; from thence he proceeded by the eastern coast of Genoa to Lestride-Levante. The junction of the two armies was thus accomplished, and reinforced with ten thousand Genoese: mean while prince Lobkowitz decamp'd from Modena, and took post at Parma; but, he was soon succeeded by count Schuylemberg, and sent to command the Austrians in Bohemia. The Spaniards entered the Milanese without further opposition. Count Gages with thirty thousand men took possession of Serravalle; and advancing towards Placentia, oblig'd the Austrians to retire under the cannon of Tortona: but, when Don Philip, at the head of forty thousand troops, made himself master of Acqui, the king of Sardinia and the Austrian general, unable to stem the torrent, retreated behind the Tanaro. The strong citadel of Tortona was taken by the Spaniards, who likewise reduced Parma and Placentia; and forcing the passage of the Tanaro, compelled his Sardinian majesty to take shelter on the other side of the Po. Then Pavia was won by scalade; and the city of Milan submitted to the infant, though the Austrian garrison still maintained the citadel: all Piedmont, on both sides of the Po, as far as Turin, was reduced, and even that capital threatened with a siege: so that by the month of October the territories belonging to the house of Austria, in Italy, were wholly subdued; and the king of Sardinia stripp'd of all his dominions: yet he continued firm and true to his engagements, and deaf to all proposals of a separate accommodation.

§ XXIV. The naval transactions of Great-Britain were in the course of this year remarkably spirited. In the Mediterranean, admiral Rowley had succeeded Matthews in the command; and Savona, Genoa, Final, St. Remo, with Bastia the capital of Corsica, were bombard'd: several Spanish ships were taken; but he could not prevent the safe arrival of their rich Havannah Squadron at Corunna. Commodore Barnet in the East-Indies made prize of several French ships richly laden; and commodore Townshend, in the latitude of Martinico, took about thirty merchant ships belonging to the enemy, under convoy of four ships of war, two of which were destroyed. The English privateers likewise met with uncommon success. But the most important atchievement was the conquest of Louisburgh on the isle of Cape-Breton, in North-America; a place of great consequence, which the French had fortified at a prodigious expence. The scheme of reducing this fortress was planned in Boston, recommended by their general assembly, and approved by his majesty, who sent instructions to commodore Warren, station'd off the Leeward-Islands, to sail for the northern parts of America, and co-operate with the forces of New-England in this expedition.

A body of six thousand men was formed under the conduct of Mr. Pepperel, a trader of Piscataway, whose influence was extensive in that country; though he was a man of little or no education, and utterly unacquainted with military operations. In April Mr. Warren arrived at Canis with ten ships of war; and the troops of New-England being embarked in transports, sailed immediately for the isle of Cape-Breton, where they landed without opposition. The enemy abandoned their grand battery, which was detached from the town; and the immediate seizure of it contributed in a good measure to the success of the enterprize. While the American troops, reinforced by eight hundred marines, carried on their approaches by land, the squadron blocked up the place by sea in such a manner, that no succours could be introduced. A French ship of the line, with some smaller vessels destined for the relief of the garrison, were intercepted and taken by the British cruisers; and indeed, the reduction of Louisburgh was chiefly owing to the vigilance and activity of Mr. Warren, one of the bravest and best officers in the service of England. The operations of the siege were wholly conducted by the engineers and officers who commanded the British marines; and the Americans being ignorant of war, were contented to act under their directions. The town being considerably damaged by the bombs and bullets of the besiegers, and the governor despairing of relief, capitulated on the seventeenth day of June, when the city of Louisburgh, and the isle of Cape-Breton, were surrendered to his Britannic majesty. The garrison and inhabitants engaged, that they would not bear arms for twelve months against Great-Britain or her allies; and being embarked in fourteen cartel ships, were transported to Rochfort. In a few days after the surrender of Louisburgh, two French East-India ships, and another from Peru laden with treasure, sailed into the harbour, on the supposition that it still belonged to France; and were taken by the English squadron.

§ XXV. The news of this conquest being transmitted to England, Mr. Pepperel was preferred to the dignity of a knight-baronet; and congratulatory addresses were presented to the king on the success of his majesty's arms. The possession of Cape-Breton was, doubtless, a valuable acquisition to Great-Britain. It not only distressed the French in their fishery and navigation, but removed all fears of encroachment and rivalry from the English fishers on the banks of Newfoundland. It freed New-England from the terrors of a dangerous neighbour; overawed the Indians of that country; and secured the possession of Acadia to the crown of Great-Britain. The plan of this conquest was originally layed by Mr. Auchmuty, judge-advocate of the court of admiralty in New-England. He demonstrated, that the reduction of Cape-Breton would put the English in sole possession of the fishery of North-America, which would annually return to Great-Britain two millions sterling for the manufactures yearly shipped to the plantations; employ many thousand families that were otherwise unserviceable to the public; increase the shipping and mariners; extend navigation; cut off all communication between France and Canada by the river St. Laurence; so that Quebec would fall of course into the hands of the English, who might expel the French entirely from America, open a correspondence with the remote Indians, and render themselves masters of the profitable fur-trade, which was now engrossed by the enemy. The natives of New-England acquired great glory from the success of this enterprize. Britain, which had in some instances

instances behaved like a stepmother to her own colonies, was now convinced of their importance; and treated those as brethren whom she had too long considered as aliens and rivals. Circumstanced as the nation is, the legislature cannot too tenderly cherish the interests of the British plantations in America. They are inhabited by a brave, hardy, industrious people, animated with an active spirit of commerce; inspired with a noble zeal for liberty and independence. The trade of Great-Britain, clogged with heavy taxes and impositions, has for some time languished in many valuable branches. The French have underfold our cloths, and spoiled our markets in the Levant. Spain is no longer supplied as usual with the commodities of England: the exports to Germany must be considerably diminished, by the misunderstanding between Great-Britain and the house of Austria; consequently her greatest resource must be in her communication with her own colonies, which consume her manufactures, and make immense returns in sugar, rum, tobacco, fish, timber, naval stores, iron, furs, drugs, rice, and indigo. The southern plantations likewise produce silk; and with due encouragement might furnish every thing that could be expected from the most fertile soil and the happiest climate. The continent of North-America, if properly cultivated, will prove an inexhaustible fund of wealth and strength to Great-Britain; and perhaps it may become the last asylum of British liberty, when the nation is enslaved by domestic despotism or foreign dominion; when her substance is wasted, her spirit broke, and the laws and constitution of England are no more: then those colonies sent off by our fathers may receive and entertain their sons as hapless exiles and ruined refugees.

§ XXVI. While the continent of Europe and the isles of America were thus exposed to the ravages of war, and subjected to such vicissitudes of fortune, Great-Britain underwent a dangerous convulsion in her own bowels. The son of the chevalier de St. George, fired with ambition, and animated with the hope of ascending the throne of his ancestors, resolved to make an effort for that purpose, which, though it might not be crowned with success, should at least astonish all Christendom. Whether he was invited and encouraged by the solicitations and promises of those in Great-Britain, who wished well to his father's house, or chiefly depended upon the assistance of the French monarch; or was induced by these concurring motives, we shall not pretend to determine; but, if we judge from appearances, he seems to have projected a revolution on the strength of his own personal interest and qualifications. He knew, indeed, the principles and characters of those individuals who adhered to the Stuart family; because they had always in secret maintained a correspondence with his father: and, in all probability, he was cajoled by the sanguine misrepresentations of a few adventurers who hoped to profit by the expedition. They assured him, that the whole nation was disaffected to the reigning family: that the people could no longer bear the immense load of taxes, which was daily increasing; and, that the most considerable persons of the kingdom would gladly seize the first opportunity of crowding to his standard. He was at the same time regaled with the promise of powerful succours from France, though the ministry of that kingdom were never hearty in his cause: nevertheless they foresaw, that his appearance in England would embarrass the government, and make a considerable diversion in their favour. Certain it is, that if he had been properly supported, he could not have found a more favourable opportunity of exciting an intestine commotion

commotion in Great-Britain; for Scotland was quite unfurnished with troops, king George was in Germany, and great part of the Highlanders were keen for insurrection. Their natural principles were on this occasion stimulated by the suggestions of revenge. At the beginning of the war a regiment of those people had been formed, and transported with the rest of the British troops to Flanders. Before they were embarked, a number of them deserted with their arms, on pretence, that they had been decoyed into the service, by promises and assurances that they should never be sent abroad; and this was really the case. They were overtaken by a body of horse, persuaded to submit, brought back to London pinioned like malefactors, and tried for desertion. Three were shot to death in *terrorem*; and the rest were sent in exile to the plantations. Those who suffered were persons of some consequence in their own country; and their fate was deeply resented by the clans to which they belonged. It was considered as a national outrage; and the Highlanders, who are naturally vindictive, waited impatiently for an opportunity of vengeance.

§ XXVII. The young pretender being furnished with a sum of money, and a supply of arms by the ministry of France, embarked on board of a small frigate at port St. Lazare, accompanied by the marquis of Tullibardine, Sir Thomas Sheridan, with a few other Irish and Scottish adventurers; and setting sail on the fourteenth of July, was off Belleisle joined by the Elizabeth, a French ship of war mounted with sixty-six guns, as his convoy. Their design was to sail round Ireland, and land in the western part of Scotland; but falling in with the Lion, an English ship of the line, a very obstinate and bloody action ensued. The Elizabeth was so disabled that she could not prosecute the voyage, and with difficulty reached the harbour of Brest; but the Lion was shattered to such a degree, that she floated like a wreck upon the water. Prince Charles in the frigate continued his course to the western isles of Scotland; and landing on the coast of Lochaber, was in a little time joined by a considerable number of hardy mountainers, under their respective chiefs or leaders. Some of those, however, on whom he principally depended, now stood aloof, either fluctuating in their principles, astonished at the boldness of the undertaking, or startled at the remonstrances of their friends, who did not fail to represent in aggravated colours, all the danger of embarking in such a desperate enterprize. Had the government acted with proper vigour when they received intelligence of his arrival, the adventure must have been crushed in embryo before any considerable number of his adherents could have been brought together; but, the lords of the regency seemed to slight the information, and even to suspect the integrity of those by whom it was conveyed. They were soon convinced of their mistake. Prince Charles, having assembled about fifteen hundred men, encamped in the neighbourhood of Fort William; and immediately hostilities were commenced. A detachment from his main body surprised two companies of new-raised soldiers, who, with their officer, were disarmed after an obstinate dispute; another captain of the king's forces falling into their hands, was courteously dismissed with one of the pretender's manifestos, and a passport for his personal safety. The administration was now effectually alarmed. The lords of the regency issued a proclamation, offering a reward of thirty thousand pounds to any person who should apprehend the prince-adventurer; and a courier was dispatched to Holland to hasten the return of his majesty, who arrived in England about the latter

latter end of August. A requisition was made of the six thousand Dutch auxiliaries; and several British regiments were recalled from the Netherlands. A loyal address was presented to the king by the city of London; and the merchants of this metropolis resolved to raise two regiments at their own expence. Orders were issued to keep the trained bands in readiness; to array the militia of Westminster; and instructions to the same effect were sent to all the lords-lieutenants of the counties throughout the kingdom. The principal noblemen of the nation made a tender of their services to their sovereign; and some of them received commissions to levy regiments towards the suppression of the rebellion. Bodies of volunteers were incorporated in London, and many other places; associations formed, large contributions raised in different towns, counties, and communities; and a great number of eminent merchants in London agreed to support the public credit, by receiving, as usual, bank notes in payment, for the purposes of traffic. The protestant clergy of all denominations exerted themselves with extraordinary ardour, in preaching against the religion of Rome and the pretender; and the friends of the government were encouraged, animated, and confirmed in their principles, by several spirited productions published for the occasion.

§ XXVIII. In a word, the whole nation seemed unanimously bent upon opposing the enterprize of the pretender, who, nevertheless, had already made surprising progress. His arrival in Scotland was no sooner confirmed, than Sir John Cope, who commanded the troops in that kingdom, assembled what force he could bring together, and advanced against the rebels. Understanding, however, that they had taken possession of a strong pass, he changed his route, and proceeded northwards as far as Inverness, leaving the capital and the southern parts of North-Britain wholly exposed to the incursions of the enemy. They forthwith marched to Perth, where the chevalier de St. George was proclaimed king of Great-Britain, and the public money seized for his use: the same steps were taken at Dundee, and other places. Here prince Charles was joined by the nobleman who assumed the title of duke of Perth, the viscount Strathallan, lord Nairn, lord George Murray, and many persons of distinction, with their followers. The marquis of Tullibardine, who had accompanied him from France, took possession of Athol, as heir of blood to the titles and estate which his younger brother enjoyed in consequence of his attainder; and met with some success in arming the tenants for the support of that cause which he avowed. The rebel army being considerably augmented, though very ill provided with arms, crossed the Forth in the neighbourhood of Stirling, and advanced towards Edinburgh, which they entered without opposition. The inhabitants were divided by faction and distracted by fear: the place was not in a posture of defence, and the magistrates would not expose the people to the uncertain issue of an assault. In September, the rebels were admitted into the city; and their prince took possession of the royal palace of Holyrood house, in the suburbs. Then he caused his father to be proclaimed at the market-cross; and there also the manifesto was read, in which the chevalier de St. George declared his son Charles regent of his dominions, promised to dissolve the union, and redress the grievances of Scotland. His being in possession of the capital encouraged his followers, and added reputation to his arms: but he missed his aim of seizing the treasure belonging to the two banks of that kingdom, which had been previously conveyed into the castle, a strong fortress,

fortress, with a good garrison under the command of general Gueft, an officer of experience and capacity.

§ XXIX. During these transactions, Sir John Cope marched back from Inverness to Aberdeen, where he embarked with his troops, and on the sixteenth day of September landed at Dunbar, about twenty miles to the eastward of Edinburgh. Here he was joined by two regiments of dragoons, which had retired from the capital at the approach of the Highland army. With this reinforcement, his troops amounted to three thousand men, including some Highlanders well-affected to the government, who had offered their services to him at Inverness; and he began his march for Edinburgh, in order to give battle to the enemy. On the twentieth day of the month, he encamped in the neighbourhood of Preston-pans, having the village of Tranent in his front, and the sea in his rear. Early next morning he was attacked by the young pretender, at the head of about three thousand Highlanders half armed, who charged him sword in hand, with such impetuosity, that in less than ten minutes after the battle began, the king's troops were broken and totally routed. The dragoons fled with great precipitation at the first onset: the general officers having made some unsuccessful efforts to rally them, thought proper to consult their own safety by an expeditious retreat towards Berwick. All the infantry was either killed or taken; and the colours, artillery, tents, baggage, and military chest, fell into the hands of the victor, who returned in triumph to Edinburgh. Never was victory more complete, or obtained at a smaller expence; for not above fourscore of the rebels lost their lives in the engagement. Five hundred of the king's troops were killed on the field of battle; and among these colonel Gardiner, a gallant officer, who disdained to save his life at the expence of his honour. When abandoned by his own regiment of dragoons, he alighted from his horse, joined the infantry, and fought on foot, until he fell covered with wounds, in sight of his own threshold. Prince Charles bore his good fortune with moderation. The wounded soldiers were treated with humanity; and the officers were sent into Fife and Angus, where they were left at liberty on their parole, which the greater part of them shamefully broke in the sequel. From this victory the pretender reaped manifold and important advantages. His followers were armed, his party encouraged, and his enemies intimidated. He was supplied with a train of field-artillery, and a considerable sum of money, and saw himself possessed of all Scotland, except the fortresses, the reduction of which he could not pretend to undertake without proper implements and engineers. After the battle he was joined by a small detachment from the Highlands; and some chiefs, who had hitherto been on the reserve, began to exert their influence in his favour. But he was not yet in a condition to take advantage of that consternation which his late success had diffused through the kingdom of England.

§ XXX. He continued to reside in the palace of Holy-rood house; and made some unsuccessful attempts to cut off the communication between the castle and the city. He levied a regiment in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood. He imposed taxes; seized the merchandise that was deposited in the king's warehouses at Leith, and other places; compelled the city of Glasgow to accommodate him with a large sum, and layed the country under contribution. The number of his followers daily increased; and he received considerable

siderable supplies of money, artillery, and ammunition, by single ships that arrived from France, where his interest seemed to rise in proportion to the success of his arms. The greater and richer part of Scotland was averse to his family and pretensions: but the people were unarmed and undisciplined, consequently passive under his dominion. Several powerful chiefs in the Highlands were attached to the government, and exerted themselves in its defence. The duke of Argyle began to arm his vassals: twelve hundred men were raised by the earl of Sutherland: the lord Rae brought a considerable number to the field: the Grants and Monroes appeared under their respective leaders for the service of his majesty: Sir Alexander Macdonald and the laird of Macleod sent two thousand hardy Islanders from Skie, to strengthen the same interest. These gentlemen were governed and directed by the advice of Duncan Forbes, president of the college of justice at Edinburgh, a man of extensive knowledge, agreeable manners, and unblemished integrity. He acted with indefatigable zeal for the interest of the reigning family; and even exhausted an opulent fortune in their service. He confirmed several chiefs who began to waver in their principles: some he actually converted by the energy of his arguments, and brought over to the assistance of the government, which they had determined to oppose: others he persuaded to remain quiet, without taking any share in the present troubles. The earl of Loudon repaired to Inverness, where he completed his regiment of Highlanders; directed the conduct of the clans who had taken arms in behalf of his majesty; and, by his vigilance, overawed the disaffected chieftains of that country who had not yet openly engaged in the rebellion. By this time, however, the prince-pretender was joined by the earl of Kilmarnock, the lords Elcho, Balmerino, Ogilvy, Pitligo; and the eldest son of lord Lovat had begun to assemble his father's clan, in order to reinforce the victorious adventurer, whose army lay encamped by Dalkeith, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. Kilmarnock, Pitligo, and Balmerino, were men of broken and desperate fortune: Elcho and Ogilvie were sons to the earls of Wemys and Airly; so that their influence was far from being extensive. But great dependance was placed upon the power and attachment of lord Lovat, who had entered into private engagements with the chevalier de St. George; though he still wore the mask of loyalty to the government, and disavowed the conduct of his son when he declared for the pretender. This old nobleman is the same Simon Frazer whom we have had occasion to mention as a partisan and emissary of the court of St. Germans, in the year one thousand seven hundred and eight. He had renounced his connections with that family; and, in the rebellion immediately after the accession of king George I. approved himself a warm friend to the protestant succession. Since that period he had been induced, either by disgust or ambition, to change his principles again, and was in secret an enthusiast in jacobitism. He had greatly augmented his estate; and obtained a considerable interest in the Highlands, where, however, he was rather dreaded than beloved. He was bold, enterprising, vain, arbitrary, rapacious; cruel, and deceitful: but his character was chiefly marked by a species of low cunning and dissimulation, which, however, overshot his purpose, and contributed to his own ruin.

§ XXXI. While the young pretender endeavoured to improve the advantages he had gained, the ministry of Great-Britain took every possible measure to retard his progress. Immediately after the defeat of Cope, six thousand Dutch troops arrived in England, and three battalions of guards, with seven regiments of infantry, were recalled from Flanders for the defence of the kingdom. They forthwith began their march to the North, under the command of general Wade, who received orders to assemble an army, which proceeded to Newcastle. The parliament meeting on the sixteenth day of October, his majesty gave them to understand, that an unnatural rebellion had broke out in Scotland, towards the suppression of which he craved their advice and assistance. He found both houses cordial in their addresses, and zealous in their attachment to his person and government. The commons forthwith suspended the habeas corpus act, and several persons were apprehended on suspicion of treasonable practices. Immediately after the session was opened, the duke of Cumberland arrived from the Netherlands, and was followed by another detachment of dragoons and infantry. The trained-bands of London were reviewed by his majesty: the county regiments were completed: the volunteers in different parts of the kingdom employed themselves industriously in the exercise of arms; and the whole English nation seemed to rise up as one man against this formidable invader. The government being apprehensive of a descent from France, appointed admiral Vernon to command a squadron in the Downs, to observe the motions of the enemy by sea, especially in the harbours of Dunkirk and Boulogne; and his cruizers took several ships loaded with soldiers, officers, and ammunition, destined for the service of the pretender in Scotland.

§ XXXII. This enterprising youth having collected about five thousand men, resolved to make an irruption into England, which he accordingly entered by the west border on the sixth day of November. Carlisle was invested, and in less than three days surrendered: here he found a considerable quantity of arms, and was proclaimed king of Great-Britain. General Wade being apprised of his progress, decamped from Newcastle, and advanced across the country as far as Hexham, though the fields were covered with snow, and the roads almost impassable. Here he received intelligence that Carlisle was reduced, and forthwith returned to his former station. In the mean time, orders were issued for assembling another army in Staffordshire, under the command of Sir John Ligonier. Prince Charles, notwithstanding this formidable opposition, determined to proceed. He had received assurances from France, that a considerable body of troops would be landed on the southern coast of Britain, to make a diversion in his favour; and he never doubted but that he should be joined by all the English malcontents, as soon as he could penetrate into the heart of the kingdom. Leaving a small garrison in the castle of Carlisle, he advanced to Penrith, marching on foot in the Highland garb, at the head of his forces; and continued his route through Lancaster and Preston to Manchester, where, on the twenty-ninth day of the month, he established his head-quarters. Here he was joined by about two hundred Englishmen, who were formed into a regiment, under the command of colonel Townley. The inhabitants seemed to receive him with marks of affection; and his arrival was celebrated by illuminations and other public

rejoicings. His intention was to prosecute his march by the way of Chester into Wales, where he hoped to find a great number of adherents; but all the bridges over the river Mersey being broke down, he chose the route to Stockport, and forded the river at the head of his division, though the water rose to his middle. He passed through Macclesfield and Congleton; and, on the fourth day of December entered the town of Derby, in which his army was quartered, and himself proclaimed with great formality. He had now advanced within one hundred miles of the capital, which was filled with terror and confusion. Wade lingered in Yorkshire: the duke of Cumberland had assumed the command of the other army assembled in the neighbourhood of Litchfield. He had marched from Stafford to Stone; so that the rebels, in turning off by Ashborne to Derby, had gained a march between him and London. Had this adventurer proceeded in his career with that expedition which he had hitherto used, he might have made himself master of the metropolis, where he would have been certainly joined by a considerable number of his well-wishers, who waited impatiently for his approach: yet this exploit could not have been achieved without hazarding an engagement. Orders were given for forming a camp on Finchley-common, where the king resolved to take the field in person, accompanied by the earl of Stair, field-marechal and commander in chief of the forces in South-Britain. Some romish priests were apprehended: the militia of London and Middlesex were kept in readiness to march: double watches were posted at the city-gates, and signals of alarm appointed. The volunteers of the city were incorporated into a regiment: the practitioners of the law, headed by the judges: the weavers of Spittlefields, and other communities, engaged in associations; and even the managers of the theatres offered to raise a body of their dependants for the service of the government. Notwithstanding these precautions and appearances of unanimity, the trading part of the city, and those concerned in the money-corporations, were overwhelmed with fear and dejection. They reposed very little confidence in the courage or discipline of their militia and volunteers: they had received intelligence that the French were employed in making preparations at Dunkirk and Calais for a descent upon England: they dreaded an insurrection of the roman catholics, and other friends of the house of Stuart; and they reflected that the Highlanders, of whom by this time they had conceived a most terrible idea, were within four days march of the capital. Alarmed by these considerations, they prognosticated their own ruin in the approaching revolution; and their countenances exhibited the plainest marks of horror and despair. On the other hand, the jacobites were elevated to an insolence of hope, which they were at no pains to conceal; while many people who had no private property to lose, and thought no change would be for the worse, waited the issue of this crisis with the most calm indifference.

§ XXXIII. This state of suspense was of short duration. The young pretender found himself miserably disappointed in his expectations. He had now advanced into the middle of the kingdom, and, except a few that joined him at Manchester, not a soul appeared in his behalf: one would have imagined that all the jacobites of England had been annihilated. The Welsh took no step towards an insurrection in his favour: the French made no attempt towards an invasion: his court was divided into factions: the Highland chiefs

began to murmur, and their clans to be unruly: he saw himself with a handful of men hemmed in between two considerable armies, in the middle of winter, and in a country disaffected to his cause. He knew he could not proceed to the metropolis without hazarding a battle, and that a defeat would be attended with the inevitable destruction of himself and all his adherents. He called a council at Derby; and, after violent disputes, the majority determined, that they should retreat to Scotland with all possible expedition. Accordingly they abandoned Derby on the sixth day of December, early in the morning, and marched with such celerity, that on the ninth their van-guard arrived at Manchester; on the twelfth they entered Preston, and continued their route northwards. The duke of Cumberland, who was encamped at Meriden, when first apprised of their retreat, detached the horse and dragoons in pursuit of them; while general Wade began his march from Ferrybridge into Lancashire, with a view of intercepting them in their route: but at Wakefield he understood that they had already reached Wigan; and therefore he repaired to his old post at Newcastle, after having detached general Oglethorpe with his horse and dragoons, to join those who had been sent off from the duke's army. They pursued with such alacrity, that they overtook the rear of the rebels, with which they skirmished in Lancashire. The militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland were raised and armed by the duke's order, to harass them in their march. The bridges were broken down, the roads damaged, and the beacons lighted to alarm the country. Nevertheless, they retreated regularly with their small train of artillery. They were overtaken at the village of Clifton, in the neighbourhood of Penrith, by two regiments of dragoons. These alighted in order to attack a party of their rear-guard which had thrown themselves into the place with a view to retard the pursuit. The assailants were roughly handled; and the rebels having accomplished their purpose, retired with the loss of a few individuals, who were either killed or taken. On the nineteenth day of the month, the Highland army reached Carlisle, and having reinforced the garrison of the place, crossed the rivers Eden and Solway into Scotland: having thus accomplished one of the most surprising retreats that ever was performed; but the most remarkable circumstance of this expedition, was the moderation and regularity with which those ferocious people conducted themselves in a country abounding with plunder. No violence was offered; no outrage committed; and they were effectually restrained from the exercise of rapine. Notwithstanding the excessive cold, the hunger and fatigue to which they must have been exposed, they left behind no sick, nor stragglers; but, retired with deliberation, and carried off their cannon in the face of their enemy. The duke of Cumberland invested Carlisle with his whole army on the twenty-first day of December, and on the thirtieth, the garrison surrendered at discretion. The prisoners amounting to about four hundred, were imprisoned in different gaols in England, and the duke returned to London.

§ XXXIV. The pretender proceeded by the way of Dumfries to Glasgow, from which last city he exacted severe contributions, on account of its attachment to the government, for whose service it had raised a regiment of nine hundred men, under the command of the earl of Hume. Having continued several days at Glasgow, he advanced towards Stirling, and was joined by some forces.

forces which had been assembled in his absence by lord Lewis Gordon, and John Drummond, brothers to the dukes of Gordon and Perth. This last nobleman had arrived from France in November, with a small reinforcement of French and Irish, and a commission as general of these auxiliaries. He fixed his head-quarters at Perth, where he was reinforced by the earl of Cromartie, and other clans, to the number of two thousand, and he was accommodated with a small train of artillery. They had found means to surprise a sloop of war at Montrose, with the guns of which they fortified that harbour. They had received a considerable sum of money from Spain. They took possession of Dundee, Dumblaine, Down-castle, and layed Fife under contribution. The earl of Loudon remained at Inverness, with about two thousand Highlanders in the service of his majesty. He raised the blockade of Fort-Augustus, which the son of lord Lovat had formed: he secured the person of that nobleman, who still temporized, and at length accomplished his escape. The laird of Macleod, and Mr. Monro of Culcairn, being detached from Inverness towards Aberdeenshire, were surprised and routed by lord Lewis Gordon at Inverury; and that interest seemed to preponderate in the north of Scotland. Prince Charles being joined by lord John Drummond, invested the castle of Stirling, in which general Blakeney commanded: but, his people were so little used to enterprizes of this kind, that they made very little progress in their operations.

§ XXXV. By this time, a considerable body of forces was assembled at Edinburgh, under the conduct of general Hawley, who resolved to relieve Stirling-castle, and advanced to Linlithgow on the thirteenth day of January: next day his whole army rendezvoused at Falkirk, while the rebels lay encamped at Torwood. On the seventeenth day of the month, they were perceived in full march to attack the king's forces, which were formed in order of battle, and advanced to the encounter. The enemy had taken possession of a hill on their right; and Hawley ordered two regiments of dragoons to drive them from that eminence. Their prince, who stood in the front of the line, gave the signal to fire, by waving his cap; and his followers took aim so well, that the assailants were broke by the first volley: they retreated with precipitation, and fell in amongst the infantry, which were likewise discomposed by the wind and rain beating with great violence in their faces, wetting their powder, and disturbing their eye-sight. The rebels followed their first blow, and great part of the royal army, after one irregular discharge, turned their backs and fled in the utmost consternation. In all probability few or none of them would have escaped, had not general Huske, and brigadier Cholmondely rallied some regiments, and made a gallant stand, which favoured the retreat of the rest to Falkirk. Among the few that withstood the general panic on this occasion, was the Glasgow regiment of militia, which had been appointed to guard the baggage, and maintained its ground until it was ordered to retreat. The king's forces retired in confusion to Edinburgh, leaving the field of battle, with part of their tents and artillery, to the rebels: but, their loss of men did not exceed three hundred, including Sir Robert Monro, colonel Whitney, and some other officers of distinction. It was at this period, that the officers who had been taken at Prestonpans, and conveyed to Angus and Fife, finding themselves unguarded, broke their parole, and returned to Edinburgh, on pretence of their having been forcibly released by the inhabitants of those parts.

§ XXXVI.

§ XXXVI. General Hawley, who had boasted that, with two regiments of dragoons, he would drive the rebel army from one end of the kingdom to the other, incurred abundance of censure for the disposition he made, as well as for his conduct before and after the action; but he found means to vindicate himself to the satisfaction of his sovereign. Nevertheless, it was judged necessary that the army in Scotland should be commanded by a general in whom the soldiers might have some confidence; and the duke of Cumberland was chosen for this purpose. Over and above his being beloved by the army, it was suggested, that the appearance of a prince of the blood, in Scotland, might have a favourable effect upon the minds of people in that kingdom: he therefore began to prepare for his northern expedition. Mean while, the French minister at the Hague, having represented to the states-general, that the auxiliaries which they had sent into Great-Britain, were part of the garrison of Tournay, and restricted by the capitulation from bearing arms against France for a certain term; they thought proper to recal them, rather than come to an open rupture with his most christian majesty; and in their room six thousand Hessians were transported from Flanders to Leith, where they arrived in the beginning of February, under the command of their prince Frederick of Hesse, son-in-law to his Britannic majesty. By this time, the duke of Cumberland had put himself at the head of the troops at Edinburgh, consisting of fourteen battalions of infantry, two regiments of dragoons, and fifteen hundred Highlanders from Argyleshire, under the command of colonel Campbell. On the last day of January, his royal highness began his march to Linlithgow; and the enemy, who had renewed the siege of Stirling-castle, not only abandoned that enterprise, but crossed the river Forth with precipitation. Their prince found great difficulty in maintaining his forces, that part of the country being quite exhausted; he hoped to be reinforced in the Highlands, and to receive supplies of all kinds from France and Spain: he, therefore, retired by Badenoch towards Inverness, which the earl of Loudon abandoned at his approach. The fort was surrendered to him without opposition, and here he fixed his head-quarters. The duke of Cumberland having secured the important posts of Stirling and Perth, with the Hessian battalions, advanced with the army to Aberdeen, where he was joined by the duke of Gordon, the earls of Aberdeen and Findlater, the laird of Grant, and other persons of distinction.

§ XXXVII. While he remained in this place, refreshing his troops and preparing magazines, a party of the rebels surprised a detachment of Kingston's horse, and about seventy Argyleshire highlanders, at Keith, who were cut in pieces. Several advanced parties of that militia met with the same fate in different places. Lord George Murray invested the castle of Blair, which was defended by Sir Andrew Agnew, until a body of Hessians marched to its relief, and obliged the rebels to retire. They likewise undertook the siege of Fort-William, under the direction of brigadier Stapleton, an engineer in the French service: but, the place was so vigorously maintained by captain Scot, that in the beginning of April they thought proper to relinquish the enterprise. The earl of Loudon had retired into Sutherland, and taken post at Dornoch, where his quarters were beat up by a strong detachment of the rebels commanded by the duke of Perth: a major and sixty men were taken prisoners, and the earl was obliged to take shelter in the isle of Skye. These little checks
were

were counter-balanced by some advantages which his majesty's arms obtained. The sloop of war which the rebels had surpris'd at Montrose, was re-taken in Sutherland, with a considerable sum of money, and a great quantity of arms on board, which she had brought from France for the use of the pretender. In the same county, the earl of Cromarty fell into an ambuscade, and was taken by the militia of Sutherland, who likewise defeated a body of the rebels at Goldspie. This action happened on the very day which has been rendered famous by the victory obtained at Culloden.

CHAP.

C H A P. IX.

§ I. *The rebels are totally defeated at Culloden.* § II. *The duke of Cumberland takes possession of Inverness, and afterwards encamps at Fort-Augustus.* § III. *The prince pretender escapes to France.* § IV. *Convulsion in the ministry.* § V. *Liberality of the commons.* § VI. *Trial of the rebels. Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Lovat, and Mr. Ratcliff, are beheaded on Tower-hill.* § VII. *The states-general alarmed at the progress of the French in the Netherlands.* § VIII. *Count Saxe subdues all Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault.* § IX. *Reduces the strong fortress of Namur, and defeats the allied army at Roucoux.* § X. *The French and Spaniards are compelled to abandon Piedmont and the Milanese.* § XI. *Don Philip is worsted at Codogno, and afterwards at Porto Freddo.* § XII. *The Austrians take possession of Genoa. Count Brown penetrates into Provence.* § XIII. *The Genoese expel the Austrians from their city.* § XIV. *Madras in the East-Indies taken by the French.* § XV. *Expedition to the coast of Bretagne, and attempt upon Port l'Orient.* § XVI. *Naval transactions in the West-Indies. Conferences at Breda.* § XVII. *Vast supplies granted by the commons of England.* § XVIII. *Parliament dissolved.* § XIX. *The French and allies take the field in Flanders.* § XX. *Prince of Orange elected stadtholder, captain-general, and admiral of the United-Provinces.* § XXI. *The confederates defeated at Laffeldt.* § XXII. *Siege of Bergen-op-Zoom.* § XXIII. *The Austrians undertake the siege of Genoa which however they abandon.* § XXIV. *The chevalier de Belleisle slain in the attack of Exilles.* § XXV. *A French squadron defeated and taken by the admirals Anson and Warren.* § XXVI. *Admiral Hawke obtains another victory over the French at sea.* § XXVII. *Other naval transactions.* § XXVIII. *Congress at Aix la Chapelle.* § XXIX. *Compliant temper of the new parliament, Preliminaries signed.* § XXX. *Preparations for the campaign in the Netherlands.* § XXXI. *Siege of Maestricht. Cessation of arms.* § XXXII. *Transactions in the East and West-Indies.* § XXXIII. *Conclusion of the definitive treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle.*

§ I. **I**N the beginning of April, the duke of Cumberland began his march from Aberdeen; and on the twelfth, passed the deep and rapid river Spey, without opposition from the rebels, though a considerable number of them appeared on the opposite side. Why they did not dispute the passage, is not easy to be conceived: but, indeed, from this instance of neglect, and their subsequent conduct, we may conclude, they were under a total infatuation. His royal highness proceeded to Nairn, where he received intelligence, that the enemy had advanced from Inverness to Culloden, about the distance of nine miles from the royal army, with intention to give him battle. On the sixteenth day of April, the duke having made the proper dispositions, decamped from Nairn early in the morning, and after a march of nine miles, perceived the Highlanders drawn up in order of battle, to the number of eight thousand men, in thirteen divisions, supplied with some pieces of artillery. The royal army, which were much more numerous, the duke immediately formed into three

lines, disposed in excellent order; and about one o'clock in the afternoon, the canonading began. The artillery of the rebels was ill served, and did very little execution; but that of the king's troops made dreadful havock among the enemy. Impatient of this fire, their front-line advanced to the attack, and about five hundred of the clans charged the duke's left wing with their usual impetuosity. One regiment was disordered by the weight of this column: but two battalions advancing from the second line, sustained the first, and soon put a stop to their career, by a severe fire, that killed a great number. At the same time, the dragoons under Hawley, and the Argyleshire militia, pulled down a park-wall that covered their right flank, and falling in among them sword in hand, completed their confusion. The French piquets on their left, did not fire a shot; but, stood inactive during the engagement, and afterwards surrendered themselves prisoners of war. An intire body of the clans marched off the field in order, with their pipes playing: the rest were routed with great slaughter, and their prince was with reluctance prevailed upon to retire. In less than thirty minutes, they were totally defeated, and the field covered with their dead bodies. The road, as far as Inverness, was strewed with dead bodies; and a great number of people, who, from motives of curiosity, had come to see the battle, were sacrificed to the undistinguishing vengeance of the victors. Three thousand rebels were slain on the field, and in the pursuit. The earl of Kilmarnock was taken; and in a few days lord Balmerino surrendered himself to one of the detached parties. The glory of the victory was sullied by the barbarity of the soldiers. They had been provoked by their former disgraces to the most savage thirst of revenge: not contented with the blood which was so profusely shed in the heat of action, they traversed the field after the battle, and massacred those miserable wretches who lay maimed and expiring: nay, some officers acted a part in this cruel scene of assassination: the triumph of low illiberal minds, uninspired by sentiment, untinctured by humanity. The vanquished adventurer forded the river Ness, and retired with a few horse to Aird, where he conferred with old lord Lovat: then he dismissed his followers, and wandered about a wretched and solitary fugitive among the isles and mountains, for the space of four months, during which he underwent such a series of dangers, hardships and misery, as no other person ever outlived. Thus, in one short hour, all his hope vanished, and the rebellion was intirely extinguished. One would almost imagine, the conductors of this desperate enterprize had conspired their own destruction, as they certainly neglected every step that might have contributed to their safety or success. They might have opposed the duke of Cumberland at the passage of the Spey: they might have afterwards attacked his camp in the night, with a good prospect of success. As they were greatly inferior to him in number, and weakened with hunger and fatigue, they might have retired to the hills and fastnesses, where they would have found plenty of live cattle for provision, recruited their regiments, and been joined by a strong reinforcement, which was actually in full march to their assistance. But they were distracted by dissensions and jealousies; obeyed the dictates of despair, and wilfully devoted themselves to ruin and death. When the news of the battle arrived in England, the whole nation was transported with joy, and extolled the duke of Cumberland as a hero and deliverer. Both houses of parliament congratulated his majesty on this auspicious

cious event. They decreed, in the most solemn manner, their public thanks to his royal highness, which were transmitted to him by the speakers; and the commons, by bill, added five and twenty thousand pounds per annum to his former revenue.

§ II. Immediately after the decisive action at Culloden, he took possession of Inverness; and ordered six and thirty deserters to be executed: then he detached several parties to ravage the country. One of these apprehended the lady Mackintosh, who was sent prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, plundered her house, and drove away her cattle, though her husband was actually in the service of the government. The castle of lord Lovat was destroyed. The French prisoners were sent to Carlisle and Penrith: Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Cromarty, and his son the lord Macleod, were conveyed by sea to London; and those of an inferior rank were confined in different prisons. The marquis of Tullibardine, together with a brother of the earl of Dunmore, and Murray the pretender's secretary, were seized and transported to the Tower of London, to which the earl of Traquair had been committed on suspicion; and the eldest son of lord Lovat was imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh. In a word, all the gaols of Great-Britain, from the capital northwards, were filled with those unfortunate captives; and great numbers of them were crowded together in the holds of ships, where they perished in the most deplorable manner, for want of air and exercise. Some rebel chiefs escaped in two French frigates that arrived on the coast of Lochaber about the end of April, and engaged three vessels belonging to his Britannic majesty, which they obliged to retire. Others embarked on board of a ship on the coast of Buchan; and were conveyed to Norway, from whence they travelled to Sweden. In the month of May, the duke of Cumberland advanced with the army into the Highlands, as far as Fort Augustus, where he encamped; and sent off detachments on all hands, to hunt down the fugitives, and lay waste the country with fire and sword. The castles of Glengary and Lochiel were plundered and burned: every house, hut, or habitation, met with the same fate, without distinction; all the cattle and provision were carried off; the men were either shot upon the mountains, like wild beasts, or put to death in cold blood, without form of trial; the women, after having seen their husbands and fathers murdered, were subjected to brutal violation, and then turned out naked, with their children, to starve on the barren heaths. One whole family was inclosed in a barn, and consumed to ashes. Those ministers of vengeance were so alert in the execution of their office, that in a few days there was neither house, cottage, man, nor beast, to be seen in the compass of fifty miles; all was ruin, silence and desolation.

§ III. The humane reader cannot reflect upon such a scene without grief and horror; what then must have been the sensation of the fugitive prince, when he beheld these spectacles of woe, the dismal fruit of his ambition? He was now surrounded by armed troops, that chased him from hill to dale, from rock to cavern, and from shore to shore. Sometimes he lurked in caves and cottages, without attendants, or any other support but that which the poorest peasant could supply. Sometimes he was rowed in fisher-boats from isle to isle, among the Hebrides, and often in sight of his pursuers. For some days he appeared in woman's attire, and even passed through the midst of his enemies, unknown. But, understanding that his disguise was discovered, he assumed

the habit of a travelling mountaineer, and wandered about among the woods and heaths, with a matted beard and squalid looks, in continual danger of being apprehended, and exposed to cold, hunger, thirst, and weariness. He was obliged to trust his life to the fidelity of above fifty individuals, and many of these were in the lowest paths of fortune. They knew that a price of thirty thousand pounds was set upon his head; and that by betraying him, they should enjoy wealth and affluence: but, they detested the thought of obtaining riches on such infamous terms, and ministered to his necessities, with the utmost zeal and fidelity, even at the hazard of their own destruction. In the course of these peregrinations, he was more than once hemmed in by his pursuers, in such a manner as seemed to preclude all possibility of escaping; yet, he was never abandoned by his hope and recollection: he still found some expedient that saved him from captivity and death; and through the whole course of his distresses maintained the most amazing equanimity and good humour. At length a privateer of St. Malo, hired by his adherents, arrived in Loch-nanach; and on the seventeenth day of September, this unfortunate prince embarked in the most wretched attire. He was clad in a short coat of black frize thread-bare, over which was a common highland plaid girt round him by a belt, from whence depended a pistol and a dagger. He had not been shifed for many weeks: his shoes and stockings hung in tatters on his feet and legs. His eye was hollow, his visage wan, and his constitution greatly impaired by famine and fatigue. He was accompanied by Sullivan and Sheridan, two Irish adherents, who had shared all his calamities, by Cameron of Lochiel and his brother, and a few other exiles. They set sail for France, and after having been chased by two English ships of war, arrived in safety at Roscau near Morlaix in Bretagne. Perhaps, he would have found it still more difficult to escape, had not the vigilance and eagerness of the government been relaxed, in consequence of a report, that he had already fallen among some persons that were slain by a volley from one of the duke's detachments.

§ IV. Having thus explained the rise, progress, and extinction of the rebellion, it will be necessary to take a retrospective view of the proceedings in parliament. The necessary steps being taken for quieting the intestine commotions of the kingdom, the two houses began to convert their attention to the affairs of the continent. On the fourteenth day of January, the king repaired to the house of peers, and in a speech from the throne gave his parliament to understand, that the states-general had made pressing instances for his assistance in the present conjuncture, when they were in such danger of being oppressed by the power of France in the Netherlands; that he had promised to co-operate with them towards opposing the further progress of their enemies; and even concerted measures for that purpose. He declared it was with regret that he asked any further aids of his people: he exhorted them to watch over the public credit; and expressed his intire dependance in their zeal and unanimity. He was favoured with loyal addresses, couched in the warmest terms of duty and affection: but the supplies were retarded by new convulsions in the ministry. The earl of G. had made an effort to retrieve his influence in the cabinet, and his sovereign favoured his pretensions. The two brothers, who knew his aspiring genius, and dreaded his superior talents, refused to admit such a colleague into the administration: they even resolved to

strengthen their party, by introducing fresh auxiliaries into the offices of state. Some of these were personally disagreeable to his majesty, who accordingly rejected the suit by which they were recommended. The duke of Newcastle and his brother, with all their adherents, immediately resigned their employments. The earl of Granville was appointed secretary of state, and resumed the reins of administration; but finding himself unequal to the accumulated opposition that preponderated against him; foreseeing that he should not be able to secure the supplies in parliament, and dreading the consequences of that confusion which his restoration had already produced, he, in three days, voluntarily quitted the helm; and his majesty acquiesced in the measures proposed by the opposite party. The seals were re-delivered to the duke of Newcastle and the earl of Harrington: Mr. Pelham, and all the rest who had resigned, were re-instated in their respective employments; and offices were conferred on several individuals who had never before been in the service of the government. William Pitt, Esq; was appointed vice-treasurer of Ireland, and soon promoted to the place of paymaster-general of the forces; at the same time the king declared him a privy-counsellor. This gentleman had been originally designed for the army, in which he actually bore a commission; but fate reserved him for a more important station. In point of fortune he was barely qualified to be elected member of parliament, when he obtained a seat in the house of commons, where he soon outshone all his compatriots. He displayed a surprising extent and precision of political knowledge, an irresistible energy of argument, and such power of elocution, as struck his hearers with astonishment and admiration. It flashed like the lightning of heaven against the ministers and sons of corruption, blasting where it smote, and withering the nerves of opposition: but his more substantial praise was founded upon his disinterested integrity, his incorruptible heart, his unconquerable spirit of independance, and his invariable attachment to the interest and liberty of his country.

§ V. The quiet of the ministry being re-established, the house of commons provided for forty thousand seamen, nearly the same number of land-forces, besides fifteen regiments raised by the nobility, on account of the rebellion, and about twelve thousand marines. They settled funds for the maintenance of the Dutch and Hessian troops that were in England, as well as for the subsidy to the landgrave. They granted three hundred thousand pounds to the king of Sardinia; four hundred thousand pounds to the queen of Hungary; three hundred and ten thousand pounds to defray the expence of eighteen thousand Hanoverians; about three and thirty thousand pounds in subsidies to the electors of Mentz and Cologne; and five hundred thousand pounds in a vote of credit and confidence to his majesty. The whole charge of the current year amounted to seven millions two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which was raised by the land and malt-taxes, annuities on the additional duties imposed on glais, and spirituous liquors, a lottery, a deduction from the sinking fund, and exchequer bills, chargeable on the first aids that should be granted in the next session of parliament.

§ VI. The rebellion being quelled, the legislature resolved to make examples of those who had been concerned in disturbing the peace of their country. In June an act of attainder was passed against the principal persons who had embarked in that desperate undertaking; and courts were opened in different parts of

of England, for the trial of the prisoners. Seventeen officers of the rebel army were executed at Kennington-common, in the neighbourhood of London, and suffered with great constancy under the dreadful tortures which their sentence prescribed: nine were put to death, in the same manner, at Carlisle; six at Brumpton, seven at Penrith, and eleven at York: a few obtained pardons, and a considerable number were transported to the plantations. Bills of indictment for high-treason were found by the county of Surry against the earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and the lord Balmerino. These noblemen were tried by their peers in Westminster-hall, the lord chancellor presiding as lord high-steward for the occasion. The two earls confessed their crime, and in pathetic speeches recommended themselves to his majesty's mercy. Lord Balmerino pleaded not guilty: he denied his having been at Carlisle at the time specified in the indictment; but this exception was over-ruled: then he moved a point of law in arrest of judgment, and was allowed to be heard by his counsel. They might have expatiated on the hardship of being tried by an *ex post facto* law, and claimed the privilege of trial in the county where the act of treason was said to have been committed. The same hardship was imposed upon all the imprisoned rebels: they were dragged in captivity to a strange country, far from their friends and connexions, destitute of means to produce evidence in their favour, even if they had been innocent of the charge. Balmerino waived this plea, and submitted to the court, which pronounced sentence of death upon him and his two associates. Cromartie's life was spared; but the other two were beheaded, in the month of August, on Tower-hill. Kilmarnock was a nobleman of fine personal accomplishments: he had been educated in revolution principles, and engaged in the rebellion, partly from the desperate situation of his fortune, and partly from resentment to the government, on his being deprived of a pension which he had for some time enjoyed. He was convinced of his having acted criminally, and died with marks of penitence and contrition. Balmerino had been bred to arms, and acted upon principle: he was unpolished in his manners, brave, rough, and resolute, eyed the implements of death with the most careless familiarity, and seemed to triumph in his sufferings. In November, Mr. Ratcliff, the titular earl of Derwentwater, who had been taken in a ship bound to Scotland, was arraigned on a former sentence, passed against him in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen: he refused to acknowledge the authority of the court, and pleaded that he was a subject of France, honoured with a commission in the service of his most christian majesty. The identity of his person being proved, a rule was made for his execution; and on the eighth day of December he suffered decapitation, with the most perfect compolure and serenity. Lord Lovat, now turned of fourscore, was impeached by the commons, and tried in Westminster-hall before the lord high-steward. John Murray, secretary to the prince-pretender, and some of his own domestics appearing against him, he was convicted of high-treason, and condemned. Notwithstanding his age, infirmities, and the recollection of his conscience, which was supposed to be not altogether void of offence, he died like an old Roman, exclaiming, "*dulce et decorum pro patria mori.*" He surveyed the crowd with attention, examined the axe, jested with the executioner, and layed his head upon the block with the utmost indifference. From this last scene of his life one would have concluded, that he had

approved himself a patriot from his youth, and never deviated from the paths of virtue.

§ VII. The flame of war on the continent did not expire at the election of an emperor, and the re-establishment of peace among the princes of the empire. On the contrary, it raged with double violence in consequence of these events, for the force that was before divided being now united in one body, exerted itself with greater vigour and rapidity. The states-general were overwhelmed with consternation. Notwithstanding the pains they had taken to avoid a war, and the condescension with which they had soothed and supplicated the French monarch in repeated embassies and memorials, they saw themselves stripped of their barrier, and once more in danger of being overwhelmed by that ambitious nation. The city of Brussels had been reduced during the winter; so that the enemy were in possession of all the Austrian Netherlands, except a few fortresses. Great part of the forces belonging to the republic were restricted from action by capitulations, to which they had subscribed. The states were divided in their councils between the two factions which had long subsisted. They trembled at the prospect of seeing Zealand invaded in the spring. The Orange party loudly called for an augmentation of their forces by sea and land, that they might prosecute the war with vigour. The common people, fond of novelty, dazzled by the splendor of greatness, and fully persuaded, that nothing but a chief was wanting to their security, demanded the prince of Orange as a stadtholder; and even mingled menaces with their demands. The opposite faction dreaded alike the power of a stadtholder, the neighbourhood of a French army, and the seditious disposition of the populace. An ambassador was sent to London with representations of the imminent dangers which threatened the republic; and he was ordered to solicit in the most pressing terms the assistance of his Britannic majesty, that the allies might have a superiority in the Netherlands by the beginning of the campaign. The king was very well disposed to comply with their request; but the rebellion in his kingdom, and the dissensions in his cabinet, had retarded the supplies, and embarrassed him so much, that he found it impossible to make those early preparations that were necessary to check the career of the enemy.

§ VIII. The king of France, with his general the count de Saxe, took the field in the latter end of April, at the head of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and advanced towards the allies, who, to the number of four and forty thousand, were intrenched behind the Demer, under the conduct of the Austrian general Bathiani, who retired before them, and took post in the neighbourhood of Breda, the capital of Dutch Brabant. Marechal Saxe immediately invested Antwerp, which in a few days was surrendered. Then he appeared before the strong town of Mons in Hainault, with an irresistible train of artillery, an immense quantity of bombs and warlike implements, and carried on his approaches with such unabating impetuosity, that notwithstanding a very vigorous defence, the garrison was obliged to capitulate on the twenty-seventh day of June, in about eight and twenty days after the place had been invested. Sieges were not now carried on by the tedious method of sapping. The French king found it much more expeditious and effectual to bring into the field a prodigious train of battering cannon, and enormous mortars, that kept up such a fire as no garrison could sustain, and discharged such an incessant hail of bombs and

and bullets, as in a very little time reduced to ruins the place, with all its fortifications. St. Guislain and Charleroy met with the fate of Mons and Antwerp; so that by the middle of July the French king was absolute master of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault.

IX. Prince Charles of Lorraine had by this time assumed the command of the confederate army at Terheyde, which being reinforced by the Hessian troops from Scotland, and a fresh body of Austrians under count Palfi, amounted to eighty-seven thousand men, including the Dutch forces commanded by the prince of Waldeck. The generals, supposing the next storm would fall upon Namur, marched towards that place, and took post in an advantageous situation on the eighteenth day of July, in sight of the French army, which was encamped at Gemblours. Here they remained till the eighth day of August, when a detachment of the enemy, commanded by count Lowendahl, took possession of Huy, where he found a large magazine belonging to the confederates; and their communication with Maestricht was cut off. Marechal Saxe, on the other side, took his measures so well, that they were utterly deprived of all subsistence. Then prince Charles retiring across the Maeze, abandoned Namur to the efforts of the enemy, by whom it was immediately invested. The trenches were opened on the second day of September; and the garrison, consisting of seven thousand Austrians, defended themselves with equal skill and resolution; but, the cannonading and bombardment were so terrible, that in a few days the place was converted into a heap of rubbish; and on the twenty-third day of the month the French monarch took possession of this strong fortress, which had formerly sustained such dreadful attacks. Mean while the allied army encamped at Maestricht, were joined by Sir John Ligonier, with some British and Bavarian battalions; and prince Charles resolved to give the enemy battle. With this view he passed the Maeze on the thirteenth day of September, and advanced towards marechal Saxe, whom he found so advantageously posted at Tongres, that he thought proper to march back to Maestricht. On the twenty-sixth day of September he crossed the Jaar in his retreat; and his rear was attacked by the enemy, who were repulsed. But, count Saxe being reinforced by a body of troops, under the count de Clermont, determined to bring the confederates to an engagement. On the thirteenth day of the month he passed the Jaar, while they took possession of the villages of Liers, Warem, and Roucoux, drew up their forces in order of battle, and made preparations for giving him a warm reception. On the first day of October the enemy advanced in three columns; and a terrible cannonading began about noon. At two o'clock prince Waldeck on the left was charged with great fury; and after an obstinate defence overpowered by numbers. The villages were attacked in columns, and as one brigade was repulsed another succeeded; so that the allies were obliged to abandon these posts, and retreat towards Maestricht, with the loss of five thousand men, and thirty pieces of artillery. The victory, however, cost the French general a much greater number of lives; and was attended with no solid advantage. Sir John Ligonier, the earls of Crawford* and Rothes, brigadier Douglas,

* This nobleman, so remarkable for his courage and thirst of glory, exhibited a very extraordinary instance of presence of mind on the morning that preceded this battle. He and some volunteers, accompanied by his aid-du-camp, and attended by two orderly dragoons, had rode out before day

Douglas, and other officers of the British troops, distinguished themselves by their gallantry and conduct on this occasion. This action terminated the campaign. The allies passing the Maese took up their winter-quarters in the dutchies of Limburgh and Luxembourg; while the French cantoned their troops in the places which they had newly conquered.

§ X. The campaign in Italy was altogether unfavourable to the French and Spaniards. The house of Austria being no longer pressed on the side of Germany, was enabled to make the stronger efforts in this country; and the British subsidy encouraged the king of Sardinia to act with redoubled vivacity. Marechal Mallebois occupied the greater part of Piedmont with about thirty thousand men. Don Philip and the count de Gages were at the head of a greater number in the neighbourhood of Milan; and the duke of Modena, with eight thousand, secured his own dominions. The king of Sardinia augmented his forces to six and thirty thousand; and the Austrian army, under the prince of Lichtenstein, amounted to a much greater number; so that the enemy were reduced to the necessity of acting on the defensive, and retired towards the Mantuan. In February baron Leutrum the Piedmontese general, invested and took the strong fortress of Aste. He afterwards relieved the citadel of Alexandria, which the Spaniards had blocked up in the winter, reduced Casal, recovered Valencia, and obliged Mallebois to retire to the neighbourhood of Genoa. On the other side, Don Philip and count Gages abandoned Milan, Pavia, and Parma, retreating before the Austrians with the utmost precipitation, to Placentia, where they were joined on the third of June by the French forces under Mallebois.

§ XI. Before this junction was effected the Spanish general Pignatelli, had passed the river Po in the night with a strong detachment, and beaten up the quarters of seven thousand Austrians posted at Codogno. Don Philip finding himself at the head of two and fifty thousand men by his junction with the French general, resolved to attack the Austrians in their camp at San Lazaro, before they should be reinforced by his Sardinian majesty. Accordingly, on the fourth day of June in the evening, he marched with equal silence and expedition, and entered the Austrian trenches about eleven, when a desperate battle ensued. The Austrians were prepared for the attack, which they sustained with great vigour till morning. Then they quitted their intrenchments, and charged the enemy in their turn with such fury, that after an obstinate resistance the

to reconnoitre the situation of the enemy; and fell in upon one of their advanced guards. The serjeant who commanded it immediately turned out his men, and their pieces were presented when the earl first perceived them. Without betraying the least mark of disorder, he rode up to the serjeant, and assuming the character of a French general, told him in that language, that there was no occasion for such ceremony. Then he asked, if they had perceived any of the enemy's parties? and being answered in the negative, "Very well, said he, be upon your guard; and if you should be attacked, I will take care that you shall be sustained." So saying, he and his company retired before the serjeant could recollect

himself from the surprize occasioned by this unexpected address. In all probability he was soon sensible of his mistake; for the incident was that very day publicly mentioned in the French army. The prince of Tingray, an officer in the Austrian service, having been taken prisoner in the battle that ensued, dined with marechal count Saxe, who dismissed him on his parole, and desired he would charge himself with a facetious compliment to his old friend the earl of Crawford. He wished his lordship joy of being a French general, and said, he could not help being displeased with the serjeant, as he had not procured him the honour of his lordship's company at dinner.

combined army was broke, and retired with precipitation to Placentia, leaving on the field fifteen thousand men killed, wounded, and taken, together with sixty colours, and ten pieces of artillery. In a few weeks the Austrians were joined by the Piedmontese: the king of Sardinia assumed the chief command, and prince Lichtenstein being indisposed, his place was supplied by the marquis de Botta. Don Philip retired to the other side of the Po, and extended his troops in the open country of the Milaneze. The king of Sardinia called a council of war, in which it was determined, that he should pass the river with a strong body of troops, in order to straiten the enemy on one side; while the marquis de Botta should march up the Tydone, to cut off their communication with Placentia. They forthwith quitted all the posts they had occupied between the Lambro and Adda, resolving to repass the Po, and retreat to Tortona. With this view they threw bridges of boats over that river, and began to pass on the ninth day of August in the evening. They were attacked at Rotto Freddo by a detachment of Austrians, under general Serbelloni, who maintained the engagement till ten in the morning, when Botta arrived: the battle was renewed with redoubled rage, and lasted till four in the afternoon, when the enemy retired in great disorder to Tortona, with the loss of eight thousand men, a good number of colours and standards, and eighteen pieces of cannon. This victory cost the Austrians four thousand men killed upon the spot, including the gallant general Bernclau. The victors immediately summoned Placentia to surrender; and the garrison, consisting of nine thousand men, were made prisoners of war: Don Philip continued his retreat, and of all his forces brought six and twenty thousand only into the territories of Genoa.

§ XII. The Piedmontese and Austrians rejoining in the neighbourhood of Pavia, advanced to Tortona, of which they took possession without resistance; while the enemy sheltered themselves under the cannon of Genoa. They did not long continue in this situation; for on the twenty-second day of August they were again in motion, and retired into Provence. The court of Madrid imputing the bad success of this campaign to the misconduct of count Gages, recalled that general, and sent the marquis de las Minas to resume the command of the forces. In the mean time the victorious confederates appeared before Genoa on the fourth day of December; and the senate of that city thinking it incapable of defence, submitted to a very mortifying capitulation, by which the gates were delivered up to the Austrians, together with all their arms, artillery, and ammunition; and the city was subjected to the most cruel contributions. The marquis de Botta being left at Genoa with sixteen thousand men, the king of Sardinia resolved to pass the Var, and pursue the French and Spaniards into Provence; but, that monarch being seized with the small-pox, the conduct of this expedition was intrusted to count Brown, an Austrian general of Irish extract, who had given repeated proofs of uncommon valour and capacity. He was on this occasion assisted by vice-admiral Medley, who commanded the British squadron in the Mediterranean. The French forces had fortified the passes of the Var, under the conduct of the *maréchal de Belleisle*, who thought proper to abandon his posts at the approach of count Brown; and this general, at the head of fifty thousand men, passed the river without opposition, on the ninth day of November. While he advanced as far as Draguignan, laying the open country under contribution, baron Roth, with four and twenty battalions,

invested Antibes, which was at the same time bombarded on the side of the sea by the British squadron. The trenches were opened on the twentieth day of September; but, Belleisle having assembled a numerous army, superior to that of the confederates, and the Genoese having expelled their Austrian guests, count Brown abandoned the enterprize, and repassed the Var, not without some damage from the enemy.

§ XIII. The court of Vienna, which has always patronized oppression, exacted such heavy contributions from the Genoese, and its directions were so rigorously put in execution, that the people were reduced to despair; and resolved to make a last effort for the recovery of their liberty and independence. Accordingly they took arms in secret, seized several important posts of the city; surprised some battalions of the Austrians; surrounded others, and cut them in pieces; and in a word, drove them out with great slaughter. The marquis de Botta acted with caution and spirit; but being overpowered by numbers, and apprehensive of the peasants in the country, who were in arms, he retreated to the pass of the Bochetta on the side of Lombardy, where he secured himself in an advantageous situation, until he could receive reinforcements. The loss he had sustained at Genoa did not hinder him from reducing Savona, a sea-port town belonging to that republic; and he afterwards made himself master of Gavi. The Genoese, on the contrary, exerted themselves with wonderful industry in fortifying their city, raising troops, and in taking other measures for a vigorous defence, in case they should again be insulted.

§ XIV. The naval transactions of this year reflected very little honour on the British nation. Commodore Peyton, who commanded six ships of war in the East-Indies, shamefully declined a decisive engagement with a French squadron of inferior force; and abandoned the important settlement of Madras on the coast of Coromandel, which was taken without opposition in the month of September, by the French commodore de la Bourdonnais. Fort St. David, and the other British factories in India, would have probably shared the same fate, had not the enemy's naval force in that country been shattered and partly destroyed by a terrible tempest. No event of consequence happened in America, though it was a scene that seemed to promise the greatest success to the arms of England. The reduction of Cape-Breton had encouraged the ministry to project the conquest of Quebec, the capital of Canada, situated upon the river of St. Laurence. Commissions were sent to the governors of the British colonies in North-America, empowering them to raise companies to join the armament from England; and eight thousand troops were actually raised in consequence of these directions; while a powerful squadron and transports, having six regiments on board, were prepared at Portsmouth for this expedition. But their departure was postponed by unaccountable delays, until the season was judged too far advanced to risque the great ships on the boisterous coast of North-America. That the armament, however, might not be wholly useless to the nation, it was employed in making a descent upon the coast of Brittany, on the supposition, that Port L'Orient, the repository of all the stores and ships belonging to the French East-India company, might be surprised; or, that this invasion would alarm the enemy, and, by making a diversion, facilitate the operations of the Austrian general in Provence.

§ XV.

§ XV. The naval force intended for this service consisted of sixteen great ships, and eight frigates, besides bomb-ketches, and storeships, commanded by Richard Lestock, appointed admiral of the blue-division. Six battalions of land-troops, with a detachment of matrosses and bombardiers, were embarked in thirty transports, under the conduct of lieutenant-general Sinclair; and the whole fleet set sail from Plymouth on the fourteenth day of September. On the twentieth the troops were landed in Quimperlay-bay, at the distance of ten miles from Port L'Orient. The militia, reinforced by some detachments from different regiments, were assembled to the number of two thousand, and seemed resolved to oppose the disembarkation; but, seeing the British troops determined to land at all events, they thought proper to retire. Next day general Sinclair advanced into the country, skirmishing with the enemy in his route; and arriving at the village of Plemure, within half a league from Port L'Orient, summoned that place to surrender. He was visited by a deputation from the town, which offered to admit the British forces, on condition, that they should be restrained from pillaging the inhabitants, and touching the magazines; and, that they should pay a just price for their provisions. These terms being rejected, the inhabitants prepared for a vigorous defence; and the English general resolved to besiege the place in form: though he had neither time, artillery, nor forces sufficient for such an enterprize. All his cannon amounted to no more than a few field-pieces; and he was obliged to wait for two iron guns, which the sailors dragged up from the shipping. Had he given the assault on the first night after his arrival, when the town was filled with terror and confusion, and destitute of regular troops, in all probability it would have been easily taken by escalade. But the reduction of it was rendered impracticable by his delay. The ramparts were mounted with cannon from the ships in the harbour; new works were raised with great industry; the garrison was reinforced by several bodies of regular troops, and great numbers were assembling from all parts; so that the British forces were in danger of being surrounded in an enemy's country. Notwithstanding these discouragements, they opened a small battery against the town, which was set on fire in several places by their bombs and red-hot bullets: they likewise repulsed part of the garrison which had made a sally to destroy their works; but their cannon producing no effect upon the fortifications, the fire from the town daily increasing, and admiral Lestock declaring, in repeated messages, that he could no longer expose the ships on an open coast at such a season of the year; general Sinclair abandoned the siege; and having caused the two iron pieces of cannon to be buried, retreated in good order to the sea-side, where his troops were reembarked, having sustained very inconsiderable damage since their first landing. He expected reinforcements from England, and was resolved to wait a little longer for their arrival, in hope of being able to annoy the enemy more effectually. In the beginning of October the fleet sailed to Quiberon-bay, where they destroyed a French ship of war; and a detachment of the forces being landed, took possession of a fort on the peninsula; while the little islands of Houvat and Heydic were reduced by the sailors. In this situation the admiral and general continued till the seventeenth day of the month, when the forts being dismantled, and the troops reembarked, the fleet sailed from the French coast: the admiral returned to England, and the transports with the soldiers proceeded to Ireland, where they arrived in safety.

§ XVI. This expedition, weak and frivolous as it may seem, was resented by the French nation as one of the greatest insults they had ever sustained; and demonstrated the possibility of hurting France in her tenderest parts, by means of an armament of this nature, well-timed, and vigorously conducted. Indeed, nothing could be more absurd or precipitate than an attempt to distress the enemy by landing a handful of troops, without draught-horses, tents, or artillery, from a fleet of ships lying on an open beach, exposed to the uncertainty of weather in the most tempestuous season of the year, so as to render the retreat and reembarkation altogether precarious. The British squadrons in the West Indies performed no exploit of consequence in the course of this year. The commerce was but indifferently protected. Commodore Lee, stationed off Martinico, allowed a French fleet of merchant ships, and their convoy, to pass by his squadron unmolested; and commodore Mitchel behaved scandalously in a rencounter with the French squadron, under the conduct of monsieur de Conflans, who in his return to Europe took the *Severn*, an English ship of fifty guns. The cruisers on all sides, English, French, and Spaniards, were extremely alert; and though the English lost the greater number of ships, this difference was more than overbalanced by the superior value of the prizes taken from the enemy. In the course of this year two and twenty Spanish privateers, and sixty-six merchant vessels, including ten register-ships, fell into the hands of the British cruisers: from the French* they took seven ships of war, ninety privateers, and about three hundred ships of commerce. The new king of Spain being supposed well affected to the British nation, an effort was made to detach him from the interests of France, by means of the marquis de Tabernega, who had formerly been his favourite, and resided many years as a refugee in England. This nobleman proceeded to Lisbon, where a negotiation was set on foot with the court of Madrid. But his efforts miscarried; and the influence of the queen-mother continued to predominate in the Spanish councils. The states-general had for some years endeavoured to promote a pacification by remonstrances, and even intreaties at the court of Versailles: the French king at length discovered an inclination to peace, and in September a congress was opened at Breda, the capital of Dutch Brabant, where the plenipotentiaries of the emperor, Great-Britain, France, and Holland were assembled; but, the French were so insolent in their demands, that the conferences were soon interrupted.

§ XVII. The parliament of Great-Britain meeting in November, the king exhorted them to concert with all possible expedition the proper measures for pursuing the war with vigour, that the confederate army in the Netherlands might be seasonably augmented: he likewise gave them to understand, that the funds appropriated for the support of his civil government, had for some years past fallen short of the revenue intended and granted by parliament; and said, he relied on their known affection to find out some method to make good this deficiency. As all those who had conducted the opposition were now concerned in the administration, little or no objection was made to any de-

* In the month of July, Philip V. king of Spain, dying in the sixty-third year of his age, was succeeded by his eldest son Ferdinand, born of Maria Louisa Gabriela, sister to the present king of Sardinia. He espoused Donna Maria Magdalena infanta of Portugal, but had no issue.

Philip was but two days survived by his daughter the dauphiness of France. The same month was remarkable for the death of Christian VI. king of Denmark, succeeded by his son Frederic V. who had married the princess Louisa, youngest daughter to the king of Great-Britain.

mand or propofal of the government and its minifters. The commons having confidered the eftimates, voted forty thoufand feamen for the fervice of the enfuing year, and about fixty thoufand land-forces, including eleven thoufand five hundred marines. They granted four hundred and thirty-three thoufand pounds to the empreſs queen of Hungary; three hundred thoufand pounds to the king of Sardinia; four hundred and ten thoufand pounds for the maintenance of eighteen thoufand Hanoverian auxiliaries; one hundred and fixty-one thoufand fix hundred and feven pounds, for fix thoufand Hefſians; ſubſidies to the electors of Cologne, Mentz, and Bavaria; and the ſum of five hundred thoufand pounds to enable his majeſty to proſecute the war with advantage. In a word, the ſupplies amounted to nine millions, four hundred twenty-five thoufand two hundred fifty-four pounds; a ſum almoſt incredible, if we conſider how the kingdom had been already drained of its treaſure. It was raiſed by the uſual taxes, reinforced with new impositions on windows, carriages, and ſpirituſous liquors, a lottery, and loan from the ſinking-fund. The new taxes were mortgaged for four millions by transferable annuities, at an intereſt of four, and a premium of ten per centum. By reflecting on theſe enormous grants, one would imagine the miniſtry had been determined to impoveriſh the nation; but, from the eagerneſs and expedition with which the people ſubſcribed for the money, one would conclude that the riches of the kingdom were inexhauſtible. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the ſupplies of this year exceeded, by two millions and a half, the greateſt annual ſum that was raiſed during the reign of queen Anne, though ſhe maintained as great a number of troops as was now in the pay of Great Britain, and her armies and fleets acquired every year freſh harveſts of glory and advantage: whereas this war had proved an almoſt uninterrupted ſeries of events big with diſaſter and diſhonour. During the laſt two years, the naval expence of England had exceeded that of France about five millions ſterling; though her fleets had not obtained one ſignal advantage over the enemy at ſea, nor been able to protect her commerce from their depredations. She was at once a prey to her declared adverſaries and profeſſed friends. Before the end of ſummer, ſhe numbered among her mercenaries two empreſſes, five German princes, and a powerful monarch, whom ſhe hired to aſſiſt her in trimming the balance of Europe, in which they themſelves were immediately intereſted, and ſhe had no more than a ſecondary concern. Had theſe fruitleſs ſubſidies been ſaved; had the national revenue been applied with oeconomy to national purpoſes; had it been employed in liquidating gradually the public incumbrances, in augmenting the navy, improving manufactures, encouraging and ſecuring the colonies, and extending trade and navigation; corruption would have become altogether unneceſſary, and diſaffection would have vaniſhed: the people would have been eaſed of their burthens, and ceaſed to complain: commerce would have flouriſhed, and produced ſuch affluence as muſt have raiſed Great-Britain to the higheſt pinnacle of maritime power, above all rivalſhip or competition. She would have been dreaded by her enemies; revered by her neighbours: oppreſſed nations would have crept under her wings for protection: contending potentates would have appealed to her deciſion: and ſhe would have ſhone the univerſal arbitreſs of Europe. How different is her preſent ſituation! her debts are enormous, her taxes intolerable, her people diſcontented, and the ſinews of her

her government relaxed. Without conduct, confidence, or concert, she engages in blundering negotiations; she involves herself rashly in foreign quarrels, and lavishes her substance with the most dangerous precipitation: she is even deserted by her wonted vigour, steadiness, and intrepidity: she grows vain, fantastical, and pusillanimous: her arms are despised by her enemies; and her councils ridiculed through all Christendom.

§ XVIII. The king, in order to exhibit a specimen of his desire to diminish the public expence, ordered the third and fourth troops of his life-guards to be disbanded, and reduced three regiments of horse to the quality of dragoons. The house of commons presented an address of thanks for this instance of oeconomy, by which the annual sum of seventy thousand pounds was saved to the nation. Notwithstanding this seeming harmony between the king and the great council of the nation, his majesty resolved, with the advice of his council, to dissolve the present parliament, though the term of seven years was not yet expired since its first meeting. The ministry affected to insinuate, that the states-general were unwilling to concur with his majesty in vigorous measures against France, during the existence of a parliament which had undergone such a vicissitude of complexion. The allies of Great-Britain, far from being suspicious of this assembly, which had supplied them so liberally, saw with concern, that, according to law, it would soon be dismissed; and they doubted whether another could be procured equally agreeable to their purposes. In order to remove this doubt, the ministry resolved to surprise the kingdom with a new election, before the malcontents should be prepared to oppose the friends of the government. Accordingly, when the business of the session was dispatched, the king having given the royal assent to the several acts they had prepared, dismissed them in the month of June, with an affectionate speech that breathed nothing but tenderness and gratitude. The parliament was immediately dissolved by proclamation, and new writs were issued for convoking another. Among the laws passed in this session, was an act abolishing the heritable jurisdictions, and taking away the tenor of wardholdings in Scotland, which were reckoned among the principal sources of those rebellions that had been excited since the revolution. In the Highlands, they certainly kept the common people in subjection to their chiefs, whom they implicitly followed and obeyed in all their undertakings. By this act these mountaineers were legally emancipated from slavery: but as the tenants enjoyed no leases, and were at all times liable to be ejected from their farms, they still depended on the pleasure of their lords, notwithstanding this interposition of the legislature, which granted a valuable consideration in money to every nobleman and petty baron, who was thus deprived of one part of his inheritance. The forfeited estates, indeed, were divided into small farms, and let by the government on leases at an under-value; so that those who had the good fortune to obtain such leases tasted the sweets of independence: but the Highlanders in general were left in their original indigence and incapacity, at the mercy of their superiors. Had manufactures and fisheries been established in different parts of their country, they would have seen and felt the happy consequences of industry, and in a little time been effectually detached from all their slavish connections.

§ XIX. The operations of the campaign had been concerted in the winter, at the Hague, between the duke of Cumberland and the states-general of the

United-Provinces, who were by this time generally convinced of France's design to encroach upon their territories. They therefore determined to take effectual measures against that restless and ambitious neighbour. The allied powers agreed to assemble a vast army in the Netherlands; and it was resolved that the Austrians and Piedmontese should once more penetrate into Provence. The Dutch patriots, however, were not roused into this exertion, until all their remonstrances had failed at the court of Versailles; until they had been urged by repeated memorials of the English ambassador, and stimulated by the immediate danger to which their country was exposed: for France was by this time possessed of all the Austrian Netherlands, and seemed bent upon penetrating into the territories of the United-Provinces. In February, the duke of Cumberland began to assemble the allied forces; and in the latter end of March they took the field in three separate bodies. His royal highness, with the English, Hanoverians, and Hessians, fixed his head-quarters at the village of Tilberg: the prince of Waldeck was posted with the Dutch troops at Breda; and marechal Bathiani collected the Austrians and Bavarians in the neighbourhood of Venlo. The whole army amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand men, who lay inactive six weeks, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and almost destitute of forage and provision. Count Saxe, by this time created marechal-general of France, continued his troops within their cantonments at Bruges, Antwerp, and Brussels, declaring, that when the allied army should be weakened by sickness and mortality, he would convince the duke of Cumberland, that the first duty of a general is to provide for the health and preservation of his troops. In April this fortunate commander took the field, at the head of one hundred and forty thousand men; and the count de Clermont commanded a separate body of nineteen battalions and thirty squadrons. Count Lowendahl was detached on the sixteenth day of the month, with seven and twenty thousand men, to invade Dutch Flanders: at the same time, the French minister at the Hague presented a memorial to the states, intimating, that his master was obliged to take this step by the necessity of war: but that his troops should observe the strictest discipline, without interfering with the religion, government, or commerce of the republic: that the countries and places of which he might be obliged to take possession, should be detained no otherwise than as a pledge, to be restored as soon as the United-Provinces should give convincing proofs that they would no longer furnish the enemies of France with succours.

§ XX. While the states deliberated upon this declaration, count Lowendahl entered Dutch Brabant, and invested the town and fortress of Sluys, the garrison of which surrendered themselves prisoners of war on the nineteenth day of April. This was likewise the fate of Sas-van-Ghent; while the marquis de Contades, with another detachment reduced the forts Perle and Leifkenshoek, with the town of Philippine, even within hearing of the confederate army. The fort of Sanberg was vigorously defended by two English battalions; but they were overpowered and obliged to retire to Welsthoorden; and count Lowendahl undertook the siege of Hulst, which was shamefully surrendered by La Roque the Dutch governor, though he knew that a reinforcement of nine battalions was on the march to his relief. Then the French general took possession of Axel and Terneuse, and began to prepare flat-bottomed boats for

a descent on the islands of Zealand. The Dutch people were now struck with consternation. They saw the enemy at their doors, and owed their immediate preservation to the British squadron stationed at the Swin, under the command of commodore Mitchel *, who, by means of his sloops, tenders, and small-craft, took such measures as defeated the intention of Lowendahl. The common people in Zealand being reduced to despair, began to clamour loudly against their governors, as if they had not taken the proper measures for their security. The friends of the prince of Orange did not neglect this opportunity of promoting his interest. They encouraged their discontent; they exaggerated the danger; they reminded them of the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-two, when the French king was at the gates of Amsterdam, and the republic was saved by the choice of a stadtholder: they exhorted them to turn their eyes on the descendant of those heroes who had established the liberty and independence of the United Provinces: they extolled his virtue and ability; his generosity, his justice, his unshaken love to his country. The people in several towns, inflamed by such representations to tumult and sedition, compelled their magistrates to declare the prince of Orange stadtholder. He himself, in a letter to the states of Zealand, offered his services for the defence of the province. On the twenty-eighth day of April, he was nominated captain-general and admiral of Zealand. Their example was followed by Rotterdam, and the whole province of Holland; and, on the second day of May, the prince of Orange was, in the assembly of the states-general, invested with the power and dignity of stadtholder, captain-general, and admiral of the United-Provinces. The vigorous consequences of this resolution immediately appeared. All commerce and contracts with the French were prohibited: the peasants were armed and exercised: a resolution passed for making a considerable augmentation of the army: a council of war was established, for inquiring into the conduct of the governors, who had given up the frontier places; and orders were issued to commence hostilities against the French, both by sea and land.

§ XXI. Mean while, the duke of Cumberland took post with his whole army between the two Nethes, to cover Bergen-op-Zoom and Maastricht; and marechal Saxe called in his detachments, with a view to hazard a general engagement. In the latter end of May, the French king arrived at Brussels; and his general resolved to undertake the siege of Maastricht. For this purpose he advanced towards Louvain; and the confederates perceiving his drift, began their march to take post between the town and the enemy. On the twentieth day of June, they took possession of their ground, and were drawn up in order of battle, with their right at Bilsen, and their left extending to Wirle, within a mile of Maastricht, having in the front of their left wing the village of Laffeldt, in which they posted several battalions of British infantry. The French had taken possession of the heights of Herdeeren, immediately above the allies; and both armies cannonaded each other till the evening. In the morning, the enemy's infantry marched down the hill, in a prodigious column, and attacked the village of Laffeldt, which was well fortified and defended with surprising obstinacy. The assailants suffered terribly in their approach, from the cannon of the confederates, which was served with sur-

* Not the person who commanded in the West-Indies.

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prising dexterity and success; and they met with such a warm reception from the British musquetry as they could not withstand: but, when they were broken and dispersed, fresh brigades succeeded with astonishing perseverance. The confederates were driven out of the village; yet being sustained by three regiments, they measured back their ground, and repulsed the enemy with great slaughter. Nevertheless, count Saxe continued pouring in other battalions; and the French regained and maintained their footing in the village, after it had been three times lost and carried. The action was chiefly confined to this post, where the field exhibited a horrible scene of carnage. At noon the duke of Cumberland ordered the whole left wing to advance against the enemy, whose infantry gave way: prince Waldeck led up the centre, marechal Bathiani made a motion with the right wing towards Herdeeren, and victory seemed ready to declare for the confederates; when the fortune of the day took a sudden turn to their prejudice. Several squadrons of Dutch horse, posted in the centre, gave way, and flying at full gallop, overthrew five battalions of infantry that were advancing from the body of reserve. The French cavalry charged them with great impetuosity, increasing the confusion that was already produced, and penetrating through the lines of the allied army, which was thus divided about the centre. The duke of Cumberland, who exerted himself with equal courage and activity, in attempting to remedy this disorder, was in danger of being taken; and the defeat would, in all probability, have been total, had not Sir John Ligonier taken the resolution of sacrificing himself and a part of the troops to the safety of the army. At the head of three British regiments of dragoons, and some squadrons of Imperial horse, he charged the whole line of the French cavalry, with such intrepidity and success, that he overthrew all that opposed him, and made such a diversion as enabled the duke of Cumberland to effect an orderly retreat to Maastricht. He himself was taken by a French carabineer, after his horse had been killed; but the regiments he commanded retired with deliberation. The confederates retreated to Maastricht, without having sustained much damage from the pursuit, and even brought off all their artillery except sixteen pieces of cannon. Their loss did not exceed six thousand men killed and taken; whereas the French general purchased the victory at a much greater expence. The common cause of the confederate powers is said to have suffered from the pride and ignorance of their generals. On the eve of the battle, when the detachment of the count de Clermont appeared on the hill of Herdeeren, marechal Bathiani asked permission of the commander in chief to attack them before they should be reinforced, declaring he would answer for the success of the enterprize. No regard was paid to this proposal: but the superior asked in his turn where the marechal should be in case he should be wanted? He replied, "I shall always be found at the head of my troops," and retired in disgust. The subsequent disposition has likewise been blamed, inasmuch as not above one half of the army could act, while the enemy exerted their whole force.

§ XXII. The confederates passed the Maese, and encamped in the dutchy of Limburg, so as to cover Maastricht; while the French king remained with his army in the neighbourhood of Tongres. Marechal Saxe, having amused the allies with marches and counter-marches, at length detached count Lowendahl with six and thirty thousand men to besiege Bergen-op-zoom, the strongest

fortification of Dutch Brabant, the favourite work of the famous engineer Coehorn, never conquered, and generally esteemed invincible. It was secured with a garrison of three thousand men, and well provided with artillery, ammunition, and magazines. The enemy appeared before it on the twelfth day of July, and summoned the governor to surrender. The prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen was sent to its relief, with twenty battalions and fourteen squadrons of the troops that could be most conveniently assembled: he entered the lines of Bergen-op-zoom, where he remained in expectation of a strong reinforcement from the confederate army; and the old baron Cronstrom, whom the stadtholder had appointed governor of Brabant, assumed the command of the garrison. The besiegers carried on their operations with great vivacity, and the troops in the town defended it with equal vigour. The eyes of all Europe were turned upon this important siege: count Lowendahl received divers reinforcements; and a considerable body of troops was detached from the allied army, under the command of baron Schwartzemberg, to co-operate with the prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen. The French general lost a great number of men by the close and continual fire of the besieged; while he, in his turn, opened such a number of batteries, and plied them so warmly, that the defences began to give way. From the sixteenth day of July to the fifteenth of September, the siege produced an unintermitting scene of horror and destruction: desperate sallies were made, and mines sprung with the most dreadful effects: the works began to be shattered, the town was laid in ashes, the trenches were filled with carnage: nothing was seen but fire and smoke; nothing heard but one continued roar of bombs and cannon. But, still the damage fell chiefly on the besiegers, who were slain in heaps; while the garrison suffered very little, and could be occasionally relieved or reinforced from the lines. In a word, it was generally believed that count Lowendahl would be baffled in his endeavours; and by this belief the governor of Bergen-op-zoom seems to have been lulled into a blind security. At length, some inconsiderable breaches were made in one ravelin and two bastions, and these the French general resolved to storm, though Cronstrom believed they were impracticable; and on that supposition, presumed that the enemy would not attempt an assault. For this very reason count Lowendahl resolved to hazard the attack, before the preparations should be made for his reception. He accordingly regulated his dispositions, and at four o'clock in the morning, on the sixteenth day of September, the signal was made for the assault. A prodigious quantity of bombs being thrown into the ravelin, his troops threw themselves into the fosse, mounted the breaches, forced open a sally-port, and entered the place, almost without resistance. In a word, they had time to extend themselves along the curtains, and form in order of battle, before the garrison could be assembled. Cronstrom was asleep, and the soldiers upon duty had been surpris'd by the suddenness and impetuosity of the attack. Though the French had taken possession of the ramparts, they did not gain the town without opposition. Two battalions of the Scottish troops, in the pay of the states-general, were assembled in the market-place, and attacked them with such fury, that they were driven from street to street, until fresh reinforcements arriving, compelled the Scots to retreat in their turn: yet, they disputed every inch of ground, and fought until two thirds of them were killed upon the spot. Then they brought off the old governor, abandon-

ing the town to the enemy: while the troops that were encamped in the lines retreating with great precipitation, all the forts in the neighbourhood immediately surrendered to the victors, who now became masters of the whole navigation of the Schelde. The French king was no sooner informed of Lowendahl's success, than he promoted him to the rank of marechal of France, appointed count Saxe governor of the conquered Netherlands, and returned in triumph to Versailles. In a little time after this transaction, both armies were distributed into winter-quarters, and the duke of Cumberland embarked for England.

§ XXIII. In Italy the French arms did not triumph with equal success, though the marechal de Belleisle saw himself at the head of a powerful army in Provence. In April he passed the Var without opposition, and took possession of Nice. He met with little or no resistance in reducing Montalban, Villafranca, and Ventimiglia; while general Brown, with eight and twenty thousand Austrians, retired towards Final and Savona. In the mean time, another large body under count Schuylenberg, who had succeeded the marquis de Botta, co-operated with fifteen thousand Piedmontese in an attempt to recover the city of Genoa. The French king had sent thither supplies, succours, and engineers, with the duke de Boufflers as ambassador to the republic, who likewise acted as commander in chief of the forces employed for its defence. The Austrian general assembled his troops in the Milanese: having forced the passage of the Bochetta on the thirteenth of January, he advanced into the territories of Genoa, and the Riviera was ravaged without mercy. On the last day of March he appeared before the city at the head of forty thousand men, and summoned the revolvers to lay down their arms. The answer he received was, that the republic had fifty-four thousand men in arms, two hundred and sixty cannon, thirty-four mortars, with abundance of ammunition and provision: that they would defend their liberty with their last blood, and be buried in the ruins of their capital, rather than submit to the clemency of the court of Vienna, except by an honourable capitulation guarantied by the kings of Great-Britain and Sardinia, the republic of Venice, and the United Provinces. In the beginning of May, Genoa was invested on all sides: a furious sally was made by the duke de Boufflers, who drove the besiegers from their posts; but the Austrians rallying, he was repulsed in his turn, with the loss of seven hundred men. General Schuylenberg carried on his operations with such skill, vigour, and intrepidity, that he made himself master of the suburbs of Bisagno; and in all probability would have reduced the city, had not he been obliged to desist, in consequence of the repeated remonstrances made by the king of Sardinia and count Brown, who represented the necessity of his abandoning his enterprize, and drawing off his army, to cover Piedmont and Lombardy from the efforts of marechal de Belleisle. Accordingly he raised the siege on the tenth day of June, and returned into the Milanese, in order to join his Sardinian majesty; while the Genoese made an irruption into the Parmesan and Placentin, where they committed terrible outrages, in revenge for the mischiefs they had undergone.

§ XXIV. While the marechal de Belleisle remained at Ventimiglia, his brother, at the head of four and thirty thousand French and Spaniards, attempted to penetrate into Piedmont: on the sixth day of July he arrived at the pass of

Exilles, a strong fortress on the frontiers of Dauphiné, situated on the north side of the river Doria. The defence of this important post the king of Sardinia had committed to the care of the count de Brigueras, who formed an encampment behind the lines with fourteen battalions of Piedmontese and Austrians, while divers detachments were posted along all the passes of the Alps. On the eighth day of the month the Piedmontese intrenchments were attacked by the chevalier de Belleisle, with incredible intrepidity; but the columns were repulsed with great loss in three successive attacks. Impatient of this obstinate opposition, and determined not to survive a miscarriage, this impetuous general seized a pair of colours, and advancing at the head of his troops, through a prodigious fire, pitched them with his own hand on the enemy's intrenchments. At that instant he fell dead, having received two musketballs and the thrust of a bayonet in his body. The assailants were so much dispirited by the death of their commander, that they forthwith gave way, and retreated with precipitation towards Sestrieres, having lost near five thousand men in the attack. The marechal was no sooner informed of his brother's misfortune than he retreated towards the Var, to join the troops from Exilles: while the king of Sardinia, having assembled an army of seventy thousand men, threatened Dauphiné with an invasion; but the excessive rains prevented the execution of his design. General Leutrum was detached with twenty battalions to drive the French from Ventimiglia; but, Belleisle marching back, that scheme was likewise frustrated: and thus ended the campaign.

§ XXV. In this manner was the French king baffled in his projects upon Italy; nor was he more fortunate in his naval operations. He had, in the preceding year, equipped an expensive armament under the command of the duke d'Anville, for the recovery of Cape Breton; but it was rendered ineffectual by storms, distempers, and the death of the commander. Not yet discouraged by these disasters, he resolved to renew his efforts against the British colonies in North-America, and their settlements in the East-Indies. For these purposes two squadrons were prepared at Brest, one to be commanded by the commodore De la Jonquiere; and the other, destined for India, by monsieur de St. George. The ministry of Great-Britain, being apprized of these measures, resolved to intercept both squadrons, which were to set sail together. For this purpose vice-admiral Anson and rear-admiral Warren took their departure from Plymouth with a formidable fleet, and steered their course to Cape Finisterre on the coast of Galicia. On the third day of May they fell in with the French squadrons commanded by La Jonquiere and St. George, consisting of six large ships of war, as many frigates, and four armed vessels equipped by their East-India company, having under their convoy about thirty ships laden with merchandize. Those prepared for war immediately shortened sail, and formed a line of battle; while the rest, under the protection of the six frigates, proceeded on their voyage with all the sail they could carry. The British squadron was likewise drawn up in line of battle: but Mr. Warren perceiving that the enemy began to sheer off, now their convoy was at a considerable distance, advised admiral Anson to haul in the signal for the line, and hoist another for giving chase and engaging, otherwise the French would in all probability escape by favour of the night. The proposal was embraced; and in a little time the engagement began with great fury, about

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four o'clock in the afternoon. The enemy sustained the battle with equal conduct and valour, until they were overpowered by numbers, and then they struck their colours. The admiral detached three ships in pursuit of the convoy, nine sail of which were taken; but the rest were saved by the intervening darkness. About seven hundred of the French were killed and wounded in this action. The English lost about five hundred; and among these, captain Grenville, commander of the ship *Defiance*. He was nephew to the lord viscount Cobham, a youth of the most amiable character and promising genius, animated with the noblest sentiments of honour and patriotism. Eager in the pursuit of glory, he rushed into the midst of the battle, where both his legs were cut off by a cannon-ball. He submitted to his fate with the most heroic resignation, and died universally lamented and beloved. The success of the British arms, in this engagement, was chiefly owing to the conduct, activity, and courage of the rear-admiral. A considerable quantity of bullion was found in the prizes, which were brought to Spithead in triumph; and the treasure being landed, was conveyed in twenty waggons to the bank of London. Admiral Anson was ennobled, and Mr. Warren honoured with the order of the Bath.

§. XXVI. About the middle of June, commodore Fox with six ships of war cruising in the latitude of Cape Ortegal in Galicia, took above forty French ships richly laden from St. Domingo, after they had been abandoned by their convoy. But the French king sustained another more important loss at sea, in the month of October. Rear-admiral Hawke sailed from Plymouth in the beginning of August, with fourteen ships of the line, to intercept a fleet of French merchant-ships bound for the West-Indies. He cruised for some time on the coast of Brittany; and at length the French fleet sailed from the isle of Aix, under convoy of nine ships of the line, besides frigates, commanded by monsieur de Letenduer. On the fourteenth day of October the two squadrons were in sight of each other, in the latitude of Belleisle. The French commodore immediately ordered one of his great ships and the frigates to proceed with the trading ships, while he formed the line of battle and waited the attack. At eleven in the forenoon admiral Hawke displayed the signal to chase, and in half an hour both fleets were engaged. The battle lasted till night, when all the French squadron, except the *Intrepide* and *Tonant*, had struck to the English flag. These two capital ships escaped in the dark, and returned to Brest in a shattered condition. The French captains sustained the unequal fight with uncommon bravery and resolution, and did not yield until their ships were disabled. Their loss in men amounted to eight hundred: the number of English killed in this engagement did not exceed two hundred, including captain Saumarez, a gallant officer, who had served under lord Anson in his expedition to the Pacific Ocean. Indeed, it must be owned, for the honour of that nobleman, that all the officers formed under his example, and raised by his influence, approved themselves in all respects worthy of the commands to which they were preferred. Immediately after the action, admiral Hawke dispatched a sloop to commodore Legge, whose squadron was stationed at the Leeward Islands, with intelligence of the French fleet of merchant-ships, outward bound, that he might take the proper measures for intercepting them in their passage to Martinique, and the other French islands. In consequence

quence of this advice, he redoubled his vigilance, and a good number of them fell into his hands. Admiral Hawke conducted his prizes to Spithead: and in his letter to the board of admiralty declared, that all his captains behaved like men of honour during the engagement, except Mr. Fox, whose conduct he desired might be subjected to an inquiry. That gentleman was accordingly tried by a court-martial, and suspended from his command, for having followed the advice of his officers, contrary to his own better judgment: but he was soon restored, and afterwards promoted to the rank of admiral; while Mr. Matthews, whose courage never incurred suspicion, still laboured under a suspension, for that which had been successfully practised in both these late engagements, namely, engaging the enemy without any regard to the line of battle.

§ XXVII. In the Mediterranean vice-admiral Medley blocked up the Spanish squadron in Carthage; assisted the Austrian general on the coast of Villafranca; and intercepted some of the succours sent from France to the assistance of the Genoese. At his death, which happened in the beginning of August, the command of that squadron devolved upon rear-admiral Byng, who proceeded on the same plan of operation. In the summer, two British ships of war, having under their convoy a fleet of merchant ships bound to North America, fell in with the *Glorioso*, a Spanish ship of eighty guns, in the latitude of the Western Isles. She had sailed from the Havannah, with an immense treasure on board, and must have fallen a prize to the English ships, had each captain done his duty. Captain Erskine in the *Warwick* of sixty guns, attacked her with great intrepidity, and fought until his ship was entirely disabled: but being unsustained by his consort, he was obliged to haul off, and the *Glorioso* arrived in safety at Ferrol; there the silver was landed, and she proceeded on her voyage to Cadiz, which, however, she did not reach. She was encountered by the *Dartmouth*, a British frigate of forty guns, commanded by captain Hamilton, a gallant youth, who, notwithstanding the inequality of force, engaged her without hesitation: but, in the heat of the action, his ship being set on fire by accident, was blown up, and he perished with all his crew, except a midshipman and ten or eleven sailors, who were taken up alive by a privateer that happened to be in sight. Favourable as this accident may seem to the *Glorioso*, she did not escape. An English ship of eighty guns, under the command of captain Buckle, came up, and obliged the Spaniards to surrender, after a short, but vigorous engagement. Commodore Griffin had been sent with a reinforcement of ships, to assume the command of the squadron in the East-Indies; and although his arrival secured Fort St. David's, and the other British settlements in that country, from the insults of monsieur de la Bourdonnais, his strength was not sufficient to enable him to undertake any enterprize of importance against the enemy: the ministry of England therefore resolved to equip a fresh armament, that when joined by the ships in India, should be in a condition to besiege Pondicherry, the principal settlement belonging to the French on the coast of Coromandel. For this service, a good number of independent companies was raised, and set sail, in the sequel, with a strong squadron under the conduct of rear-admiral Boscawen, an officer of unquestioned valour and capacity. In the course of this year, the British cruisers were so alert and successful, that they took six hundred and forty-four prizes from the French

French and Spaniards, whereas the loss of Great-Britain, in the same time, did not exceed five hundred and fifty.

§ XXVIII. All the belligerent powers were, by this time, heartily tired of a war which had consumed an immensity of treasure, had been productive of so much mischief, and in the events of which, all in their turns, had found themselves disappointed. Immediately after the battle of Lafieldt, the king of France had, in a personal conversation with Sir John Ligonier, expressed his desire of a pacification; and afterwards his minister at the Hague presented a declaration on the same subject, to the deputies of the states-general. The signal success of the British arms at sea, confirmed him in these sentiments, which were likewise reinforced by a variety of other considerations. His finances were almost exhausted, and his supplies from the Spanish West-Indies, rendered so precarious by the vigilance of the British cruisers, that he could no longer depend upon their arrival. The trading part of his subjects had sustained such losses, that his kingdom was filled with bankruptcies; and the best part of his navy now contributed to strengthen the fleets of his enemies. The election of a stadtholder had united the whole power of the states-general against him, in taking the most resolute measures for their own safety: his views in Germany were entirely frustrated by the elevation of the grand duke to the Imperial throne, and the re-establishment of peace between the houses of Austria and Brandenburg: the success of his arms in Italy, had not at all answered his expectation: and Genoa was become an expensive ally. He had the mortification to see the commerce of Britain flourish in the midst of war, while his own people were utterly impoverished. The parliament of England granted, and the nation paid, such incredible sums as enabled their sovereign, not only to maintain invincible navies and formidable armies, but likewise to give subsidies to all the powers of Europe. He knew that a treaty of this kind was actually upon the anvil between his Britannic majesty and the Czarina, and he began to be apprehensive of seeing an army of Russians in the Netherlands. His fears from this quarter were not without foundation. In the month of November, the earl of Hyndford, ambassador from the king of Great-Britain at the court of Russia, concluded a treaty of subsidy, by which the Czarina engaged to hold in readiness thirty thousand men, and forty gallies, to be employed in the service of the confederates, on the first requisition. The states-general acceded to this agreement, and even consented to pay one-fourth of the subsidy. His most christian majesty, moved by these considerations, made farther advances towards an accommodation both at the Hague and in London; and the contending powers agreed to another congress, which was actually opened in March at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the earl of Sandwich, and Sir Thomas Robinson, assisted as plenipotentiaries from the king of Great-Britain.

§ XXIX. The elections for the new parliament in England, had been conducted so as fully to answer the purposes of the duke of Newcastle, and his brother Mr. Pelham, who had for some time wholly engrossed the administration. Both houses were assembled on the tenth day of November, when Mr. Onslow was unanimously re-elected speaker of the commons. The session was opened, as usual, by a speech from the throne, congratulating them on the signal successes of the British navy, and the happy alteration in the government of the United Provinces. His majesty gave them to understand, that a congress would

would speedily be opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, to concert the means for effecting a general pacification; and reminded them that nothing would more conduce to the success of this negotiation than the vigour and unanimity of their proceedings. He received such addresses as the ministers were pleased to dictate. Opposition now languished at their feet. The duke of Bedford was become a courtier, and in a little time appointed secretary of state, in the room of the earl of Chesterfield, who had lately executed that office which he now resigned; and the earl of Sandwich no longer harrangued against the administration. This new house of commons, in imitation of the liberality of their predecessors, readily gratified all the requests of the government. They voted forty thousand seamen, forty-nine thousand land-forces, besides eleven thousand five hundred marines; the subsidies for the queen of Hungary, the czarina, the king of Sardinia, the electors of Mentz and Bavaria, the Hessians, and the duke of Wolfenbuttle: the sum of two hundred thirty-five thousand seven hundred and forty-nine pounds, was granted to the provinces of New England, to reimburse them for the expence of reducing Cape-Breton; five hundred thousand pounds were given to his majesty for the vigorous prosecution of the war; and about one hundred and fifty-two thousand pounds to the Scottish claimants, in lieu of their jurisdiction. The supplies for the ensuing year fell very little short of nine millions, of which the greater part was raised on a loan by subscription, chargeable on a new subsidy of poundage, exacted from all merchandize imported into Great-Britain. Immediately after the rebellion was suppressed, the legislature had established some regulations in Scotland, which were thought necessary to prevent such commotions for the future. The Highlanders were disarmed, and an act passed, for abolishing their peculiarity of garb, which was supposed to keep up party-distinctions, to encourage their martial disposition, and preserve the memory of the exploits achieved by their ancestors. In this session a bill was brought in to enforce the execution of that law, and passed with another act, for the more effectual punishment of high treason in the Highlands of Scotland. The practice of insuring French and Spanish ships at London, being deemed the sole circumstance that prevented a total stagnation of commerce in those countries, it was prohibited by law under severe penalties; and this step of the British parliament, accelerated the conclusion of the treaty. Several other prudent measures were taken in the course of this session, for the benefit of the public; and among these, we may reckon an act for encouraging the manufacture of indigo in the British plantations of North America; an article for which Great-Britain used to pay two hundred thousand pounds yearly to the subjects of France. The session was closed on the thirteenth day of May, when the king declared to both houses, that the preliminaries of a general peace were actually signed at Aix-la-Chapelle by the ministers of Great-Britain, France, and the United-Provinces; and that the basis of this accommodation was a general restitution of the conquests which had been made during the war. Immediately after the prorogation of parliament, his majesty set out for his German dominions, after having appointed a regency to rule the realm in his absence.

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§ XXX. The articles might have been much less unfavourable to Great-Britain and her allies, had the ministry made a proper use of the treaty with the czarina; and if the confederates had acted with more vigour and expedition in

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in the beginning of the campaign. The Russian auxiliaries might have been transported by sea to Lubeck, before the end of the preceding summer, in their own galleys which had been lying ready for use since the month of July. Had this expedient been used, the Russian troops might have joined the confederate army before the conclusion of the last campaign. But this easy and expeditious method of conveyance was rejected for a march by land, of incredible length and difficulty, which could not be begun before the month of January, nor accomplished till Midsummer. The operations of the campaign had been concerted at the Hague in January, by the respective ministers of the allies, who resolved to bring an army of one hundred and ninety thousand men into the Netherlands, in order to compel the French to abandon the barrier which they had conquered. The towns of Holland became the scenes of tumult and insurrection. The populace plundered the farmers of the revenue, abolished the taxes, and insulted the magistrates; so that the states-general seeing their country on the brink of anarchy and confusion, authorized the prince of Orange to make such alterations as he should see convenient. They presented him with a diploma, by which he was constituted hereditary stadtholder and captain-general of Dutch Brabant, Flanders, and the upper quarter of Guelderland; and the East-India company appointed him director and governor-general of their commerce and settlements in the Indies. Thus invested with an authority unknown to his ancestors, he exerted himself with equal industry and discretion in new-modelling, augmenting, and assembling the troops of the republic. The confederates knew that the count de Saxe had a design upon Maestricht: the Austrian general Bathiani made repeated remonstrances to the British ministry, intreating them to take speedy measures for the preservation of that fortress. He in the month of January proposed, that the duke of Cumberland should cross the sea, and confer with the prince of Orange on this subject: he undertook, at the peril of his head, to cover Maestricht with seventy thousand men, from all attacks of the enemy: but his representations seemed to have made very little impression on those to whom they were addressed. The duke of Cumberland did not depart from England till towards the latter end of February: part of March was elapsed, before the transports sailed from the Nore with the additional troops and artillery; and the last draughts from the foot-guards were not embarked till the middle of August.

§ XXXI. The different bodies of the confederated forces joined each other, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Ruremonde, to the number of one hundred and ten thousand men; and the French army invested Maestricht, without opposition, on the third day of April. The garrison consisted of Imperial and Dutch troops, under the conduct of the governor baron d'Aylva, who defended the place with extraordinary skill and resolution. He annoyed the besiegers in repeated sallies; but they were determined to surmount all opposition, and prosecuted their approaches with incredible ardour. They assaulted the covered-way, in which they effected a lodgment, after an obstinate dispute, in which they lost two thousand of their best troops; but, next day they were intirely dislodged by the gallantry of the garrison. These hostilities were suddenly suspended, in consequence of the preliminaries signed at Aix-la-Chapelle. The plenipotentiaries agreed, that, for the glory of his christian majesty's arms, the town of Maestricht should be surrendered to his general, on condition that it

should be restored, with all the magazines and artillery. He accordingly took possession of it on the third day of May, when the garrison marched out with all the honours of war; and a cessation of arms immediately ensued. By this time the Russian auxiliaries, to the number of thirty-seven thousand, commanded by prince Repnin, had arrived in Moravia, where they were reviewed by their Imperial majesties; then they proceeded to the confines of Franconia, where they were ordered to halt, after they had marched seven hundred miles since the beginning of the year. The French king declared, that should they advance farther, he would demolish the fortifications of Maeltricht and Bergen-op-zoom. This dispute was referred to the plenipotentiaries, who, in the beginning of August, concluded a convention, importing, that the Russian troops should return to their own country; and that the French king should disband an equal number of his forces. The season being far advanced, the Russians were provided with winter-quarters in Bohemia and Moravia, where they continued to the spring, when they marched back to Livonia. In the mean time seven and thirty thousand French troops were withdrawn from Flanders into Picardy, and the two armies remained quiet till the conclusion of the definitive treaty. The suspension of arms was proclaimed at London, and in all the capitals of the contracting powers: orders were sent to the respective admirals in different parts of the world, to refrain from hostilities; and a communication of trade and intelligence was again opened between the nations which had been at variance. No material transaction distinguished the campaign in Italy. The French and Spanish troops who had joined the Genoese in the territories of the republic, amounted to thirty thousand men, under the direction of the duke de Richelieu, who was sent from France to assume that command, on the death of the duke de Boufflers; while marechal de Belleisle, at the head of fifty thousand men, covered the western Riviera, which was threatened with an invasion by forty thousand Austrians and Piedmontese, under general Leutrum. At the same time general Brown, with a more numerous army, prepared to re-enter the eastern Riviera, and re-commence the siege of Genoa. But these intended operations were prevented by an armistice, which took place as soon as the belligerent powers had acceded to the preliminaries.

§ XXXII. In the East-Indies, rear-admiral Boscawen undertook the siege of Pondicherry, which, in the month of August, he blocked up by sea with his squadron, and invested by land with a small army of four thousand Europeans, and about two thousand natives of that country. He prosecuted the enterprize with great spirit, and took the fort of Area Coupan, at the distance of three miles from the town: then he made his approaches to the place, against which he opened batteries, while it was bombarded and cannonaded by the shipping. But the fortifications were so strong, the garrison so numerous, and the engineers of the enemy so expert in their profession, that he made very little progress, and sustained considerable damage. At length, his army being diminished by sickness, and the rainy season approaching, he ordered the artillery and stores to be reembarked; and raising the siege on the sixth day of October, returned to fort St. David, after having lost about a thousand men in this expedition. In the sequel, several ships of his squadron, and above twelve hundred sailors, perished in a hurricane. The naval force of Great Britain was more successful in the West-Indies. Rear-admiral Knowles, with a squadron

of eight ships, attacked fort Louis on the south side of Hispaniola, which after a warm action of three hours was surrendered on capitulation, and dismantled. Then he made an abortive attempt upon St. Jago de Cuba, and returned to Jamaica, extremely chagrined at his disappointment, which he imputed to the misconduct of captain Dent, who was tried in England by a court-martial, and honourably acquitted. On the first day of October, admiral Knowles cruising in the neighbourhood of the Havannah, with eight ships of the line, encountered a Spanish Squadron of nearly the same strength, under the command of the admirals Reggio and Spinola. The engagement began between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, and continued with intervals till eight in the evening, when the enemy retired to the Havannah, with the loss of two ships; one of which struck to the English admiral, and the other was, two days after, set on fire by her own commander, that she might not fall into the hands of the English. Mr. Knowles taxed some of his captains with misbehaviour, and they recriminated on his conduct. On their return to England, a court-martial was the consequence of their mutual accusations. Those who adhered to the commander, and the others whom he impeached, were inflamed against other with the most rancorous resentment. The admiral himself did not escape uncensured: two of his captains were reprimanded: but captain Holmes, who had displayed uncommon courage, was honourably acquitted. Their animosities did not end with the court-martial. A bloodless encounter happened between the admiral and captain Powlet: but captain Innes and captain Clarke, meeting by appointment in Hyde-park with pistols, the former was mortally wounded, and died next morning; the latter was tried, and condemned for murder, but indulged with his majesty's pardon. No naval transaction of any consequence happened in the European seas, during the course of this summer. In January indeed, the *Magnanime*, a French ship of the line, was taken in the channel by two English cruisers, after an obstinate engagement; and the privateers took a considerable number of merchant ships from the enemy.

§ XXXIII. The plenipotentiaries still continued at Aix-la-chapelle, discussing all the articles of the definitive treaty, which was at length concluded and signed on the seventh day of October. It was founded on former treaties, which were now expressly confirmed, from that of Westphalia to the last concluded at London and Vienna. The contracting parties agreed, That all prisoners on each side should be mutually released, without ransom, and all conquests restored: That the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, should be ceded as a settlement to the infant Don Philip, and the heirs-male of his body; but in case of his ascending the throne of Spain, or of the two Sicilies, or his dying without male-issue, that they should revert to the house of Austria: That the king of Great-Britain should, immediately after the ratification of this treaty, send two persons of rank and distinction, to reside in France, as hostages, until restitution should be made of Cape-Breton, and all the other conquests which his Britannic majesty should have achieved in the East or West-Indies, before or after the preliminaries were signed: That the assiento contract, with the article of the annual ship, should be confirmed for four years, during which the enjoyment of that privilege was suspended since the commencement of the present war: That Dunkirk should remain fortified on the land-side, and towards the sea continue on the footing of former treaties. All the contracting

trading powers became guaranties to the king of Prussia for the duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz, as he at present possessed them; and they likewise engaged to secure the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia in possession of her hereditary dominions, according to the pragmatic sanction. The other articles regulated the forms and times fixed for this mutual restitution, as well as for the termination of hostilities in different parts of the world. But the right of English subjects to navigate in the American seas, without being subject to search, was not once mentioned; though this claim was the original source of the differences between Great-Britain and Spain: nor were the limits of Acadia ascertained. This and all other disputes were left to the discussion of commissaries. We have already observed, that after the troubles of the empire began, the war was no longer maintained on British principles. It became a continental contest, and was prosecuted on the side of the allies, without conduct, spirit, or unanimity. In the Netherlands they were outnumbered and outwitted by the enemy. They never hazarded a battle without sustaining a defeat. Their vast armies, payed by Great-Britain, lay inactive, and beheld one fortress reduced after another, until the whole country was subdued; and as their generals fought, their plenipotentiaries negotiated. At a time, when their affairs began to wear the most promising aspect; when the arrival of the Russian auxiliaries would have secured an undoubted superiority in the field; when the British fleets had trampled on the naval power of France and Spain, intercepted their supplies of treasure, and cut off all their resources of commerce; the British ministers seemed to treat, without the least regard to the honour and advantage of their country. They left her most valuable and necessary rights of trade unowned and undecided: they subscribed to the insolent demand of sending the nobles of the realm to grace the court, and adorn the triumphs of her enemy: and they tamely gave up her conquests in North-America, of more consequence to her traffic than all the other dominions for which the powers at war contended: they gave up the important isle of Cape-Breton, in exchange for a petty factory in the East-Indies, belonging to a private company, whose existence has been deemed prejudicial to the commonwealth. What then were the fruits which Britain reaped from this long and desperate war? A dreadful expence of blood and treasure, disgrace upon disgrace, an additional load of grievous impositions, and the national debt accumulated to the enormous sum of eighty millions sterling.

F I N I S.



